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THE

JUMMOO AND KASHMIR TERRITORIES.

A GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT.

BY

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TO

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA RANBĪR SINGH, G.C.S.I.

RULER OF JUMMOO AND KASHMIR.

WITH

THE AUTHOR'S SINCERE GOOD WISHES

FOR

THE PROSPERITY OF HIS HOUSE AND GOVERNMENT,

AND

FOR THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE OF HIS COUNTRY,

This Book is Dedicated.

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PREFACE.

104 NEARLY all that it was necessary for me to say by way of introduction, I have written in the first chapter. Only here, on the threshold, should be pointed out the system on which the Indian names and other words have been spelt. I have followed that which has variously been called—after those who have either elaborated or applied it—the Jonesian, Forbesian, or Hunterian system, but which now, from the increasing use of it and from its adoption by some of the departments of the Government of India, fairly merits to be called the Indian system of applying the Roman alphabet. In this the ten vowel sounds which occur in the languages of northern India are represented by the five vowels of our alphabet, by an accentuation (to denote elongation) of three of them, and by two diphthongs. The following table will make clear to anyone who speaks English the exact native Indian pronunciation of these vowels. In the middle column is an English word whose vowel-sound corresponds with that of the character to the left of it, while the third column shows the same word as it would be spelt on the Indian system, to retain its original sound.

Indian vowel.	English word to exemplify the pronunciation.	Indian spelling of the English word, the sound remaining the same.
a	bun	ban
ā	palm	pām
i	bin	bin
ī	been	bīn
u	pull	pul
ū	pool	pūl
e	day	de
o	bowl	bol
ai	fine	fain
au	fowl	faul

For the elongation of the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* I have used the long mark ¯; others who follow this system use the acute

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accent ´, and others the circumflex accent ^; in any case the same effect on the sound is intended.

The power given to the consonants varies little from that which they have in English; only one or two remarks are necessary. There are two kinds of *t*, of *d*, and of *r*, one dental, made by the tongue against the teeth, one cerebral, made by the tongue against the back part of the palate; these I have not distinguished except in Appendices I., II., III., the special object of which required the distinction.* In these places the cerebral *t*, *d*, and *r* are marked by the letters being put in a type different from that of the rest of ~~the word. Also the nasal *n*~~ (as in the French *on*) is distinguished by a dot above it thus *ṅ*. The letter *c* is not used except in the combination *ch*, which has the power of *ch* in *church*. *Sh* is pronounced as in English. *G* is always hard as in *go*. *J* is to be pronounced as it is in the English word *jam*. *Q* stands for a more deeply guttural *k*. An apostrophe ' stands for the Arabic letter 'ain; in pronouncing Indian words it may be neglected with little harm, since the natives of India make little or no difference for it.

I have endeavoured to carry out this system consistently except in a very few cases. Of these exceptions an instance is to be found in the title of the book, where the name 'Jummoo' must be pronounced in *English fashion*, and I have adhered to the same spelling of that place all through the text and in the maps. My reason for making this exception was that the name would necessarily be read before this preface, and yet without a previous explanation there was no likelihood of the reader getting anywhere near the right pronunciation if it had been spelt on the Indian system. Had I systematically transliterated the name as it is found in the two characters Devanāgarī and Persian, it would be respectively Jaṅbū and Jamūṅ, with the nasal *ṅ*. Either of these forms would have been such a stumbling block at the beginning that I thought it best in this case to be inconsistent. Again, 'Kashmir' I have all through spelt without the long mark which, by the rule, it should have over the *i*. This spelling has

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* In the Index also, the native words have these letters so distinguished.

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become common in England, and since it is so little different from the systematic form, it seemed unnecessary to disturb it; and this applies to a few other words, such as 'Raja,' which should have a long mark over the first *a*. It may also be mentioned that 'Himalaya' (which I have everywhere spelt thus) should, to denote its right pronunciation, also have a long mark over the first *a*. 104

One difficulty I have had with reference to some of the names on the maps. The names of those places (not indeed many) with the pronunciation of which I am not familiar, have been taken from various maps, chiefly from those of the Great Trigonometrical Survey. Now this Survey in constructing the Kashmir series spelt the names according to no system at all; the same vowel will, sometimes in the same name even, have two different powers. While trying, then, to reduce these to the Indian system, I have in some cases been uncertain what sound was intended by the word as I found it on the maps; hence some errors may have crept in.

I wish here to call attention to Appendix VII., which contains 161
tables of the Census and the Trade of the Territories. The 162
Census was taken after I left Kashmir, and the information reached me too late for incorporation in the text. My estimate of the population of Jummoo given in p. 63, must be corrected by reference to the Table.

In conclusion, I wish to offer my acknowledgments to Mr. Frith for the permission to reproduce some of his beautiful photographs.

F. D.

28, Jermyn Street, London,
June, 1875.

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THE

JUMMOO AND KASHMIR TERRITORIES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

114 THE aim I had before me in writing this book was the represen-
121 tation of those geographical facts concerning a country I for many years lived in, which had made such an impression on my mind, or which had been so noted down by me, that there was hope of my passing them on to others in such a way as to make on their minds a clear and distinct image.

The account is limited almost entirely to the description of what I have not only seen, but well remembered. By this I hold myself exempted from giving other reasons why certain places or certain subjects have been dealt with less fully than their importance might seem to require. For though in the course of ten years I visited almost every portion of the tract of country named in the title-page, and in some parts resided long, yet other parts I may have seen but a few times, and others still have passed through but once. And there was equal variety in the extent to which I noted down what I saw, this being sometimes least where I stayed longest. Now since, without having made definite notes on the spot, I have seldom ventured on description, this circumstance in itself will account for much inequality in the treatment of the parts of my subject. But, for all this, I have hopes that there will be found a connection between the portions of the book sufficient to constitute a thread by which the reader

114 121 may find his way through what is the really complicated geography of a tract which is large in extent and varied in character.

There is no large part of this country that is altogether unknown to the Western world. There is hardly any place we shall reach that has not been visited, and few places that have not been measured, by Englishmen who have preceded me. Many of the previous travellers, too, have given to the public the results of their observations. If I were writing a compilation from their books and memoirs, or if I were attempting to consolidate their information with my own, this would be the place to enumerate their various works. But as I propose rather to give a simple version of what I myself observed, whether it be the same as, or whether it be different from, what has before been told, I shall only refer to other writers where I have been distinctly indebted to them, or where it may be necessary to comment on their facts or their conclusions.

101 [631] [643] I have confined myself in this account to the territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir, for the reason that my travels in the Himalayas were almost entirely restricted to them. This ruler has for his full title "Maharaja of Jummoo and Kashmir." By the Panjābīs he is most commonly called after the former place, by Englishmen after the latter. It is this last practice which has led Englishmen at home to confound "Kashmir" with the whole of the territories. This mistake (which has unfortunately found its way into the maps of India) I try to guard against by using for my book the title "Jummoo and Kashmir Territories," and by restricting the use of the word "Kashmir" to the very defined tract that from time immemorial has borne the name. It must be understood, moreover, that the above title held by the Maharaja is not complete as denoting all the territories ruled by him; for these include, besides the Jummoo districts and Kashmir, the more distant countries of Ladākh, Baltistān, and Gilgit, all of which will come under our notice.

131 433 The relationship, physical and political, of this tract with India now deserves our attention. The map of India,[1] given with this book, will help us to understand its position at the edge of

[1] [cf. category [illegible]6 End map I -- Analyst]

the great plain of India which sweeps unbroken from the mouths /31
of the Ganges to the western part of the Panjāb, continuously /33x
skirted on the north by the Himalaya Range, which has a direction varying in a curve from east and west to south-east and north-west. It is the last strip of the plain and the wide mass of the mountains on the north of the Panjāb that make up the territory. Politically, it is a government tributary to [64/2]
the Queen, with relations defined by certain treaties, which will [631]
be more fully spoken of hereafter, but whose result may here be said to be that the ruler is obliged to govern his foreign politics according to the views of the Government of India, while in domestic administration he is nearly independent.

Measurements of the territory show it to have a length in one /31
direction, from south-east to north-west, of close on 400 miles, and at right angles to that, from south-west to north-east, of 350 miles. Measured from south to north it may be said to extend for 240 miles from lat. 32° 30′ to lat. 36° N.; and from east to west, for 350 or 400 miles, from long. 73° 30′ to 80° E.; these, however, must be taken only as general measurements, the irregularity of outline prevents a more definite statement in brief. The area I estimate at 68,000 square miles.

The form of the ground we have endeavoured to represent on /33x
the maps both by careful attention to the hill-shading and by the statement of the heights of certain positions. Under the heading of each tract described much will be said on this subject; but at this stage it is advisable to give a slight sketch of the vertical geography of the whole area.

The lowest part is the strip of plain on the south-west, which is continuous with the great level plain of the Panjāb; it is 900 or 1000 feet above the sea.

The mountains begin along a very definite line. The first ridge is a line of hill from 1000 to 2000 feet above the plain, that is to say 2000 or 3000 feet above the sea. Next comes a tract of rugged country, which includes various ridges running nearly parallel to the first one, with long narrow valleys between them. These ridges are 3000 and 4000 feet high, while the valleys have

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133x

commonly a level of near 2000 feet. This and the outermost ridge together I call the Region of the Outer Hills. It is on the whole a rugged space, partly covered by a low forest or by scrub, partly of bare sandstone rock.

Next within is the tract to which I give the name of "The Middle Mountains." It is a space occupied by hills commonly of 8000 to 10,000 feet in height, covered with pasture or else with forest. These hills are not, like the last, in parallel lines, but in ramifications, divided by equally ramifying valleys. Some of the valleys reach to as low as 2500 feet.

We now come to more lofty mountain ranges, which rise first to rocky heights and then to the region of perpetual snow. A great chain of snowy mountains, running south-east and north-west, divides the drainage of the Chināb and Jhelam rivers from that of the higher branches of the Indus. Its summits vary from 27,000 down to 15,000 feet; in one part of it peaks of 20,000 and 21,000 are not uncommon. What may be called branches from this enclose the valley or plain of Kashmir with hills, of which many are 14,000 to 15,000 feet high, the wide valley encircled by them itself being 5000 and 6000. All beyond that great range we find to be a wide tract of mountainous country, the whole of which is at a high level; it is the north-western part of Tibet; Ladākh and Baltistān are divisions of it, and Gilgit may, in a physico-geographical point of view, be said to belong to it. Here the mountain ranges are of heights of from 17,000 up to 22,000 feet and more; one peak (which yet is unnamed, though the second highest known in the world) has an altitude of 28,265 feet.* The valleys of this region vary much in character; in the south-eastern part are high-level flat valleys, from 1 mile to 5 or 6 in width, at elevations of 15,000 and 14,000 feet; from that, as one goes north-westward, their height descends, the space at the same time narrowing, lofty mountains always bounding them, ultimately to as low as 5000 feet above the sea; at the lower levels also are sometimes widenings of the valley-bottom.

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* This altitude has been determined trigonometrically by the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India; the peak is numbered on their maps K 2.

1₁ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVl Kashmir AVI

In a few places are table-lands; they are flat spaces surrounded /33
by mountains; too wide to be called valleys, I thus differently class them. The most remarkable are the Deosai plateau, and the plateau of Lingzhithang and the Kuenlun plains; the former is 12,000 or 13,000 and the latter 16,000 to 17,000 feet above the sea.

With these great variations of level the climate must neces- /32
sarily be different for every region. The temperature ranges from the more than tropical heat of the Panjāb summer to such an intensity of cold as keeps perpetual snow on the mountains.* In the inhabited places even the variation is such that in the lower parts the fashion of the poor of India of going almost unclad is followed; in the higher, sheep-skin coats are wanted for protection against the cold, and people are, in places, confined to their houses by snow for seven months in the year.

Besides temperature, there is the element of moisture, which gives another variety to the climate. We may distinguish roughly countries of four degrees of humidity:—

(1) Where the periodical rains prevail.
(2) Where the periodical rains do not reach, but there is rainfall enough for all crops but rice without need of irrigation.
(3) Where no crops can be raised without irrigation and the hill-sides are for the most part bare, but some forest grows on portions of the mountain slopes.
(4) Where no crops can be raised without irrigation, and the whole country is bare both of forest and of pasture; this tract is nearly rainless.

The greatest degree of difference in aspect of country, and probably in absolute degree of moisture, is between the first two on the one hand and the last two on the other.

The first region includes the Outer Hills and the Middle Mountains. The second is Kashmir. The third and fourth are on the far

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* For the altitudes at which perpetual snow occurs see Chap. xxiii., under the heading "Snow Map."

¼ Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

132 side of the great watershed range; the third, which may be said to have a semi-Tibetan climate, includes Astor with some parts of Gilgit and Baltistán, and the fourth, that which enjoys the Tibetan, or almost rainless, climate, takes in the rest of Gilgit, the greater part of Baltistán, and all Ladákh.

Now let us enter on the subject of the peopling of this country, 663 of the races of men who inhabit it. Varied as it is in form and 101 other physical characters it is little less so in its population. The several tribes that dwell here, whether on the open plains or nestling in the valleys that divide the loftier mountains, are, some, of widely different origin, and some, though of nearer relation, still of widely different character. There is here to be found, by one who would work it out in detail, ample illustration of the principles of Ethnological Science and a store of facts to fill in parts of it where our knowledge is wanting. All that I myself can hope to do is to put down some of that information which can be acquired by a traveller not trained to these inquiries.

The following is the list of the races which have a distinct geographical distribution, and such characteristics as to render the description and separation of them practicable.

Aryan.

Dográ.
Chibálí.
Pahárí.
Kashmírí.
Dárd.

Turanian.

Tibetan: subdivided into Baltí, Ladákhí, Chámpá.

This classification is more national than tribal. For the southern parts especially another division might be attempted—that is, one according to castes. But though certainly such a classification would tend to throw more light on the origin, the sources, of the different tribes, yet in the present state of our knowledge, without more detail as to the subdivisions of castes than we have at present, it would not be practicable, and in any case would not be one that could be expressed on a map as I have done with that here adopted. My own at all events expresses the actual national distinctions.

Each race will be described as we come to the country inhabited by it; but here too a few words may be said.

The Dogrâs and Chibhâlis were originally one, but they have now become separated in many characteristics, from the latter having become Muhammadans, while the Dogrâs remained Hindû. They are well-featured races, of rather slight build; together they occupy all the Outer Hill region.*

The Pahâris are a stouter race, hardy, as befits those who live for part of the year among snow; for these inhabit the eastern part of the Middle Mountains, on which snow falls to a considerable depth. They are in great majority Hindû. The name "Pahârî" simply means "mountaineer," but in those parts it is restricted to this particular race.

The Kashmîrîs, though allied to the Pahâris, are a race possessing very marked characters; they are large-made and robust, and of a cast of features really fine; they occupy their own mountain-bounded country of Kashmir, and have, besides, overflowed it here and there and settled in the higher parts of the neighbouring valleys and in outlying places. They are in large proportion Muhammadan, but some fraction of them remain Hindû.

The Dârds are a race who, though Aryans also, are very different and easily distinguishable from Kashmîrîs. With a very curious exception, that will be noted under Dârdistân, they also are Muhammadans. They dwell in the highly mountainous country north of Kashmir; they abut against the Tibetan Baltis on the east, and have as their neighbours on the west the Pathâns or Afghâns.

All those hitherto enumerated races have features distinctly of the Aryan type, still with marked differences among themselves, which will be noted in the succeeding chapters.

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* In reality the Chibhâlis include, besides Muhammadanised Dogrâs, some people of other tribes, who also have become Muhammadans. More will be said on this subject in Chap. III.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

563 101 The Tibetan races, whom we now reach, have the characteristics of the Turanian family (of which the Chinese and the Japanese are the instances most known to Englishmen) in varying degree. The Chámpás have those features most markedly, next the Ladákhí, and in a less degree the Baltí. The two first of these subdivisions are Buddhist in religion, the last Muhammadan. Of these Tibetan races are the people who live in the loftiest of the inhabited regions; the Chámpás, who are nomads, wander among the high-level valleys of Rupshu; the Ladákhís, who are a settled and cultivating race, are in villages which in height above the sea vary from 13,500 to 9500 feet; the next, the Baltís, are found at from 10,000 or 11,000 down to 6000 feet.

As for the languages spoken, a separate chapter treats of them, and some facts of their distribution are given in the explanation of the Language Map.* f/a

557 603 Countries separated by so many mountain chains; races so widely different; how did they all come to be under one ruler?

The answer to this almost resolves itself into the history of one man, of the one who by exercising with wonderful persistence the qualities of a soldier and a diplomatist succeeded in raising himself from an inconspicuous station to a position in which his adherence and goodwill became of extreme value to the British Government in India, who, in their turn, enabled him to achieve an object that for long had been dear to his heart, and in giving over to him Kashmir completed the agglomeration of all the countries we are treating of into one state. This man was Maharaja Guláb Singh, the father of the present ruler.

175 642 I shall attempt a brief sketch of the course of the events which led to the result above pointed out.

631 From time immemorial—the natives say for 5000 years—Jummoo has been the seat of the rule of a Hindú dynasty, of a family of Rájpúts, whose influence spread for some distance over the lower hills, the extent of that influence varying, no doubt, at different times. There was little intercourse with the outer world;

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* See Chap. xxi., on Languages, and Chap. xxiii., In Explanation of the Maps.

AVI category #6 and Map IV

some contact with it occurred indeed during the time from the sixteenth 175
century onwards from the passage near, if not through, the 642
country of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi towards Kashmir; or 631
again when one of the Western invaders of India swept along at
the foot of the hills, and the hill-men were able to annoy his armies
while congratulating themselves on the rugged character of their
own country, which made it by its poverty unattractive and by its
difficulty of access even repulsive to those bent on rapid conquest
and plunder. A little after the middle of the last century we find
that the power of the Jummoo ruler, exercised either directly or
by feudatory chiefs owing allegiance, extended eastwards to the
Râvi River or nearly so, westwards to some miles beyond the
Chinâb, southwards for some little way into the plains, and northwards
as far as the beginning of Middle Mountains. The feudatory [651]
chiefs, those for instance of Akhnûr, Dalpatpûr, Kiramchi, &c., [701]
governed their own subjects, but to the ruler of Jummoo they
paid tribute and did military service. During a portion of the
year they would be present at Jummoo itself, attending the court
of the ruler and holding separate ones themselves. At this day
various spots in that town are remembered where each of these
tributaries held his court on a minor scale. Doubtless there was
some petty warfare, resulting sometimes in an extension and [554]
sometimes in a contraction of the power of the central ruler; but
usually the chiefs were more occupied in sport than in serious
fighting, and the various families continued in nearly the same
relative positions for great lengths of time.

The rest of the Outer Hills and some of the Middle Mountain tract were thus occupied:—Eastward of Jummoo there were independent
rulers at Basoli and Kishtwâr, of Râjpût caste, some few
details of whose history will be given as we come in our geographical [564]
survey to each of those places. North-westward
of Jummoo were the two small states of Bhimbar and Râjâori,
whose rulers were Muhammadans, Muhammadanised descendants
of Râjpût Rajas, still bearing the Hindû title of Raja and still
recognised as belonging to certain subdivisions of the Râjpût
caste. These two had, I think, become more closely connected

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

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with, more completely dependent on, the Delhi power, before its breaking up, than had the Jummoo Raja, because the highway along which the Delhi Emperors used to march from India to Kashmir led straight through their territories and past their very castles. But after the decline of the power of Delhi and the occupation of Kashmir by the Pathāns or Afghāns (who were connected with Kābul and not with India) these rulers of Bhimbar and Rājāori became again as free and independent as the one of Jummoo. Farther west, up to the Jhelam River, the ground seems to have been occupied politically by local chiefs, ruling each over but a few villages. These, all Muhammadans, ruled over Muhammadan subjects. Still in many cases the Hindū origin of both can be traced. The importance of these was nearly the same as that of the lesser chiefs of the Jummoo side; but they seem to have kept more separate, and not to have agglomerated, not to have come under any one ruler as feudatories, but to have kept independent; so that almost village by village the country was governed by separate Rajas, and to this day many headmen of villages in that western tract bear the title of "Raja."

We have thus accounted for most of the country up to the first great mountain range. Of Kashmir and Ladākh we will speak later; but now we must come back to Jummoo, on which place hinged the coming fortunes of all these regions.

At Jummoo, in the middle of the eighteenth century, ruled Raja Ranjīt Dev, a man whose qualities as a ruler are there spoken of with the highest respect. He has a reputation for having been a wise administrator and a just judge. He was a tolerant man; he encouraged Muhammadans as well as the people of his own faith; under him many were attracted to Jummoo, and the town spread and flourished. Up to this time the state of independence of the mountaineers had continued. But his epoch was both the culmination and the beginning of the end of the old state of things. With his death, which occurred about 1770 or 1780 A.D., began changes from outside influences, which only ended when, in the year 1846, the ruler of Jummoo became tributary to the East India Company.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

At the time of Ranjit Dev the Sikhs had become rulers—not, 175
indeed, in any organized form, but in separate clanships—of that 642
portion of the Panjāb which adjoined the Jummoo territory on the 631
south. The ardour of fighting was so strong in these Sikhs that all their neighbours were likely, in turn or as occasion might lead, to feel its effects. In the case of Jummoo the occasion arose soon after the death of Ranjit Dev.* The disputes for succession which have been so common in Oriental dynasties, and not least common when the question is of succession to a firm and able ruler, here also sprung up. George Forster (who, probably, was the first Englishman who ever set foot in Jummoo) tells us that of three sons of Ranjit Dev, one killed the intended successor and imprisoned the third, but that this one, escaping, made his way to the Sikhs, who took up the quarrel for an excuse for invading and laying waste the country. Mān Singh,† the head of one of the Sikh clans (whose son, Ranjit Singh, afterwards combined all the clans, and from them made a monarchy that lasted for a generation), plundered Jummoo, and from this time the old hill principality became dependent on the new sect that dominated the Panjab. These Sikhs, about the same period, but under, I think, different leaders, from different clans being concerned, penetrated into other portions of the Outer Hill region. For instance, Basoli was occupied by them some time before 1783, and, probably later, Rāmnagar also fell to them. In most cases some scion of the old reigning families was kept in as tributary ruler, for it would have been difficult for the Sikhs themselves, unused as they were to rugged ground, to govern directly the scattered inhabitants of such a rough hilly country. This arrangement again naturally brought about or gave opportunities for disturbances and revolts, which continually occurred. The unsettled state of the hills was a source of disquiet to Ranjit Singh, when, having got possession of Lāhor, he had become chief ruler of the Sikhs. In tracing

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* I am not certain whether or no in Ranjit Dev's own time influence had been exerted by the Sikhs so as to bring Jummoo in any way tributary to them. At all events, it was not till after his death that active interference on their part occurred.

† This name is erroneously given in some English books as Maha Singh.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AV/

175 out Ranjit Singh's efforts for the settlement of the hill districts,
642 we come in contact with the family who exerted for so many years
631 an important influence in the Lāhor state—an influence which much affected the English in their dealings with it—and between whom and the English Government the relations that were entered on constitute the foundation of the present political constitution of the territories we speak of.

557 J. D. Cunningham, in his 'History of the Sikhs,'* shows that
175 from a brother of Ranjit Dev, Raja of Jummoo, were descended,
642 in the third generation, three brothers, Gulāb Singh, Dhiyān
631 Singh, and Suchet Singh. These three were young men at the
159 time when Ranjit Singh's rise to chief power at Lāhor made that the most likely place for the advancement of those whose only trade was fighting. The two elder brothers, Gulāb Singh and Dhiyān Singh, came to Ranjit Singh's court with the object of pushing their way as soldiers of fortune. Gulāb Singh first became a *sawār*, or trooper, under Jemadār Khushiāl Singh, a trusted servant of Ranjit Singh's. I do not know what was Dhiyān Singh's first step; but it was not long before he attracted the attention of the ruler, for he was a young man of considerable gifts of person as well as mental talents. He obtained the special favour of Ranjit Singh, and before long was advanced to the important post of deodhiwālā or deorhiwālā, that is to say, chief
[661] door-keeper. In a native court, a place of personal government, the door-keeper, possessing as he does the power of giving or restraining access to the chief, has considerable influence; this influence Dhiyān Singh now exerted in "making a party," so as by this means, as well as by his own exertions with the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, to advance his family. The personal qualifications of the brothers at the same time helped, and it was not long before the fortunes of all three—for Suchet Singh had joined his elder brothers—became well founded.

Gulāb Singh rose to the independent command of a troop, and in one of the hill wars he distinguished himself by taking

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* I have repeated in Appendix VI. the genealogy given by Cunningham.

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prisoner Āgā Jān, the Raja of Rājāorī, who was then resisting the 557
Sikh forces. For this service, and with the object of utilizing those 175
of the families of hill rajas who were attached to his government 642
in keeping in subjection the tribes that had been giving trouble, 631
Ranjīt Singh conferred on Gulāb Singh the rajaship of Jummoo, 159
to be held as a fief. This was about the year 1820. On the brothers Dhiyān Singh and Suchet Singh was also bestowed the title of Raja, and they received, whether at this time or later I know not, a portion of territory to be held on the same terms as was Jummoo by Gulāb Singh. Dhiyān Singh received Pūnch as his principality, and Suchet Singh Rāmnagar.

It is with Raja Gulāb Singh that we are now chiefly concerned. While Dhiyān Singh remained at Ranjīt Singh's court performing an important part in protecting the interests of the family by securing his own influence with the ruler, to whom they were all tributary, and on whom indeed they were still thoroughly dependent, Gulāb Singh spent most of his time at Jummoo and in its neighbourhood, occupied first in consolidating and then in extending his power, though, as occasion required, he would, as was his bounden duty, join the Sikh army with his forces, and take part in their military operations.

Gulāb Singh's own immediate subjects had, by the continu- 642
ance of disturbances, the absence of settled rule, become some- 175
what lawless; robbery and murder were common; it is said that 631
at that time a cap or a pagrī that a traveller might wear was 159
enough for a temptation to plunder and violence. With a firm [578]
hand Gulāb Singh put this down, and brought his country to such a state of quiet and security as makes it at this moment in that respect a pattern. As to the feudal chiefs around him, he in some cases—for what particular causes or with what excuses it is difficult at this time to trace—confiscated their fiefs and became direct ruler; in other cases he retained and attached to his government the nobles, while gradually lessening their political importance. The tendency of his government was always towards centralization. He was a man of stronger character than most of

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVi

159 175 642 631 the rulers that had preceded him, and probably his experience in the wider area of the Panjāb had taught him both the advantages and the feasibility of relatively diminishing the power of feudal subordinates.

159 643 175 Gulāb Singh in later years came in contact with many Englishmen, and several of these have written their impressions of his character. I myself never saw him; he died before I came to Jummoo; but his doings and sayings were still much thought of there, and I endeavoured to form, from what I heard, an estimate of his character.

Of his powers as a soldier I was unable to form a clear judgment. He seems to have been thoroughly brave, but always careful and prudent. Though no great feats of arms are recorded of him,* yet he was generally successful. He was more ready to intrigue than to employ force; but when the necessity for fighting was clear, he proved almost as much at home in it as he was in diplomacy. A great part of his success was due to the wisdom he displayed in recognizing the times when each could with most advantage be brought into play.

As an administrator he was better than most of those of his own time and neighbourhood, but yet the results of his rule do not give one the highest impression of his powers in this respect. He knew how to govern a country in the sense of making his authority respected all through it. For the carrying out of the further objects of good government he probably cared little; his experience had shown him no instance of their attainment, and possibly he had not in his mind the idea of a government different in kind from that which he succeeded in administering; for of all the governments within reach of his observation those were good in which the authority of the ruler was assured by force and the revenue came in punctually. On this principle he consolidated his power.

One of his chief faults was an unscrupulousness as to the means

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* The defence of the Lāhor fort with a small force against the Sikh army, in the time of the dissensions, is, however, a brilliant deed of his that now comes to my mind.

1 [i.e., the RAJAH OF JAMMU- ANALYST]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir A V1

One of his chief faults was an unscrupulousness as to the means 159
of attaining his own objects; he did not draw back from the exer- 643
cise of cruelty in the pursuit of them, but he was not wantonly 175
cruel. An avariciousness always distinguished him; in the in- [661]
dulgence of the passion he was unable to take the wide view by which his subjects' wealth would be found compatible with the increase of his own.

Some qualities had Gulāb Singh which mitigated the effects of an administration worked on the principles above denoted. He was always accessible, and was patient and ready to listen to complaints. He was much given to looking into details, so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration. With the customary offering of a rupee as *nazar* anyone could get his ear; even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out "*Mahārāj, 'arz hai!*" that is, "Mahārāja, a petition!" He would pounce down like a hawk on the money, and having appropriated it would patiently hear out the petitioner. Once a man after this fashion making a complaint, when the Mahārāja was taking the rupee, closed his hand on it and said, "No, first hear what I have to say." Even this did not go beyond Gulāb Singh's patience; he waited till the fellow had told his tale and opened his hand; then taking the money he gave orders about the case.

[565] The rise from comparatively low station to high position did not spoil him; that is to say, he did not become stuck-up with pride, nor did he often stand greatly on his dignity; indeed, he was ordinarily familiar and free with all classes, and was distinguished by that quality which in a ruler otherwise respected goes so far to conciliate the natives of India, that which they call *bhalamānasī*, which may be translated "bonhomie." This is the more noteworthy as those faults he was free from are the ones most generally contracted by people of his caste who raise themselves in social rank.

This picture of Gulāb Singh's character is different from some accounts of him that have appeared in books that tell of the late history of the Panjāb. I have written from the impression I received from all I heard of him from servants or from subjects of

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1372) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

159 643 175 his. To fortify my conclusions I will now quote from the 'History of the Sikhs,' by J. D. Cunningham, an author who wrote with rare impartiality, one who was able to divest himself of the prejudices of his own nation in estimating the qualities and the deeds of their enemies. Writing at the crisis of our relations with the Panjāb State, a time when Gulāb Singh's name was in everyone's mouth, he says,* "In the course of this history there has more than once been occasion to allude to the unscrupulous character of Raja Golab Singh; but it must not therefore be supposed that he is a man malevolently evil. He will, indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions; but he must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race and to the necessities of his position. If these allowances be made, Golab Singh will be found an able and moderate man, who does little in an idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and generosity of temper."

175 642 631 Having thus seen Gulāb Singh firmly fixed at Jummoo, we must, before tracing the acquisition by him of further territory, look to the early state of the other countries that now form part of the dominions under the government of Jummoo, beginning with Kashmir.

The Hindū history of Kashmir, which was brought into notice by Professor H. H. Wilson, tells of a succession of kings who ruled in the valley, and tells something of their relations with their neighbours. We cannot enter into these records, but of some of the events that have occurred in the last five centuries we will note the succession, since each change within that period has left its mark on the country recognizable by all at this day.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century after Christ the last Hindū king of Kashmir lost his throne. One Shāh Mīr, his minister, a Muhammadan, displaced him and ruled under the name of Shams-ud-dīn. For about two centuries and a half Kashmir remained independent, governed by its own Muhammadan rulers. Of these there were two most noted, whose names

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* Cunningham's 'History of the Sikhs,' p. 332, note.

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are still in the people's mouths; one was Sikandar, surnamed Butshikan or Iconoclast, who came to the throne in 1396 A.D., and used his power to destroy the ancient Hindū temples; the other was Zain-ul-āb-ud-Dīn, also called Bar* Shāh, who distinguished himself by erecting buildings of beauty and utility in the city of Sirīnagar and in other parts of the country. 175 642 631

The next great change was the invasion of Kashmir by the Emperor Akbar. After some repulses and difficulties that potentate conquered the country. This was in the year 1588; from that time to now the Kashmīrīs have been ruled by aliens; since then three times at least have their masters been changed, but in no instance have they had any voice or influence in brinigng about the change. The Mughal rule (as the natives of India call that which was exercised by the Emperors who had their seat at Agra or at Delhi) lasted in Kashmir for something more than a century and a half. That country was governed by viceroys of the Emperors, who were called by the title Sūbadār, or, later, simply Sūba. It was also frequently visited by the Emperors themselves in the hot weather, and it was these journeys of the court that brought the name of Kashmir to the ears of the Westerns; it was this period when its fame in Europe arose; for the successive Emperors—Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzeb—both constructed palaces and gardens whose position in the midst of lovely scenery and delicious air gave them a reputation beyond what their architecture alone could merit, and also filled these with a Court whose magnificence, drawn from the resources of half India, had never before and has never since been equalled in that mountain kingdom.

After the death of Aurangzeb the weak state of the Delhi power was reflected in the disturbed condition of Kashmir, which was ruled over by governors and governors' deputies appointed by those who one after the other gained the upper hand at Delhi.

The Kashmīrīs got fresh masters about the years 1752–1754, when Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, the invader of India, conquered Kashmir through one of his lieutenants. From that time for nearly

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* In this name the r is cerebral.

1t Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVi

175 seventy years Kashmir was subject to the Pathāns or Afghāns,
642 being ruled over by governors sent by the King of Kābul. The
631 rule of these Pathāns was the harshest of all.

Again, as a new power arose in its neighbourhood, Kashmir received new masters. The Sikhs, as they grew in importance, and as their power waxed by reason of the political unity which Ranjīt Singh gave to the nation, became able to cope with the Pathāns and to vie with them for the possession of the prize country. Though Ranjīt Singh failed in an attempt on the valley in 1814, yet in 1819 he succeeded in wresting it from the Pathān rulers, and the small minority of the Kashmīrī nation who had remained Hindū saw at last, after an interval of 500 years, governors of their own faith. For the next five-and-twenty years Kashmir was ruled, quietly if oppressively, by successive governors sent by the Sikh Government at Lāhor. At the end of that time its history will join with the other threads of our narrative.*

We must now return to the proceedings of Raja Gulāb Singh, whom we left, soon after 1820, well settled at Jummoo.

The details of the extension of his power in the Outer Hills it

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* As we draw near to our own times it may be useful to give more details of names and dates. I give here a Table of the Governors of Kashmir under the Sikhs; this will be useful to the traveller, for one is always hearing in that country that such-and-such a thing happened when so-and-so was Governor, and this Table will fix the date.

SIKH GOVERNORS OF KASHMIR.	A.D.
Conquest by the Sikhs	1819
Mōti Rām	1819
Hari Singh	1820
Mōti Rām (second time)	1822
Gurmukh Singh, with Chūna Lāl as *Peshkār* or Factotum	1823
Kirpā Rām, son of Mōti Rām	1825
Bamma Singh	1830
Sher Singh (son, reputed, of Ranjīt Singh)	1831
Jemādār Khushiāl Singh (in some degree under Sher Singh)	1832
Colonel Miān Singh	1833
Shekh Ghulam Mahai-ud-dīn	1842
Shekh Imām-ud-dīn (son of Ghulām Mahai-ud-dīn)	1845

In 1846 the country fell into the hands of Raja Gulāb Singh, as will be related farther on.

I may here acknowledge the sources from which these and the other dates in Kashmir history are derived, namely, Wilson and Newall, in the publications of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Prinsep's Useful Tables.

is not necessary to enter into. Roughly speaking, in the next ten 175
or fifteen years all the Outer Hill region and a considerable por- 642
tion of the Middle Mountains became, with the exception of 631
Rājāori, completely subject to either Gulāb Singh or his brothers; and the interests of these three were at that time one. His next ambitious attempt was on the country of Ladākh, which he had been led to think much of by his occupancy of Kishtwār, which commanded two of the roads into Ladākh.

The invasion of Ladākh Gulāb Singh did not in person lead; probably it was impossible for him to go to parts so distant from the Panjāb, where his presence was required more or less every year. His lieutenant for the expedition was Zurāwar Singh, of the caste of Rājpūts called Kaluriā, a man who had risen from the ranks in Gulāb Singh's service, and was distinguished by a zeal for his master's interest above his own, and who now proved that he had many of the qualities necessary to make a successful military leader.

Ladākh, the physical characters of which have already been lightly touched on, was at that time an independent Buddhist kingdom, having a spiritual and a slight political connection with the Grand Lāmā of Lhāsa. It was much isolated by its position at the back of the great Snowy Range; only a limited number of merchants who traded to it knew anything of the truth about it. Still the Dogrā leaders determined to attempt its conquest. The history of their invasion is well told by an actor in it in Cunningham's book on Ladākh. Here it is enough to say that after two campaigns the whole country of Ladākh became subject to Gulāb Singh.

The neighbouring Muhammadan principality of Skārdū shared the same fate a few years later. Ahmad Shāh, the Raja of that place, had mixed himself up with the Ladākhīs in their struggles and intrigues against the Dogrās, so on the first opportunity Zurāwar Singh turned his forces against him, and in the year 1840 took him prisoner and annexed his territory.*

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* Though it is off the line of this narrative, yet it may be of some interest to mention that the courageous Zurāwar Singh, in invading the Lhāsa territories, was overtaken by winter, and, being attacked when his troops were disabled by cold, perished with nearly all his army. This was in November, 1841.

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In the year 1843 the death of Raja Suchet Singh without issue caused the principality of Rāmnagar to fall to his eldest brother Gulāb Singh; so by this time that fortunate ruler had acquired all the territories included in the present boundary, with the exceptions of Kashmir, Gilgit, Rājāorī, and Pūnch, this last being occupied by Raja Jawāhir Singh, the son of Raja Dhiyān Singh, who, like Suchet Singh, had lately been killed near Lāhor.

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The next event that changed the boundary was the breaking out of the war between the Sikhs and the British in the winter of 1845–6. Gulāb Singh[1] had for some time kept aloof from Lāhor politics and was not involved in the court intrigues that led to the movement of the Sikh troops against British territory; neither did he hurry down with his troops to help the Sikhs as he would have done in the time of his old master Ranjīt Singh. He kept away until the decisive battle of Sobraon was fought, at which victory declared for the British. Then he appeared almost as mediator between the two contending powers, for after the various revolutions and massacres that had lately occurred at Lāhor, and the late defeats of the Sikh army, there seemed to be none but Gulāb Singh who could shape events, who could guide the Sikh nation to any sensible course. The confidence of the British too he had before acquired; especially had Sir Henry (then Colonel) Lawrence, who was now one of the diplomatic officers employed in the negotiations, formed both a friendship for Gulāb Singh and a high opinion of his sagacity and of his usefulness to those who could enlist his interests.

The result of all this is embodied in two treaties, which will be found, in whole or in part, in Appendix V.

By the first, which was made between the British Government as represented by Lord Hardinge, and the state of Lāhor, there was ceded to the East India Company in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees (or 1,000,000*l.*) of indemnity, the hill countries between the rivers Byās and Indus. Thus all the countries we have been treating of, both those at that time in the hands of Raja Gulāb Singh, and Kashmir and others then directly ruled by the Sikhs, were on the 9th March, 1846, handed over to the British.

[1] [illegible]

But now comes the second treaty, dated 16th March, 1846. 175
This was made between the British Government, represented by 642
the Governor-General as before, and Maharaja Gulāb Singh, the 631
higher title of Mahārāja being by this very mention conferred.
Its effect is this, that "the British Government transfers and 648
makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Golab 557
Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee,"* in consideration of which, by another article of the treaty, Maharaja Gulāb Singh agrees to pay to the British Government the sum of 75 lakhs of rupees—about 750,000*l.*

The result of this treaty (of which the other provisions can be learnt from the Appendix) was to place Gulāb Singh in a far better position than he had ever had before. He exchanged for the Sikhs, whose attitude to him was ever varying according to the favour in which he might be held by those who for the time were leaders of them, a nation whose boast it is that they hold treaties sacred, and who had now contracted with him a treaty, the provisions of which fairly carried out could not fail to be agreeable to him. Lastly he gained, in addition to his former acquisitions, the coveted country of Kashmir.

The handing over of Kashmir was not effected without some 175
trouble. Maharaja Gulāb Singh sent a trusted officer with some 648
troops to take over charge; he, however, was opposed by Shekh 669
Imām-ud-dīn, the Sikh governor, who was supported in, or rather incited to, this course by a faction in the Lāhor Darbār who were adverse to the British. Gulāb Singh's troops were defeated at the outskirts of Sirīnagar and many were slain; a remnant, however, threw themselves into the fort called Hari Parbat and there held out. On this Gulāb Singh appealed to the British to carry out the provisions of the treaty, and action was at once taken. A force partly of British and partly of Sikh troops was put in motion, and they had even made one march within the hills from Bhimbar, when events turned in such a way that their advance was no longer necessary.

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* For some remarks as to the effect of these words see Chap. XIX.

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For at this juncture Colonel Lawrence reappeared, having been absent from the Panjāb for some months on leave, and his diplomatic management staved off the collision that was imminent. Colonel Lawrence entered into correspondence with Shekh Imām-ud-din, the result of which was that the Shekh gave up the game and came away from Kashmir in peace, meeting on the road, at Thanna, Colonel Lawrence and Gulāb Singh, who then proceeded to Sirīnagar. The transfer of the country was thus completed without further disturbance.

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One great object which the Governor-General had in view when he made this arrangement for the Jummoo and Kashmir territories was to lessen the force of the Sikhs by establishing on their flank a power independent of them and inclined to the British. This object may be said to have so far succeeded that, on the next and final trial of strength between the Sikhs and the British (which occurred two or three years later), Gulāb Singh's aid was withheld from the nation to which formerly belonged his allegiance. But the result of this last struggle, which was nothing less than the absorption of the Panjāb into the British Empire in India, rendered that object useless or superfluous. Hence some have been led to think that it was a great pity, a great mistake, to have made the treaty that separated Kashmir from the Panjāb, since, but for that, the oft-coveted country would have fallen into our hands at this time, namely in 1849. As far as this is a criticism of policy, and not merely regret at the loss of a possible piece of good fortune, it is enough to point out that in 1846 no one expected that the Panjāb would fall into our hands in 1849. At that former date we were arranging for the government of the Panjāb by its own native rulers—by the young Maharaja Dhuleep Singh and the Darbār or Council of Ministers. Our Government was hoping to form a stable government at Lāhor, and not reckoning on its downfall or its absorption by ourselves. Not till two years after the treaty had been entered into with Gulāb Singh did those events, at that time unforeseen, occur which are brought forward as reasons for not entering into that engagement.

Later political events have not largely affected the status of

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

the territories, nor much altered their boundaries. On the outbreak of the mutiny of 1857, Maharaja Gulāb Singh chose his side and threw in his lot with the British, moving down a force to aid in the siege of Delhi. Hardly had he done this when death overtook him. His surviving son, the present Maharaja, Ranbīr Singh, who was then on his way to the Panjāb with the troops, returned to take his place in the government of the country, while another commander proceeded to Delhi with the force. 175 648 [669]

Since that time all has been quiet, except on the north-west frontier, which has been the scene of oft-recurring small wars, some of which are recounted in Chapter XIX., on Dārdistān History. One other treaty has been made between the British Government and the Maharaja, which is given in full in Appendix V. This was done in 1870. It is a commercial treaty designed to open a particular route between the British hill-districts and the Yārkand country through a portion of the Maharaja's territory, which is necessarily traversed.

The countries thus acquired, and, by the political events of 1846, solidly compacted, are divided up for the purposes of government into regions whose limits correspond in some measure, but not altogether, to the old boundaries. In the "Political Map" I have indicated these administrative subdivisions, and in the explanation of it in Chapter XXII. I have shortly described the kind of authority established in each. 631

I should hardly complete this Introduction without saying a word as to myself—as to how it was that I came to travel over this country, to penetrate into corners of it that, if they have each been visited by different Europeans, have never so many been seen by anyone of that race, or even, I believe, by any native of any of those countries. 114

In 1862 I entered the Maharaja of Kashmir's service, leaving for it the Geological Survey of Great Britain, to which I then belonged, and came to his Court at Jummoo. My duties for some years were confined to geological investigation, or, more exactly, to looking for minerals. This pursuit naturally led me over many of the

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114 mountain chains. Later I had the management of the Forest Department. Lastly I had the position of Governor of Ladákh, from which I retired for the sake of again seeing England, after spending ten years in the service of the Maharaja.

I did not leave the Maharaja, his Court, and the people, without many regrets. Each race, as I became acquainted with them, excited in me a great interest, and has left a strong wish for their welfare. In the Court I formed friendships with some whose co-operation in difficult circumstances will always be remembered by me. Of my master, the Maharaja, I will only venture to say that from him, in what might have been for me an anomalous position, I received a general consideration, dictated by goodwill and by forbearance, which, without counting many special acts of kindness that he would not wish to see acknowledged here, deserve and have from me a gratitude that I am glad have an opportunity of publicly expressing.

128 A few words must follow as to the plan on which this book is written.

I have not given a narrative of any of my journeys, but have taken each tract in succession, and described the physical and other characteristics of it. Besides this, I have given an account of some of the lines of march that join the several tracts; this by way of introduction to them or to show how they are physically separated yet connected by practicable lines of communication.

I begin with the part next to the plain of the Panjáb, the region of the Outer Hills. One chapter treats of their physical aspects, another treats of their inhabitants generally, a third gives a description of Jummoo, the chief place in the Outer Hills, and the capital of the whole country, and of the Court, whose seat is at Jummoo, while a fourth gives notes on certain other places in the same hills.

Next, in Chapter VI., we visit the region of the Middle Mountains, certain portions of them being in some detail described. The subordinate headings will show in what order the various localities are treated of, and that an account of the people who live there also finds a place.

In Chapter VII. is described the march from Jummoo to Kashmir. Thus we are introduced to that country, to which Chapters VIII., IX., and X. are devoted. 128

Then, in like fashion, the country along the line of march from Kashmir to Leh in Ladākh is described, and we are thus brought into the great tract at the back of the Snowy Range. The account of Ladākh is begun by a chapter (XII.) on the inhabitants; then follows a somewhat detailed description of the different parts of that country, the Chapters XIII., XIV., and XV. being allotted separately for the lower valleys, the higher valleys, and the plateaus.

Baltistān comes next; it is described in Chapter XVI., where the sub-headings will show the course that the description takes.

For the less-known country of Dārdistān there are the four Chapters XVII. to XX.

Thus far the account has gone according to locality. There next comes a chapter on a subject which it seemed best to treat by itself. The few remarks I find myself able to make on the very interesting subject of the languages will be found in Chapter XXI.

The last chapter is one in explanation of the maps and sections. Since I reckon on the reader making use of these on his way through the text, even when they are not specially referred to, it would not be amiss if he were to become acquainted with them by either reading this chapter first of all, or by consulting it on first referring to each of the maps or sections. It will be found to give both a description of each map, isometric view, or section, and also a short summary of some of the various subjects which are treated in a more detailed way in the body of the book.

Though such a plan for the work depends not at all on the order of my journeys, it may be well here to note in what years I visited certain portions of the country, since some of that which passed under my observation may have been true only for that time. Ladākh I saw in the years 1862 (Drās, Kargil, and Suru only), 1869, 1871, and (January) 1872. Baltistān I visited in 1868, and again in 1870; Astor and Gilgit in 1870. For other parts it is impossible to particularise; any time between the years 1862 and 1872 I may have visited them. 114

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CHAPTER II.

REGION OF THE OUTER HILLS.—PHYSICAL CHARACTERS.

THE PLAIN IN FRONT OF THE HILLS—EASTERN DIVISION OF THE OUTER HILLS—WESTERN DIVISION OF THE OUTER HILLS—CLIMATE AND VEGETATION.

/33x On leaving the British territory of the Panjāb and entering on the Maharaja of Kashmir's dominions, no immediate physical change is seen; for the last portion of the great plain, a strip which varies in width from three or four miles up to twenty, makes part of the Maharaja's territories. We are still then on the wonderful wide plain of India, where the eye tires in contemplating the unvaried level. As in the Panjāb the trees here also are small and scant of foliage, either scattered singly or grouped round wells; here also the villages are clumps of low, flat-roofed, mud huts, not inviting in look, yet commodious for the people with their kind of life; the soil, either clay or loam, at certain times looks sterile, and at others is covered with verdure. Dull enough is the aspect of this plain when the crops are off, and the ground is a bare caked surface of dried mud, when the hot-weather haze, hiding the distant view, makes the dusty ground shade off into a dusty air. But at other times of the year—as in March, when Spring is well advanced, when the trees are in bloom, and the wheat over large undivided spaces is coming into ear—the prospect is bright and agreeable. At such a season the air is clear, and one sights the snow mountains from far off. As we approach, the unwhitened ranges of the Outer Hills come more strongly into view; getting nearer still, we see that a succession of comparatively low ridges, some rugged and broken by ravines, some regular and forest-covered, intervene between the plain and the high mountains. It is these which constitute the region of the Outer Hills.

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The natives have a special name for this tract; they call it *Kandi*, which may be translated "edging"; and they contrast it with the next higher one, to which they give the name *Pahár*. *Pahár* is a word that simply means "mountain," but by the dwellers in the Outer Hills it is used for the next neighbouring mountains, those below the highest. The separation of these two tracts—the Outer Hills, and what we shall call the "Middle Mountains"—is a natural one, founded on physical differences, both geological and superficial.

The southern boundary of the Outer Hill region, that is to say the foot of the hills, is called by those who use the Persian idiom *Dáman-i-Koh*, or "skirt of the mountains"; it is a sharply-defined boundary; it can be clearly traced on the map, changing its direction, not suddenly, but with a few large and sweeping curves.

The northern or inner boundary of the same region is less defined; in some parts a line of mountains, from 8000 to 10,000 feet high, ends it off; in others, tracts having the characteristics of the Outer Hills penetrate in between the mountains; in others still these characters gradually shade off, so that one cannot point out exactly where they may be said to end.

The length occupied by these Outer Hills, within the territory we are treating of, is on an average 150 miles, from the river Rávi on the east to the river Jhelam on the west; it is somewhat less than that along the foot, and somewhat more along their mountain boundary. Eastward and westward beyond these two rivers respectively, in the British territory, they continue on with the same features and character. Indeed we are here concerned with a part of a chain of hills of enormous length, that, with wonderful uniformity, edges the Himalayas along their course of more than 1200 miles. This is in some parts called the *Siwálik Chain*. The width of this Outer Hill region in our part varies from 16 to 36 miles; the greater extension is on the north and north-west, where there is both the increased width of hills that without doubt may be classed within it, and also a graduation of these into the higher mountain region.

Their elevation above the sea-level ranges from 1000 feet up to

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133 2400; their outer base, where they rise from the plain, is about at the former level, and some points of the more inward ridges reach the latter; but the more usual altitudes are from 2500 to 3500 feet for the ridges, and from 1800 to 2400 feet for the intermediate longitudinal valleys.

In trying to give a detailed account of this area I shall first say a few words on the characteristics of the plain country that lies in front of the hills, and then, dividing the Outer Hill region into two parts, eastern and western, describe them in succession, taking first that which lies between the Rāvī and Chināb rivers, and next that which extends from the Chināb river to the *Jhelam*.

The Plain in front of the Hills.

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Although in the Panjāb generally the humidity is greater the nearer one is to the mountains, yet the belt of the plain, that part which adjoins the outermost hills, is a drier tract than what is further away from them. I find two causes for this; one is that the soil is more porous, being of a lighter loam and liable to have beds of pebbles in it; the other is that ravines, which (originating in the hills) often cut across to depths of 100 feet or more, cause a complete natural deep drainage, and leave the surface somewhat arid.

In this respect there is a strong contrast with the corresponding tract under the Eastern Himalayas, where the hills are edged with the line of swampy ground called the Tarai.

The level of this extreme part of the plains may be counted at from 1100 to 1200 feet above the sea. As one traverses it in a direction parallel to the run of the hills one crosses the numerous gullies or ravines (nullah or nālā is the much-used Indian word) which are of varying importance, according as they drain a smaller or a larger area. Many of these are dry in ordinary times, but show by their pebbly bed that water sometimes flows along them with force; these are they which rise on the outer slope of the first range. Then there are some which are never wholly dry; they usually have a small stream of water meandering over a wide low-level flat, cut down below the general level of the plain; these rise farther back in the mountains, in the second or third ridge; they drain a larger area, and are subject to sudden falls of rain; such water-courses will in certain seasons be filled for a time by a wide and swift river, discoloured with red mud in suspension, carrying down in this way, as well as by dragging sand along the bottom, large quantities of material from the hills to the lower grounds and to the sea. 132 133x 134

These ravines 4 are from a few hundred yards to a mile wide; they are bounded by a sudden bank, often cut into a river cliff of a hundred feet in height that shows to view the sandy and loamy strata. Their flat bottom is mostly sandy; it is sometimes covered in part with the long tufty jungle-grass called in these parts *khar*. [137]

The plateaus between these ravines, 1 though, as before said, somewhat dry, have in great part been brought under cultivation; here, as the crops depend entirely on the rain, their yield varies much with the years. [311]

The tracts where the jungle-grass abounds are frequented by the black-buck or antelope, which indeed, encouraged by the game-laws of the country, spread into the cultivated parts and even herd with the cattle. Near these grassy tracts the villages are composed of pretty thatch-roofed houses; in India straw is never afforded for the purpose of thatching, it is all used as food for the cattle; indeed from the way the treading out the corn on the threshing-floor is carried on no whole straw is left, so it is only where some such material as that stiff grass can be got from the jungles that any thatching is done. 136 137 342 246

The 70-mile strip of plain extending from the Ravi to the Chinab is crossed by two large streams that deserve separate mention. These are the Ujh, that debouches by Jasrota, and the Tavi, that comes out of the hills by Jummoo. They are both rivers of perpetual flow and considerable, though much-varying, volume. They rise in the mountains at the back of the Outer Hills at an elevation of 13,000 or 14,000 feet, but not from hills of permanent snow; they have a course among the hills, the Ujh of some 30 and the Tavi of 80 miles, before they reach the 133x

4 [i.e., in the [illegible] Jammu [illegible]]

133^x [861] plain. The city of Jummoo is on the outermost range where the Tavi passes out through it; the town of Jasrota is in a corresponding situation on the banks of the Ujh River.

[132] Both of these rivers are very liable to floods; these occur both in the time of the periodical rains of summer and in the season of the more irregular winter rains; the floods come down with great force, and for a time render the rivers impassable either by fording or by ferry; they can then only be crossed on inflated skins, and so the traffic of the road is stopped for some hours at a time. It is these floods that carry stones of considerable size, a foot or two across, down the bed for several miles, beyond the outskirts of the hills; the Ujh especially, which has a steeper bed and is liable to quicker floods than the other, brings down boulders of large size; even at a distance of four miles from the hills they are to be [3/2] found from 2 to 3 feet in diameter. From both the Ujh and the Tavi small irrigation canals are led, so that in certain restricted spaces the cultivation is of a more productive character.

133^x [2/2] The Chináb, which is a great river of large volume, debouches into the plain country by the town of Akhnûr. Down to that spot the stream of it is so broken by rapids as to be unnavigable, but from Akhnûr, where its level is 1100 feet, down to the sea, boats can traverse it. At Akhnûr the Chináb divides into various channels, which fertilise the tract called Bijwât, another of those places to which irrigation gives exceptional fertility. Part of this watered tract belongs to the Maharaja and part to the British Government.

133^x Leaving the river and examining the country on the west of it, we find that generally to correspond with what we saw in the eastern part between the Râvi stream and this Chináb river.

All along to Bhimbar, past the villages of Mináwar and Barnâli, lies the strip of drier plain. It is a plain with slight depressions, which occur where one crosses the sandy or stony stream-beds. Most of these stream-beds are quite dry for the greater part of the year, but there is one that holds a continuously-flowing river. This stream is the Mináwar Tavi, so called to distinguish it from its sister of Jummoo; rising a good way back among the mountains, from the Ratan Range behind Rájáori, it finds its way

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through the various ridges into the plain which it traverses until it joins its waters to the Chīnāb. 133ˣ

As one approaches Bhimbar the plain country is more and more cut into by ravines; it may here be called a low table-land separated by them into sections; at the edges one sees how the soil is composed of layers of sandy loam with occasional pebbles. [134]

Opposite Bhimbar there appear on the south, in the British territory, the Khāriān Hills, a range a good deal like in structure and appearance to some of our outer hills, but quite out of the general direction of them, since it runs north-east and south-west; it may be said to belong less to the Himalayan system than to that of the Salt Range. Between these hills and our outermost range there still runs a narrow strip of plain, which for 12 miles west of Bhimbar is of that character just described, of ravines and low flat plateaus alternating. Beyond this, extending to the Jhelam, is a space of completely flat alluvial ground, little above the level of that river.

Eastern Division of the Outer Hills.

Recalling that this division is to include those which lie between the Rāvī and the Chīnāb, we will examine first the very outermost range. 133ˣ 137

The outermost hills of all belong to a ridge that, along the 70 miles between those two rivers, has the same characters. It rises from the plain with a regular and gentle slope of about 3°, that so continues till a height of some 2000 feet above the sea is reached; this slope is indented with many drainage valleys, not cut steep, but making undulations of the ground transverse to the run of the ridge. The surface of the hills is very stony; rounded pebbles cover nearly the whole of it, for the strata beneath are composed partly of pebble-beds. Still it bears vegetation; the hills are indeed clothed with forest; it is a close forest of trees 20 and 30 feet in height, mostly of two species of acacia and of *Zizyphus jujuba*,* with an underwood of the shrub called *Brenkar*,

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* The native names of the acacias are *Phulāhī* (*A. modesta*), and *Kīkar* (*A. Arabica*); the latter is called *Babūl* in Hindustan. The native name of the Zizyphus jujuba is *Ber*.

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133× 137 which grows to the height of 3 or 4 feet, and has a white flower that gives out a sickly smell. Thus clothed the slope continues up to a crest. Beyond there is a sudden fall along the whole line of it, an escarpment formed of sandstone cliffs of some hundreds of feet of vertical height, below which again the ground acquires a lesser slope.

133× This is the first range of hills; the gentle slope faces the plains, the cliff-slope abruptly ends it off on the inner side; the whole surface from the plains to the cliff edge is an expanse of forest, but beyond the crest the ground is too steep to bear it. The run of the range, as stated before, is interrupted by the valleys that lead out through it from the inner country; these are not wide, but in some parts they are near enough together to cut the range into portions of short lengths that make almost isolated hills.

Next within the outermost range comes a tract of very irregular broken country. It is a country of ridges and sloping plateaus, cut through by very small but steep ravines. The foundation of its character is the changing degree and frequently high angle of the dip of the soft sandstone rock. So varying is the form that it is difficult to conceive any general idea of it in the mind, but when the eye gets used to the hills it perceives that many of them are of one type; on one side is a long slope; on the other a steep escarpment, the former slope coinciding with the dip of the beds. Since this dip is often 10° or 15° there arise jutting plateaus of rock of a corresponding inclination, which end in vertical cliffs of the massive sandstone. From, probably, lateral changes in the character of the beds, each ridge or sloping plateau continues but for a short distance; as one dies away or disappears others rise into prominence, parallel may be, but not in the same line.

At another part the plateau and escarpment form is obliterated from the dip of the beds reaching to such a high angle as 45° may be; instead, there are equal-sided valleys bounded by jagged ridges; these ridges run at right angles to the strike of the beds, and not parallel with it, as did those of the other form; the serrations of these jagged ridges are formed by the projection of the harder rocks, which also continue all down the hill-side making projecting ribs. 135

A great part of the surface of these hills[1] is of the bare grey sandstone rock uncovered by soil, but in some places grass and bushes have got a footing upon it, and here and there is cultivated space enough to support a family or two, or a little hamlet, but of necessity it is a tract very thinly peopled and difficult of access. To go over this ground is not easy; the paths from hamlet to hamlet are but tracks marked by the passage of feet over the sandstone, or sometimes down steps cut into it; from the inaccessibility of the cliffs, and the steepness of the ravines, the ways are tediously roundabout, and they are tiresome from the frequent rise and fall. [361] [487]

This irregular combination of ridges, which sometimes trend north-west and south-east (with the strike), and sometimes run across that direction (at right angles to the strike), continues, as one goes on, to a distance of ten or twelve miles from the outer skirt of the hills; then we come to a wide longitudinal valley, such as is called in the more eastern Himalayas a *dūn*.

The height of the more important of these ridges is commonly as much as 2500 feet above the sea, and in the eastern parts they rise even to 4000 feet. There is always a fall of several hundred feet to the valley or dūn; this is not in one step, but more by the ridges becoming lower in succession; Dansāl, a large village in the middle of this dūn, is some 1800 feet above the sea.

The flat valley varies in width from one to four miles; it is itself cut through by ravines; close by Dansāl a branch of the Tavī flows along in a steep-cliffed ravine at a level some 200 feet below the flat of the main valley; the Tavī River itself flows in a similar ravine, and at that low level winds across the dūn.

This longitudinal valley continues from some miles north-west of Dansāl to Basolī on the south-east, with the exception that about midway, near Rāmkot, it becomes narrowed up and indefinite; east of that place it again widens, and thence on to Basolī the space may be described as a plain or a vale, being low

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[1] [i.e., in Jammu--ANALYST]

133 ground bounded by the ridges north and south of it, itself cut across by the valleys of many torrents that come from the northern mountains. The width of these cross-valleys is sometimes a mile, and sometimes only a hundred or two yards; the sides of them are rocky banks, one or two hundred feet high, at the summit of which is the flat of the dūn.

The inner or northern boundary of this Dansāl and Basolī dūn consists, in the eastern part, of the spurs of a considerable range of mountains which belong to our next tract, and which here end off the region of the Outer Hills; but from about opposite Rāmkot for five-and-twenty or thirty miles to the north-west, intervenes another range of hills and another valley, which make a space that must be classed with what we have been describing. The range goes by the name, along a part of its length at all events, of Karāī Thār, the latter word of which is the equivalent of "ridge." It has a steep face, an escarpment, to the south-west, for here the beds are dipping to the north-east. Near Rāmkot its height is 5000 feet, there it curves round and joins on to the higher mountains; in the direction of Dansāl 3500 or 3000 feet is the
[487] common height of it. This range, too, is traversed by the Tavī in a gorge; one of the main roads to Kashmir crosses it near Dansāl by a very steep ascent; a few miles north-west of that it dies away. Nowhere is it a simple ridge; when one has crossed the main line and descended, other smaller rocky ridges have to be passed.

When quite clear of this Karāī Thār we come into the succeeding valley, which is another dūn, that on which the town of Ūdampūr stands. It is a space some sixteen miles long and five wide; it is a flat cut through in broad valleys which lie at a level of about 150 feet below it; so much has been cut away by these and by their smaller branch ravines that the extent of the higher flat is not greater than that of the bottoms, so that the whole space may be described, perhaps with equal truth, either as a flat much cut down into wide hollows, or as a low vale with wide flat-topped hills jutting into it from the mountains.

This dūn narrows up on the north-west towards the lofty hill called Devī Thār; it is bounded along its north-eastern side

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by spurs from the mountainous country; on the south-east it is enclosed by the curving round of Karāī Thār, and the junction of that with the same range of mountains, which here definitely brings to an end this outer tract of hills.

WESTERN DIVISION OF THE OUTER HILLS.

The Chīnāb, which we saw to debouch into the plain country near Akhnūr, had before doing so passed for a distance of 20 miles, from Riāsī to Akhnūr, through the Outer Hill region. Along this 20 miles its banks are in places low, or, may be, cliffs of no more than 100 to 200 feet in height; this is where the river cuts across one of the flat longitudinal valleys. In other parts, opposite the ridges, the river is bounded by high irregular rocks, which is the range seen in section, not indeed at the full height of it as it is away from the river, for the hills seem to lower as they approach it, from both sides, before ending in the river-cliff, but still having an elevation of some hundreds of feet.

Away from the Chināb we see that the plain country, which we followed in its extent to the Jhelam River, is bounded on the north by hills of the same character as those on the Jummoo side of the Chināb. Especially for the first 20 miles west from that river do the ranges correspond fairly closely with those enumerated on the eastern side.

But it should here be noticed that the run of the hills has changed; an examination of the map will show that east of the Jummoo the lines of hill trend in a direction varying from W.N.W. to N.W., while past that place the run becomes more northerly, and of the outermost range is due north; at the Chināb River the other change occurs; just beyond it the ridges have a direction of some 20° south of west, which they hold for many miles, till, gradually curving round, the inner ones, at all events, regain their north-westerly direction.

I have gained a view, from the first summit of the high mountains, a ridge nearly 7000 feet high, called Dragarī Thār, behind Paunī, that showed all this Outer Hill region—the parallel ridges,

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133x the intervening flats, the curving of the ranges as their direction followed the changing strike of the rocks which constitute them—plainly as in a map; for a length of a hundred miles each separate ridge can be traced from this commanding spot.

133x To return to the part behind Akhnūr. The outermost range
137 is of pebbly jungle-covered hills sloping easily to the plains, but
311 showing a steep fall inwards; this escarpment is one of per-
361 haps 300 feet; it is succeeded at its foot by a plateau much cut through by ravines, so much so that the eye does not at once distinguish that the summits are indeed so far flat and so much at one level as to justify the name of table-land; its level must be quite 2000 feet above the sea; a good portion of it is of bare rock, the rest is covered with brushwood and has pine trees scattered; only here and there are bits of tilled land by which a small population is supported; the ravines cut through it to a depth of some hundreds of feet, making steep cliffs of sandstone rock.

133x Farther to the north the rock rises up from this plateau along a great length of miles with a slope of from 10° to 20°, coinciding with the dip of the beds, regularly for 1000 or 1200 feet, till a level of more than 3000 feet above the sea is reached; thus a bold narrow ridge is formed which continues regularly for many miles with but small indentations; the surface is in great part rocky, but still bears many trees of the long-leafed pine. The ridge is sharp and narrow; the farther slope is yet steeper than that rocky one; it is an escarpment properly and geologically so called, and a really fine instance of one; for 20 miles without a break it continues with a face of 1000 feet of vertical height, at a slope of in some parts 45°, in some rather less, everywhere marked by variations according to the alternate outcrop of beds of sandstone and of clay.

The name of this ridge is Kālī Thār, or Black Range, a name given on account of the dark hue it has in some states of the atmosphere when seen from a distance.

As we look from the summit of this towards the interior, we can learn about the character of the ground in the remainder of the breadth of the Outer Hills.

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We see first, that at the foot of this escarpment stretches a flat valley one or two miles wide; this is one of the dūns, and probably it corresponds with that of Dansāl, on the other side of the Chīnāb.* This valley, though it may be called in a general way, and as compared with the ridges that bound it, a flat, is broken by lines of sandstone rock that project up; still a good part of it is cultivated in terraced fields; again, it is cut into, for the greater part of its length, by a great gully, narrow, 200 feet deep, that carries off the drainage to the Chīnāb River; farther west, however, the direction of the drainage alters, and the streams flow into the Mināwar Tavī.

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Still looking from our escarpment-summit, we see that beyond the valley lie numerous low lines of hill, an alternation of narrow ridges and hollows, whose surface is mostly covered with brushwood; these occupy some miles of width; behind them rise the bolder slopes of the higher mountains in rich dark colours, intermingled brown and green, backed by the distant snowy peaks.

[37]

West of the Mināwar Tavī, the ridges, plateaus, and hollows do not continue to correspond with those we have traced out; new ridges appear in the line of the valleys; others disappear; others coalesce. In fact, a new series of ranges has arisen, generally resembling those we have been looking at, but not individually representing them. By Bhimbar, what may be the continuation of Kālī Thār approaches nearer to the plains. Beyond, from the neighbourhood of that place and of Naushahra north-westward, extend several bold lines of hill, parallel ridges, with narrow hollows between them, themselves broken by lines of rock. These ranges are commonly 3000 feet high, parts of them rise several hundred feet above that, and so continue for a good distance; the highest point marked by the G. T. Survey is as much as 4391 feet.

While from the neighbourhood of Bhimbar such hills as these run with a regular direction to the north-west as far as our boundary

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* On the supposition of this correspondence, the two spaces of the plateau and the Kālī Thār ridge together represent the much-broken ground and the successive ridges that we saw to intervene between the first range by Jummoo and the Dansāl dūn itself.

/33⁴ the Jhelam, there exists more directly to the west of it a wide spread of lower hills which no doubt are geologically the equivalents of our first outermost range, which had lately, as we came west, become almost combined with the others, but now again has separated from them, and composes this broad tract, of which [/34] some detail must be given. From the plain by the left bank of the Jhelam, bare hills rise on the north somewhat quickly, to a not lofty ridge, of which the highest point is about 800 feet above the flat; the top of the rise is the steepest part; it is an escarpment facing south, composed of beds of clay, sand, and pebbles. From this main ridge, which runs east and west, there jut out to the south very narrow spurs, quite sharp ridges, separated by gullies; on the north of it the ground slopes with an incline at first of 4° or 5°, and afterwards with a much lower one, down to the town of Mīrpūr, the dip of the beds about coinciding with this slope. Near the top, all the soil is of pebbles; lower down, the sloping plateau is of sandy loam; this, too, is cut through by steep-sided ravines. Then, in one direction, this broken ground abuts against the more marked ridges of sandstone hills before mentioned, and in the other falls gradually to the valley of the Pūnch River.

The variation of this tract from the general run and character of the hills near is due to some bendings of the strata in a direction different from that of the main disturbances.

The Pūnch River just named is a tributary of the Jhelam; it drains a large area of mountain country, collecting a number of streams that rise in the lofty Panjāl Range; indeed it combines all those which spring from that part of the Range north or north-west of the branching off of the Ratan ridge. It drains also a considerable area occupied by the mountains of intermediate height, and no small space of the lower, outer, hills. Thus increasing in volume, it flows past the towns of Pūnch, Kotlī, and Chaumuk, and falls into the Jhelam in that part of the country we were describing and now return to.

North of Chaumuk, there is first a partial repetition of the characters of the ground by Mīrpūr; there is comparatively low ground, and a line of pebble hills. Here the dip is south, Chaumuk

/33x

being in a synclinal, or perhaps a basin. Then, a few miles farther north, we come into irregular ground, made by low parallel ridges of sandstone; line succeeds line gradually rising in height, and so we find ourselves again among the marked ridges, the continuation of those before pointed out as extending to the north-west.

[132]

The lower hills lately passed had such trees as those of the Jummoo jungle—the acacias and others, with the undergrowth of brenkar shrub; on the higher ridges is forest of long-leafed pine.

So varied in form is all this ground that it is difficult to do more towards its description than this without going into such detail as could hardly be followed or remembered. I must be content to say that, up to a line running north-west through Kotlī, we find those characters which have more than once been described; there are ridges composed of sandstone rock, sometimes gently sloping on one side and steep on the other, sometimes steep on both and sharp; some of these ridges continue for a distance, others quickly change or combine; between them are hollows, sometimes narrow, sometimes wider flats; lines of rock spring up, so to say, in the line of the valleys, and, increasing as one follows them, become in turn important hills; gullies or ravines that at this present time effect the drainage of the ground, the latest made set of hollows, now cross the lines of rock, now run parallel to them, at times but little below the general surface, at others cutting below it to a depth of a hundred or two feet.

As we approach the Jhelam, we find more sudden falls of the streams and steeper slopes of the hills, the comparatively low level of that line of drainage having induced a greater denuding power in the streams near.

All this makes a country curiously varying in its detail and almost bewildering, until the eye gets somewhat accustomed to its characters, and enables the mind to refer them to the causes that originated them—causes which cannot be here dilated on, but in a few words may be spoken of as sub-aerial denudation, acting on strata that have a generally persistent strike but an ever-varying dip, strata of different hardnesses, and in respect of that quality, subject to local changes.

133 The Jhelam River, as it passes this tract, flows often between steep rocky banks several hundred feet high; anon it reaches a spot where a ravine coming down makes its margin accessible; again for a time more gradual slopes, or smaller cliffs that edge some plateau, form its banks; still again it comes between high cliffs, and in deep curves finds its way round lofty promontories, such nearly isolated spots being often fort-crowned, as where Rāmkot and Mangla stand; then, at last, it debouches into the plain, where it is bounded by low banks, and finds room to spread and divide, to form islands with its ever-varying channels, and otherwise disport itself as a river delights to that has escaped from the mountains that restrained it.

CLIMATE AND VEGETATION.

132 It was necessary, in order to give a connected view of the form of all this tract of country, to confine one's description to that subject, and not linger by the way to tell of other things. Little has been said about the climate or the vegetation; but now, although I am not in a position to give much information about them, a few remarks applicable to the Outer Hills generally may be useful.

For climate the year may be divided, as in the plains of India, into three seasons; here they thus extend:—the hot weather, from April to June; the rains, from July to September; the cold weather, from October to March. Taking the more inhabited portions of the tract, of which the altitude may be from 1200 to 2000 feet, we find that in May and June they experience a severe heat; the rocky surface of the ground becomes intensely heated, and gives rise to hot winds, which blow sometimes with regularity, sometimes in gusts. At night the temperature falls to a greater extent than it does at the same season in the plain of the Panjāb; for the rocky surface loses its heat again, and the irregularities of form produce currents which tend to mix the heated air with the cooler upper strata.

The rains, beginning first among the higher mountains, spread down to the outer ranges in the latter half of June, and, though

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

often breaking off, seldom cease for the season without affording 132
moisture enough for the bringing on of the summer crop.

The rains ending with September, the country is left dry for a time; its uneven form prevents the soil from retaining much moisture; by the drying of the country, and the decline of the sun's power, the cold weather is introduced. This is a delightful season—a pleasant bright sun and a cool bracing air make it one refreshing and invigorating after the dry heat of the first part of summer, and the warm moisture of the latter months. This bright cold weather is, however, varied by rainy days, which bring rather a raw cold; showers may be expected about the 20th of December, or between that date and Christmas time; and on the higher ridges, at 3000 and 4000 feet, snow falls, melting almost as soon as it falls. [241] It is this winter rain that enables the peasant to proceed with the sowings for the spring crop, and on the occasional recurrence of such showers during the next three months he depends for that harvest which the increasing warmth of the months of March and April is sure to bring on well if the rain has been fairly plentiful.

The only part of the year at all unhealthy is the latter 164
half of the rains; the natives date the beginning of it from the 132
flowering of the rice; it may be said to extend through part of August, September, and part of October; during that time intermittent fever much prevails. The type of fever is somewhat worse than what abounds at the same season in the Panjāb; it is more of a jungle-fever, less regular in its times, and less easy to get rid of. In some years fever is exceedingly prevalent over the whole of this tract. I have heard that Ranjīt Singh's father once took advantage of the inhabitants of the lower ranges being striken down with it to make a raid on Jummoo.

The vegetation of the Outer Hills is for the most part of the dry-tropical character. 137

The very outermost ridge, as before said, is covered with a more or less dense forest of small-leafed acacias (*A. Arabica* and *A. modesta*, called by the people *Kīkar* and *Phulāī* respectively), with some of the *Ber* tree (Zizyphus jujuba) intermingled, and an

137 undergrowth of the shrub *Brenkar*. This forest, which on the hills occupies a dry pebbly soil, sometimes spreads down on to the loamy ground of the plains; probably in former times it grew over a larger area of the plain, and has since been gradually cleared; the greatest space of flat ground now occupied by it is close below Jummoo, the forest having there been preserved by command.

Farther within the hills there is not such a growth as to make a forest; it is rather a straggling bushy scrub, partly of the same trees in a shrubby form, with Euphorbia (*E. Royleana*, or *pentagona*), which grows to a large size, and occasionally mango, pīpal, banyān, bamboo, and palm (*Phœnix sylvestris*). The streams that flow in the narrow ravines among the sandstone hills have their edges adorned with oleander bushes.

The long-leafed pine (*Pinus longifolia*, whose native names are *chīl* and *chir**), a tree whose needle-foliage is of a light bright green colour, is usually first found, as one goes inwards, on the north slope of the outermost ridge. I have found it there at the level of 1400 feet, but only in a stunted form. On the broken plateaus and dry hill-sides of 2000 feet elevation one sees fair-sized trees of it scattered about; at 3000 and 4000 feet, in favourable spots, one finds whole woods of it, but even these are not so thick and close as the forests of *Pinus excelsa*, which cover the higher hills. The highest range of *Pinus longifolia* seems to be 5500 feet, or it may be a little more.

241 Of cultivated plants we have in these lower hills nearly the same kinds as in the Panjāb, and over the whole area the same succession of two crops in the year. The winter crop, chiefly wheat and barley, is sown in December (sometimes earlier, and sometimes even later) and ripens in April; the summer crop of maize, millet, and rice, is sown in June and ripens in September or October. At one or two places (as at Syālsūī, near Rājāorī) rice is raised by rain-moisture alone, but most generally it depends on irrigation. Plantain and sugar-cane, though not largely cultivated, grow fairly well, they have even been introduced into Pūnch, which is 3300 feet above the sea.

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* With the cerebral *r*.

Dogra AV6

CHAPTER III.

INHABITANTS OF THE OUTER HILLS.

THE DOGRÂS — DOGRÂ BRAHMANS — DOGRÂ RÂJPÛTS — RÂJPÛT SUBDIVISIONS — RÂJPÛT CUSTOMS — OTHER CASTES OF DOGRÂS — THE CHIBHÂLÎS.

THE Race Map shows the Outer Hill tract to be divided between two races, the Dogrâs and the Chibhâlîs; the Faith Map shows a coincident line of division crossing the same country and separating Hindûs and Muhammadans.[a] In truth, it is chiefly the fact of the people in the western part having become Muhammadan that causes a difference in the population, for the two divisions are of one origin, not far removed. Before the introduction of the new faith they were doubtless in part identical; but now the religious and social separation has caused differences, national differences, to spring up which justify the distinction here made. 563

THE DOGRÂS.

The Dogrâs are of the great Aryan race that settled in and has become the main population of India; those of that race who spread into the mountains, or, rather, who settled in the lower hills and went not into regions where snow falls, acquired, in the long course of centuries, characters that distinguish them from the inhabitants of the plains on the one hand, and of the higher mountains on the other. 101 [144]

The settlers in the hills that edge the Panjâb, at all events those of them who have retained their Hindû faith, bear, as before said, the name Dogrâ, while the country they inhabit is called Dûgar. The origin of the name is this. Near Jummoo are two holy lakes, Saroîn Sar and Mân Sar, which will in course be described; from these the country round was called in Sanskrit

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[a] [Cf. category 116, End Maps III and V--Analyst]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir

Dogra AV6

101 *Dvigartdesh*, or the "country of the two hollows"; from this came *Dūgar*, and from that *Dogrā*.

564 The Dogrās are divided into castes in the same way, though with some local variation, as are the Hindūs of India generally; these are partly the remnant of race-distinctions, and partly the outcome of occupations become hereditary. The following list gives the names of some of the castes in the order of their estimation among themselves:—

Brahman.
Rājpūt; *divided into* {Mīān. / Working Rājpūts.
Khatrī.
Thakar.
Jat.
{Banyā *and* Kirār (small shopkeepers).
{Nāī (barbers).
{Jīūr (carriers).

* * * *

Dhiyār, Megh, and Dūm.

Something will now be said of most of these castes in succession, from the highest onwards.

Dogrā Brahmans.

The highest is of course the Brahman caste; to them, here, as in other parts of India, is traditionally due from all other Hindūs a spiritual subjection, and to those of them who are learned in the holy books it is actually given.

In these later times, that is, for the last ten centuries and more, Brahmans have taken to other occupations besides that of continual devotion. We find them in the Outer Hills numerous as cultivators; and in one part, in those villages north and north-west of Akhnūr, on the south of Kālī Thār, they form the majority of the inhabitants. [162]

161 In physique the Brahmans do not much differ from the next caste, who are to be spoken of with more minuteness. The Brahmans are considered by the others to be in character deep, clever to scheme, and close in concealing.

1₂ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

Dogra AV6

DOGRĀ RĀJPŪTS.

564 643 The caste next in standing is the Rājpūt. The Rājpūts are here in considerable numbers. They hold and have held for many centuries the temporal power; that is to say, the rulers of the country are of them.

142 564 The Dogrā Rājpūts are not large men; they are distinctly less in size than Englishmen; I should take their average height to be 5 feet 4 inches or 5 feet 5 inches, and even exceptionally they are seldom tall. They are slim in make, have somewhat high shoulders, and legs not well formed but curiously bowed, with turn-in toes. They have not great muscular power, but they are active and untiring.

Their complexion is of a comparatively light shade of brown, rather darker than the almond-husk, which may be taken to represent the colour of the women, who, being less exposed, have acquired that lighter tint, which is counted as the very complexion of beauty; the hue indeed is not unpleasing, but it is generally deep enough to mask any ruddy changing colour of the face.

The men have an intelligent face, small features, generally well-formed, a slightly hooked nose, a well-shaped mouth, dark brown eyes. Their hair and beard are jet black; the hair is cut to form a curly fringe below the pagri or turban; the mustache is usually turned up eyewards.

564 181 Thus the Dogrā, and especially the Rājpūt, is often decidedly good-looking. Of the group of four men represented, from a photograph, sitting in the ordinary fashion, the three with buttoned-up sepoy coats are fair specimens of Dogrās; the fourth is a man of the next race, a Chibhāli. ‡

In character the Rājpūts are simple and childlike; but this is not true of those who have come much into contact with the Jummoo Court. If taken in the right way they are tractable, also they resent interference, and usually, if once fixed to a certain line of conduct, they are obstinate enough in it. They stick

‡181. category 116, photograph facing p. [illegible]

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142
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GROUP OF DOGRAS.

[facing p. 45]

1a Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

Dogra AV6

564 closely to the prejudices they were brought up in, and are very
181 particular to observe their caste regulations; these characteristics are common to the Brahmans and Rájpúts both.

In money-matters many of the Rájpúts, and, indeed, the Dográs generally, are avaricious, and all are close-fisted, not having the heart to spend, even on themselves. This character is recognised as belonging to these hill people by the Panjábís, who in their turn do not spend with half the freedom of the people of Hindustán proper and the country below.

[56] The Rájpúts, particularly that class of them called Míáns, who will be distinguished farther on, have a great notion of the superiority of their own caste, engendered by their having been for so long the ruling class in these hills. And individual conceit is common with them as well as this pride. It is frequently remarked that when a Míán gets up in the world a bit he holds his head high and thinks himself ever so far above his former equals. They are indeed apt to be spoiled by advancement, and to some extent
[55] the Míán Rájpúts have already been so spoiled. This is by their rule having become extended over such a width, and so many races having come under it. Maharaja Guláb Singh was of this caste, and the extension of his power led to the advancement of his caste-brethren, who were and are in great part the instruments of the acquisition and of the government of the dependencies of Jummoo.

181 Judged of in this capacity—that of agents and instruments of government—we must allow to the Dográs considerable failings. They have little tact; they have not the art of conciliating the governed, of treating them in such a way as to attach them. Those who are high in authority have not width enough of view to see that the interests of both governors and governed may be in a great measure coincident. As a rule, they are not liked by the dependent nations even to that degree in which, with moderately good management, a ruling race may fairly hope to be liked by its alien subjects.

Still we must admit that the Dográs show, by their holding such a wide and difficult territory as they do, some good qualities. Seeing how in far-away countries, often in a cold climate thoroughly

In Drew G-2 (1863-1872) 1875 [illegible]
Dogra Raj

committed to them, sometimes in small bands surrounded by a R.1 population that looks on them with no friendly eye, they hold their own and support the rule of the Maharaja, we must credit them with much patience and some courage.

17 Some power, too, they have of physical endurance; they can endure hunger and heat, and exertion as far as light marching on long journeys is concerned; but heavy labour or extreme cold will knock them up. Faithfulness to the master they serve is another of their virtues.

RÁJPÚT SUBDIVISIONS.

Sbr The Rájpút race or caste has many subdivisions, most of which have sprung up by the localisation of families and their connection with the rulers of the various small principalities into which these hills were formerly divided. Thus we have *Jamwál*, *Balauria*, *Jasrotia*, &c., as the names of those attached to, or possibly remotely connected by blood with, the ruling families of *Jummoo*, *Baláwar*, or *Jasrota*. We cannot go into the detail of these smaller tribes or clans, but one interesting and important division must be described.

All over Northern India the Rájpút is traditionally the ruling and fighting caste, that from which both the kings and warriors [illegible] slower than in the plains, this still holds. The late rulers, of the time when there was a separate rajaship for every ten or twenty miles, and the present one, whose father absorbed the smaller states into his principality of *Jummoo*, were or are all Rájpúts, and great numbers of people of that caste find a place either about the Court or in the army.

It was, possibly, at one time the custom throughout India for people of the Rájpút caste to follow no other occupation than service such as this. Here, at all events, a considerable section of the Rájpúts hold aloof from every other mode of getting a living. But some have at different times fallen off from the old rule of life and taken to other ways. By this circumstance the Rájpúts of these hills are divided into two classes; the more

In Drew G-6 (1862-1872) 1875 AV] Kashmir
Dogra Raj

of the first class are called *Miáns*,* while those of the second we will, in default of a general name, speak of as Working Rájputs.

The Miáns‡ follow no trade, nor will they turn their hands to agriculture. For a Mián to put his hand to the plough would be a disgrace. Most of them have a bit of land, either free or nearly free of land-tax, which they get others to cultivate on terms of a division of the produce. Their dwellings are generally isolated, either at the edge of or within the forest or waste; they are so placed for the sake of hunting, which is their natural and favourite pursuit.

But their profession, that to which they all look for a livelihood, is, as they say, "service"; by this they mean the service of their chief or of some other ruler, either military service, or for attendance not involving menial work or anything that can be called labour. They make good soldiers; they are faithful to the master who employs them, and they have a tendency to be brave. The sword is their favourite weapon, and they are handy in the use of it, while those of them who have had the practice of sport are good shots with a matchlock.

The Dogra contingent of the Sikh army, which must have been composed in great part of these Rájputs, did well in Ranjít Singh's time, and I doubt not that the same class, if properly led, would do good service again. But it is in the art of leading that the Miáns fail; they seldom have those qualities which are necessary for the making of a good superior officer. Warmth of temper, quickness of action, and absence of tact, rather than steadfastness and power of combination and of conciliation, are their characteristics.

The Working Rájputs are those whose families have, at various periods, taken to agriculture, and so have become separated from their former fellow clansmen, and come down one step of caste. They are no longer admitted to an equality with the Miáns, though

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* Mián (pronounced with a nasal n) is a Hindí word, meaning "master," and used as a respectful form of address. In different parts of India it has come to be applied to different classes; in the Panjáb, for instance, about Lahore especially, it is the usual title given to Muhammadans; in these hills it is applied only to the caste stated.

‡ [A sub-division of the Rajput caste -- Analyst]

1a Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dogra AV6

still held by them in some respect. As agriculturalists they do not succeed so well as the older cultivating castes. 241 564 [201]

Many of the Working Rájputs follow arms as a profession, and are to be found side by side with the more exclusively military Miáns.

At this present time some few families of Miáns[1] begin to take to the plough, but not many; for the old system is recognised by the Mahárája and so far encouraged by him that, other things being equal, a Mián is most likely to get advancement in the Government service. It would be quite within the power of the Mahárája, as head of the caste in this neighbourhood, by gentle influence and without anything like pressure, to break down the restriction and get all, or nearly all, of the rising generation of Miáns (so far as their circumstances fitted) to adopt the more open rules as to occupation of their working brethren. 557 564

Rájput Customs.

Till of late years, it was an almost universal custom among the Miáns[2] to destroy every female infant born to them; the custom was not peculiar to this caste or country; in other parts of India it was, and even is to some extent, practised by certain classes; by the Miáns, however, it was, probably, as thoroughly carried out as by any. 847 562

As soon as the girl-child was born it was taken from its mother, and either buried alive, or, most rarely, exposed in the forest. I have heard of some babies having been rescued from this last state by passers-by, and taken into their families and brought up by them.

The history and original cause of this custom of female infanticide it is not easy to trace. Of late, at all events, the practice has been supported on a feeling of dislike to seeing a daughter of the family led away to another's house. An impression of disgrace is attached to this in the minds of people of the Mián caste. Still one cannot be sure that this is not rather a result of the long-continued practice than a cause of it. The expense of marriages

[sub-Women of Rajput caste [illegible]]

1₁ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dogra AV6

147 has been given, and, as regards later times, with justness, as
562 one reason for this infanticide being committed. But I do not think that in these hills the custom originated from the desire to avoid expense. Rather I should be inclined to connect it with a feeling that the work of the Rājpūts was essentially man's work as opposed to woman's; that all their issue should be brought up to arms; that girls were out of place in their families.

[17] Not until the British occupation of the Panjāb, and the extension of our influence over the hill country, did female infanticide begin to cease. In the year 1846 much was done by the British representatives persuading the natives of chief rank and influence to agree together to exert that influence among their own people for the end in view, and to lead by the example of their own families. Mahārāja Gulāb Singh joined in this movement heartily, and did much towards putting down the practice in his own country. Female infanticide has there almost entirely died out by now.

512 A necessary sequence of female infanticide, carried out so thoroughly as it was by the Miāns,[4] was that the men of that caste had to take a wife from some other caste; thus arose the custom, that at first seems so contrary to usual Indian caste ways, of the Miāns marrying girls from the castes below them. The classes thus honoured (for they themselves esteem it an honour) are first the Working Rājpūts, and then an agricultural caste called Thākars, who will be mentioned farther on.

A result of this must be that the Miān blood is kept less pure, and their race less isolated, than is the case with the castes below, for with every such connection as we speak of there must be a strain of the other breed introduced, while, on the other hand, the Thākars, not able to receive into their own circle any girl of the higher caste in exchange, intermarry among themselves, and so keep their race distinct. It is probable that the Miāns, as a race, have derived advantage from this bringing in of fresh blood.

When the girl is brought home to the house of the Miān as a bride—a bride may be of six or eight years old—she never

[4] [A sub-division of the Rajput caste -- Analyst]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dogra AVL

again enters her former home; this regulation of the Miāns 582
evidently was made in order that as little intercourse as possible should be kept with the family with whom they had been obliged, so to say, to become connected.

Now that from the cessation or the great lessening of female infanticide, girls grow up in their homes, the Miāns no longer go to the Thakars for a wife; they have begun to intermarry among themselves; still, as occasion may suit, they take (to use their own idiom) from the Working Rājpūts.

Sati, or the burning of widows, is another of those old Hindū 762
customs that has disappeared from before the presence of the [178]
English, and this has absolutely ceased within the country of 562
the Maharaja. 764

Though not practised in the case of everyone who became a widow, yet it was followed as a general rule by more than one caste, and was, probably, the most strictly carried out by the Miāns.[4] It applied to *all the widows* of the deceased. The following frightful instance occurred on the death of Raja Suchet Singh, brother to Maharaja Gulāb Singh, and uncle to the present Maharaja. Suchet Singh was killed at a place a few miles from Lāhor, in the time of the Sikh troubles; his home was at Rāmnagar, in these hills. I am told, and on good authority, though I would allow something for exaggeration of numbers, that he had ten or eleven wives, and that the number of women in his establishment—attendants and all—was 300. Of these a few who were with him committed sati at the spot near Lāhor where his body was burned. The greater number of them were at Rāmnagar, and there his head was brought for burni[illegible] the wives and women who were there, to the number of 150, gave themselves to the flames with it. The sacrifice of the whole number was completed by those absent from Rāmnagar committing sati at the places where they happened to be when the news of their master's death reached them; thus, at Jummoo, ten or fifteen of the women, who were there at that time, were burned on the pile.

Of another such case I have been told by an eye-witness. When Raja Hira Singh, the son of Raja Dhiyān Singh, was killed,

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[4] [Sub-division of the Rajput caste -- [illegible]]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dogra AV6

762 562 764 his widows committed this suicide at a place called Parmandal, near Jummoo. There was a large square stage made, built up of fagots, with a rough roof raised over it; between the fagots *ghī*, that is, clarified butter, was placed, to increase the violence of the flames; the women, twenty-two in number, were seated on the platform; the wood was fired, and the burning was finished without a scream or a voice being heard from them.

[698] But not always did the widow give herself up willingly to the fate prepared for her by that stern master, social custom. At times the love of life would be too strong, and the victim would make an effort to save herself. I was told by an eye-witness of such a thing, that happened at a village two or three miles above Akhnūr; a quite young widow was brought to her husband's funeral-pile, and, according to the custom, she was seated on it with her husband's head in her lap; but when the flames reached and began to lick round her, she was unable to endure it, and rushed out to escape from them. This was a thing that seldom happened, and the disgrace of it was not to be tolerated now; the people round—mostly her husband's relatives and her own—drew their swords, cut her down, and, heaping abuse on her, forced the poor girl back on to the fire, and completed the ceremony.

264 582 783 557 These customs, of infanticide and sati, have, as before said, been thoroughly broken, and the latter has been entirely abolished. But it is curious to see how pertinaciously the Hindūs here (and the Miān Rājpūts as much as any and more than many) keep to their caste customs as regards eating. A curious case came under my notice, the relation of which will well illustrate this. Two girls of quite low caste—of one of those tribes whom to touch is pollution for a Hindū—were left orphans at the age of eight and twelve years. Two men of good caste obtained possession of the girls by satisfying the claim of a creditor of their father's, and determined to turn them to good account. So they brought them to a village where nothing was known of the girls, and represented them to be Thakarnīs, that is, to belong to the caste of the Thakars, which the Working Rājpūts can marry into. They then offered them in marriage to one of these for his two sons, and in return the men

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dogra AV6

were to receive 400 rupees. At the father's request they them- 264
selves sat down and ate with the girls, by way of convincing him 582
that all was fair and above-board. After this they received and 783
got away with the money, and the marriage took place. 557

In a month or two the truth came out; the girls being questioned as to what they had used to do at home, said they used to
attend to the furnaces (for iron-smelting in these hills is carried 326
on by a low, though not the very lowest, caste), and they acknowledged that Thakars did not eat from their hands. Great dismay spread through the village on this discovery; not only had the caste of all the people of that house been broken, but also the caste of all those who since the wedding had eaten or drunk with them.

Representation being made to the Maharaja, the matter was referred to Pandits, and their report was endorsed by him. It was to this effect: The two young men who had been married to the outcasts (the marriage was, of course, void) were to go to the Ganges, and the other people of the house to Parmandal, a holy place near Jummoo, to wash; and all were to expiate their uncleanness by fasting from eating for twelve days, or from eating and drinking for four days; a similar but less severe course was prescribed for those who had come into the unclean house and eaten there; the people who through these last had had intercourse at second hand (a large proportion of the inhabitants) were to go to Parmandal and wash, and for one day fast; each and all to begin with a purge.

I heard thus much of the carrying out of the Pandits' decision: the two who had married had started for Haridwār on the Ganges; the other people of the house went to Parmandal and fasted for a considerable portion of the time marked out; then, their lives being in danger, the Brahmans allowed them to drink milk for the remaining days, and so they became clean again. The two impostors had not been caught; imprisonment for life would not be considered too severe a punishment for them.

While on Hindū customs, I will mention one or two more that strike the attention of a stranger.

765 When a man or woman[1] dies at a good old age, the funeral ceremonies are accompanied, not with signs of mourning, but of rejoicing. They say it should not be as for one who was cut off from this life untimely, that when one dies whose race was run, who had lived his life, one should rather rejoice at the completeness of it than mourn. I have often seen the procession to the burning of such a one. All gaily dressed, went along with cheerful music and cries of rejoicing, while sweetmeats or money were scattered among the bystanders as at a wedding. Still among the relations of the dead real grief would find expression in spite of the efforts which on principle they made to hide it.

[643] When a mother dies (and I think it is the same when a father dies), the sons shave their beards. When, in the year 1865, the Mahārānī, the Maharaja's wife, died, the theory of a paternal government was so far extended as for the above rule to apply to all the Hindū subjects, with a few certain exceptions. Barring Sikhs (for whom to shave would be an abomination) and Brahmans, whose superiority of caste required an exemption, every man of the Hindūs had to make a clean shave. It may be imagined that it took some months for the country to recover from the effect of that ordinance.

OTHER CASTES OF DOGRĀS.

564
212 To return now to our account of the various inhabitants of Dūgar.

After the Brahmans and Rājpūts, come the *Khatrīs*. The Khatrīs, both in these hills and in the Panjāb, are the higher class of traders, and also commonly the munshīs, or writers. They are generally less good-looking than the Rājpūts, and are less inured to physical exertion; but they are much keener, and are men of better judgment and greater power of mind. From their being thus better fitted for responsible posts, and from their wielding the power of the pen, which, in the quietness of times that has come upon this country, is a more important instrument than the sword that formerly prevailed over the other, they have come

[1] [i.e, Hindus -- ANALYST]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

Dogra AV6

564 212 to supplant, to some extent, the Rājpūts or Miāns in place and power.

564 241 181 Next come the *Thakars*, who are the chief cultivating caste in the hills. I do not know with what class in the plains of India one should correlate them. In occupation they correspond to the Jats in the Panjāb (of whom there are a few in the hills also), but the two are not related; the Thakars are counted higher in rank. Their name of Thakar is undoubtedly the same word that in lower India is used for the Rājpūts, though it has the first *a* short instead of long. But I do not venture to say that they are in any way related; at present, the only connection between them is that above described—the one-sided custom by which the Thakars' daughters were given in marriage to the Rājpūts without any of that caste entering into the community of the Thakars. They are a well-looking and well-made race of men, a good deal like the Rājpūts, but of larger frame; they are more powerful in body but less quick in motion, and they have not an equal reputation for courage.

564 463 Next below in estimation come some castes whom I have bracketed together; their occupations are various, but in rank they are nearly equal. These are Banyā, Krār, Nāī, and Jīūr, with some others. They include the lower class of traders of different kinds, shopkeepers for the most part small and pettifogging; they include the barbers and others whose business it is to minister to the wants of those above them, especially the carriers, called *kahārs* in the plains, but here called jīūrs, whose occupations are the carriage of loads on the shoulder, including the palankin, and the management of the flour-mills worked by water.

[326] Last come those whom we Englishmen generally call "low-caste Hindūs," but who in the mouth of a Hindū would never bear that name; they are not recognised as Hindūs at all; they are not allowed even a low place among them. The names of these castes are *Megh* and *Dūm*, and to these must, I think, be added one called *Dhiyār*, whose occupation is iron-smelting, and who seem to be classed generally with those others.

These tribes are the descendants of the earlier, the pre-Aryan, 564 463 inhabitants of the hills, who became, on the occupation of the country by the Hindûs, by the Aryans, enslaved to them; they were not necessarily slaves to one person, but were kept to do the low and dirty work for the community. And that is still their position; they are the scavengers of the towns and villages.* Of Dûms and Meghs there is a large number at Jummoo, and they are scattered also over all the country, both of the Outer Hills and the next higher mountains. They get a scanty living by such employments as brickmaking and charcoal-burning, and by sweeping. They are liable to be called on at any time by the authorities for work that no others will put their hand to.

783 A result of this class of labour being done only by them is that they are reckoned utterly unclean; anything they touch is polluted; no Hindû would dream of drinking water from a vessel they had carried, even if they had brought it suspended at the end of a pole; they are never allowed to come on to the carpet on which others are sitting; if by some chance they have to deliver a paper, the Hindû makes them throw it on the ground, and from there he will himself pick it up: he will not take it from their hands.

[142] The Meghs and Dûms have physical characters that distinguish them from the other castes. They are commonly darker in colour; while the others of these parts have a moderately light brown complexion, these people are apt to be as dark as the natives of India below Delhi. They are usually, I think, small in limb and rather short in stature; in face they are less bearded than the other castes, and their countenance is of a much lower type than that of the Dogrâs generally, though one sees exceptions, due no doubt to an admixture of blood; for, curiously, the separation of them from the ordinary daily life of the others does not prevent an occasional intercourse that tends in some degree to assimilate the races.

664 The Meghs seem to hold a position as regards the Dûms somewhat like that of the Brahmans among Hindûs: they are not

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* I do not think the Dhiyârs have this low employment though they seem to be ethnologically allied to the Meghs and Dûms.

[e Megh and Dūm castes--Analyst]

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D 564

only counted by them as higher, but are looked up to with some such special respect.

D [657]

The Maharaja has done something to improve the position of these low castes in engaging some hundreds as sepoys, for the work of sapping and mining. These have acquired some consideration, indeed they have behaved themselves in time of war so as to gain respect, having shown themselves in courage to be equal with the higher castes, and in endurance to surpass them.

D 563 [463]

Thus we see that the great majority of the people of Dūgar are Hindūs, with the remnants of the old inhabitants among them, who cannot be said to be of any faith. Here and there, but especially in the towns, are Muhammadans, following various trades and occupations. In Jummoo, especially, there is a good number of them, partly those who from various places have come and settled there, partly those who, natives of the country, have at different times been converted to Muhammadanism. Of these, in all probability, are the *julāhs*, that is, weavers, who form a large proportion of the Muhammadans of Jummoo, so much so that one ward of the town is called "the weavers' quarter." It may be worth mentioning, as one of the strange facts of the distribution of labour among castes and tribes, that the whole of the weaving trade hereabouts is in their hands; there remains no set of Hindūs who follow that for a business.

K [166]

Settlements of Kashmīrīs, also Muhammadans, have been made in a few places in the Outer Hills. These people will be described in the chapter on Kashmir.

THE CHIBHĀLĪS.

K 101 131

They are so called from the name of their country, Chibhāl, which is that part of the Outer Hill region lying between the Chināb and Jhelam rivers. It would seem that the word Chibhāl comes from *Chib*, which is the name of one of the Rājpūt tribes. Why that particular tribe should have given its name to the country in question is not clear, but doubtless there is something in its history that could account for it.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

101 It was stated before that these Chibhālīs, Muhammadans now, are in fact of the same race as the Dogrās, who have remained Hindū. Several tribes of these Muhammadans have the same name as certain of the castes in Dūgar. Thus, some of the subdivisions of the Hindū Rājpūts, as Chib, Jarāl, Pāl, &c., exist also among the Muhammadans; and the more general designation of Mussalmān Rājpūt is commonly enough used.

564 [264] [582] These Muhammadanised Hindūs keep to some of the old caste rules; not, indeed, as to eating, for all Muhammadans will eat together; but in the matter of intermarriage. They will either marry in their own separate caste, or will take a wife from the one below them, and give their daughters to the caste above them.

Besides Rājpūts, there are many Muhammadanised Jats in Chibhāl; the Jat is the prevalent cultivating caste in the Panjāb, but it occurs but rarely in Dūgar. In the eastern part of Chibhāl are Muhammadan Thakars.

Besides these, there are many races among the Chibhālīs whose origin it is not easy to discover. An important and high caste is one called Sudan; it prevails in the part between Pūnch and the Jhelam; it has a position among these Muhammadans nearly like that of the Miāns among the Dogrās. A general name for this and the other high castes of Chibhāl is *Sāhū*.

In the higher part of the Darhāl Valley, to the north-east of Rājāori, are some people who are called *Maliks*. This is a Muhammadan title given by Akbar. The Maliks were appointed by that king to the charge of the Passes that led into Kashmir. Villages were granted to them to be held by the tenure of this service; they were to defend the Passes, and appear in the field when required with from 100 to 500 men;* the charge became hereditary, and these Maliks of Darhāl, as well as those on the other frontiers of Kashmir, doubtless represent the original officers of Akbar. What race they were of to begin with I cannot tell; these at Darhāl, though in some respects resembling the rest of the Chibhālīs, still have something distinctive in their appearance;

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* I have here quoted from Baron von Huegel.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

for instance, their beards are long and waving. They give their daughters in marriage to the Jarāls of their neighbourhood; these are Muhammadan Rājpūts, of whom, for the last seven or eight generations, the rulers, the Rajas of Rājāori, have come. 564

The Chibhālis, on the whole, resemble the Dogrās, although the Muhammadan way of cutting the mustache makes a difference that strikes one at first. The Chibhālis are, I think, stronger, more muscular, than the others, and are quite equally active. [302]

In the extreme north-west of Chibhāl, and beyond it as well, on the borders of Kashmir, are two races somewhat different from the rest, but still near enough to them to be classed under the same general name of Chibhālī. These are the Kakkās and the Bambās; they people the banks of the Jhelam between Gingal and Muzafarābād, and up the lower part of the Kishangangā Valley. The Bambās prevail on the right bank of the Jhelam, and the Kakkās on the left. I know of little difference between the two; their ground is generally spoken of as "Kakkā-Bambā country"; they are stout, strong-built fellows, with a good cast of features, that may be described as intermediate between that of the other Chibhālis and that of the Kashmīrīs; they have a less pleasant expression than either, for in disposition they are somewhat surly. 563

Lower down the Jhelam River, west of Kotlī and of Mīrpūr, there is a caste or tribe called *Gakkars*; these, with other high castes, would be classed as "Sāhū." They were people who for long sustained their independence in the hills, even against powerful enemies. They are most numerous, perhaps, on the right bank of the river, in the British territory, where are remains of buildings—palaces and forts—of the time when they had their own Raja. The fort called Rāmkot, on the left bank, was, I was told, built by one Toglū, a Gakkar. 564

Going back to the eastern part of Chibhāl, we are on the boundary-line of Muhammadans and Hindūs. A hundred years ago, probably, the former were encroaching, and the boundary was gradually coming eastward; but now, certainly, no such advance is being made. The Muhammadans on the border were not, and 563

1: Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

563 are not, very strong in their faith; they retain many Hindū fashions, and some even have an idol in their house. Till quite lately it was their custom to marry Hindū women of the same caste, and these remained Hindū, and did not adopt Muhammadanism. This is no longer done; but when I was in the country some women of that sort were still alive.

[795] The Faith Map[1] shows, within the area of Chibhāl, a few patches of the colour that represents the Sikh religion. Some villages near Muzafarābād are inhabited by Sikhs; they are settlements, two hundred years or so old, of people of that sect from below.

[1] [Cf. category 11b, End Map V--Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir

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CHAPTER IV

JUMMOO AND THE COURT.

THE CITY OF JUMMOO—THE DAILY CUSTOM OF THE COURT—SPECIAL DARBÂRS—A HUNT—A ROYAL MARRIAGE.

JUMMOO, the largest town in the Outer Hills, is also the capital. 631
All the countries that compose the Jummoo and Kashmir territories, whether the distant regions of Ladákh, Baltistán, and Gilgit, whether Kashmir itself, or the nearer yet still extensive districts on the south of the lofty mountain ranges, are governed from that city, which is the home and head-quarters of the Maharaja and his Court.

The position of Jummoo, with relation to the whole extent of 361
the dominions, is not one that would have been selected for a capital. Its distance from Kashmir, the most populous part of them, and its still greater distance—amounting to 300 and 400 miles—from the northern and eastern portions, renders it inconvenient, and, for the inhabitants of those farther countries, almost inaccessible. Capitals, however, more usually owe their existence to a growth under, so to say, natural influences than to deliberate choice. Jummoo, as will have been learnt from the introductory chapter, has such an historical connection with all the countries now ruled from it as accounts for its present position. The additions to the original principality of Jummoo having been made in every direction but that of the Panjáb, the capital has at last been left almost at the edge of its large dependencies.

Not only have the fortunes of the Maharaja's house been bound 631
up with Jummoo, but their inclinations, too, have remained towards this their native place; so that, probably, it has never entered the head of either Maharaja to change the seat of govern-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dogra AV6

631 ment, although there is such a country as Kashmir to tempt them.

It is, however, the custom for the Court to go to Sirinagar, the chief place in Kashmir, sometimes every year, and sometimes less often, for a few months; partly to avoid the heat of the lower land, and partly that the affairs of Kashmir may be looked into more closely, and that the people of the distant countries may have a shorter journey to reach the Court, if business draws them to it.

THE CITY OF JUMMOO.

133
361 The city or town of Jummoo is built at the very first rise of the hills out of the plain, on a slightly-sloping plateau 200 to 300 feet above the flat country, and some 1200 feet above the sea. This is part of the outermost ridge of hills; the ridge is here cut through by the valley of the Tavi River, which flows out to the plains at a level more than two hundred feet below the plateau the town is built on, between steep but wooded banks.

Coming to it from the Panjab one passes while still on the plain, through two or three miles of the close forest of acacia trees with bushy underwood; then one comes to the river-bed, an expanse of rounded pebbles, with the stream flowing in the middle—a stream usually shallow and gentle, but which is sometimes so swollen with floods as to rush with violence over the whole wide bed. As one fords this Tavi River, one sees how, in coming from the upper country, it breaks through, so to say, the outermost range; on its right bank the hill on which Jummoo is built, and on its left a corresponding one, crowned by Báo Fort, form, as it were, a gateway to the inner country.

To reach the town after crossing the stream, we have again to pass through the wood, along a narrow lane, at a turn of which we find ourselves in front of the principal gate, placed at the top of a short but steep ascent.

482. At this spot travelling on wheels comes to an end; from here onwards carriage is performed by camels, pack-horses, elephants, or coolis. The bullock-carts that up to this point have been the

Is Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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482 great means of goods traffic are left here, and their contents are brought into the city mostly on men's backs.

361 At the gate are stationed a guard, writers whose business it is to report arrivals, and custom-house messengers. After passing this entrance, in doing which we come on to the plateau, we advance on more level ground, along a wide street or bazaar, which gives the promise of a comfortably-built town; but a little farther, and one suddenly becomes lost in a maze of narrow streets and lanes of low single-storied houses and little narrow shops. The way is crowded, and business is brisk, and most of the people have a well-to-do look. A mile or so of this, on a gradual rise, brings us to the centre of interest of the place—an open, irregular square, called the Mandí, or Public Place.

The Mandí is the spot where all the business of the Government is done; it is entirely surrounded by Government buildings. On three sides are public offices, built with considerable taste; their lower stories have a line of arches that suit the native practice of doing business half out of doors. The farther side of the square has a nearly similar building, where the Maharaja holds his ordinary daily Darbár or Court; behind this is seen the more lofty pile of the inner palace.

[161] The area of Jummoo is about a square mile; its population has never been counted; by guess, I should say that it is between 15,000 and 20,000. The town is bounded on two sides by the cliff or steep slope that overhangs the river-bed. Some of the buildings of the Maharaja's Palace are placed at the very edge of the most precipitous part, and they command a view over the flat valley of the river, where it widens above the gorge, over alluvial islands covered with gardens and groves, on to inner lines of hill with a surface of broken cliff and scattered forest, and to higher mountains beyond, which are often snow-covered. [60] The steep slopes close at hand, and those of the opposite hill, are clothed with the same forest that covers the plain through which the town was approached; it gives shelter to a good deal of game, chiefly pig, spotted deer, and nilgaie, which, from the strictness of the game laws, are found up to the skirts of the city.

1; Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dogra AV½

861 Jummoo is not a walled town, though partial defences have at different times been erected. Towards the river the steep bank has been trusted to, though it is by no means inaccessible. On the south a wall runs along the edge of the high land, pierced by the gateway through which the road from the Panjáb enters. On the west and north-west the place is bounded by nothing but the jungle, which, indeed, would be a greater help to the besiegers than to the defenders, as it is thick enough to hide from view, but not to prevent an advance through it.

342 With the exception of the Palace and the public buildings surrounding the square, there is not much that is architecturally attractive. Nearly all the city, as before said, is of single-storied houses, which one quite overtops in going through the streets on an elephant. But there rise up among them a few large houses, what may be called mansions, which have been built by some of the Court people, or of the richer merchants of the place; the house of the family of the chief ministers, Diwán Jawála Sahai, and his son Diwán Kirpá Rám, especially, is a large pile of buildings. Then at one edge of the town, in a picturesque position overlooking the river valley, are a few houses built after the fashion of those that Englishmen live in in India; these the Maharaja has erected for the accommodation of European travellers, whether stray visitors or guests of his own, who now and then reach Jummoo.

346 The convex-curved spires of the Hindú temples are conspicuous objects; the principal one, in the lower part of the town, is a plain but fine, well-proportioned building; and in the same quadrangle with it is a smaller, gilt-domed temple, built in memory of Maharaja Guláb Singh. New temples arise; of late years several have been built; one of these has been erected by the chief minister. As one approaches Jummoo through the plain, its tall spire and gilt pinnacles catch the eye from afar.

312 Jummoo, though it is a good deal resorted to for trade and other business, is not usually liked by natives as a place to live in. The comfort of a native of India depends very much on the accessibility of good water, and here one is obliged either to use

1s Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dogra AV6

the water of the tanks, not really fit for drinking, or to fetch the 312
river water from below. Fuel, too, is dear, from the strict pre-
servation of the forest. For anyone at all used to active habits,
the confinement attendant on the situation of Jummoo prevents it 313
from being considered at all a pleasant place; the paths and roads
are of the round stones of all sizes that make up the mass of the
hill, and for two or three miles one cannot get clear of them, nor
of the thick forest. The only redeeming point is the beauty of 133
the prospect. We have seen how, from the edge of the cliff, a wide view opens of the nearer ridges of the Himalayas, with peeps of the more lofty mountains behind. From other points we can look south and west over the plain of the Panjāb, and from our elevation can command a great and beautiful expanse of it. Near at hand are rounded masses of the green foliage of the forest; beyond is more open ground, with villages scattered, and the waters of the Tavi, in its various channels, shining between; in the distance the hues change to grey and purple, but the land ends off with the sharp line made by the earth's curvature, distinct as the horizon at sea.

THE DAILY CUSTOM OF THE COURT.

It is when the Maharaja is sitting in public Darbār, holding 643
open Court for the hearing of petitions, that the Mandī has its 645
liveliest appearance. For the morning Darbār he will take his 512
seat, at nine or ten o'clock, beneath one of the arches of the arcade, on the cushion which here answers for the throne, accompanied by his eldest son, and surrounded by his ministers, and with, may be, from fifty to a hundred other courtiers and attendants seated round against the wall, at distances according to their degree.

For some months of the cold weather of several successive years, I was myself a daily attendant at these Darbārs, which are, indeed, the occasion for all of a certain standing at Court to pay their respects to the Maharaja—to "put in an appearance," to be *present*, as the Indian idiom has it—whether other business requires them to come or not.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dogra AVi

643 554 Each and all sit cross-legged on the carpet, only the ruler himself and his son having the flat round cushion that denotes superiority. Perhaps some readers require to be told that all natives of India doff their shoes on coming to a carpet or other sitting place; here, from the Maharaja downwards, all of them are barefoot; their shoes are left outside, and socks they are not used to.

692 643 Thus seated, then, and supported, the Maharaja looks out down on the petitioners who stand in the Square, which is some feet lower than the room. Each coming in succession, according as their petitions, previously written on stamped paper and given in, are called on, stands in front with hands closed, in the attitude of supplication, while the prayer is read out.

The subjects of the petitions are wonderfully varied; perhaps an *employé* will ask leave to return to his home, or to take his mother's ashes to the Ganges; next, may be, a criminal is brought to receive final sentence; then a poor woman, with face veiled, will come to complain of some grievance or other; or a dispute about a broken contract of marriage will have to be decided. These are all listened to patiently enough, and on the simpler cases the decision is given at once and written on the petition. The civil and criminal cases have usually been previously inquired into by judicial officers, in the courts of first instance, and perhaps have even been adjudicated on by the Appeal Court of Jummoo or of Sirinagar, but it is open to suitors and complainants to try their fortune with the Maharaja himself. The Maharaja does his best to get at the truth; will examine and sharply cross-examine the witnesses. It frequently ends in his referring the matter to the magistrate for investigation; in which case it will be again brought before him for final decision.

563 During this time the Square is thronged by numbers of people of such a variety of races as is not often seen even in India. There are men from all parts of the dominions. Some from the higher countries, come to find work at Jummoo when their own homes are deep-covered with snow; others are here to prosecute a suit, for which purpose they are ready, and sometimes find it

1a Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dogra Av6

necessary, to give up months of their winter. There are Kashmīrīs 563
and Baltis by scores, Pahārīs of various castes, Ladākhīs occasionally; some recognisable at once by the cast of their features, others by a characteristic way of keeping the hair; the stalwart heavy frame of the practised Kashmīrī porter too is unmistakable. Then from beyond the territories come occasional travellers, as Yárkandi merchants, or pilgrims to Mecca from farther off still; while from the west there is always a succession of Kābulis and other Pathāns or Afghāns. Horse merchants from Kābul are always finding their way to *Jummoo* to sell their animals to the Government, while wild fellows out of the villages of that country or of the neighbouring Yūsufzai come eagerly to take service among the Irregulars of the Maharaja's army.

Thus till nearly noon the whole town is alive with business in 573
the streets and with Government work in the Square. Then the 643
Court breaks up, and the Maharaja goes in to his dinner; the 645
ministers disperse to their homes, each of them accompanied by a string of followers, or "clientèle," who will now be able to get a hearing from their patron in the half hour before dinner; the offices close, the guard of honour is dismissed, and in a very few minutes the Square is quiet and almost deserted.

So for three hours it remains; and for that time business is slack in the bazaars, till men, waking up from their siesta, bestir themselves again. At four or five o'clock the Maharaja usually comes out for a ride; his elephants and horses have been waiting at the Palace-gate; the ministers had gone in and now accompany him out, one of them probably mounting on the same elephant with him, or if the Maharaja chooses to ride on horseback, all will closely follow him. Orderlies run, some in advance to clear the way, and some at the Maharaja's very side, even holding on to his saddle-trappings. The natives of India are not ashamed of, and do not in any way dislike, this close attendance, which adds both to their state and their safety. They are puzzled to understand how it is that Englishmen like better to walk
alone. 493

A three- or four-mile ride, a visit to some building in progress, 512

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663 or to one of the temples, perhaps flying a hawk, or paying respects
512 to his spiritual adviser, the only person whose house he enters, these pursuits fill up the time of the Chief till dark, and then the evening Darbár begins.

692 This will probably be a more private one; or the Mián Sáhib,
461 the Maharaja's eldest son, will likely hear petitions, while his father does business with some of the ministers apart. It must also be borne in mind that business is not the only thought of a ruler while sitting in Court. The Darbár is not like the Kachahri of a Deputy Commissioner in our Indian Provinces, from which he runs away the moment he can get free. It is at the same time a social meeting; a chief opportunity for the ruler to see people from all parts, and to hear—if he will choose to ask, and they are straightforward enough to give—opinions on what is going on in the world. So conversation often alternates with work, especially in these evening Darbárs, which then last on till eight or nine o'clock, when all disperse to their homes to supper and bed.

Such are the every-day customs of the Court, which are followed with great regularity.

SPECIAL DARBÁRS.

776 There are certain days, days of festival, when special Darbárs are held in somewhat different form. These four—Basant Panchmi, Naoroz, Sáir, and Dasera—particularly should be noticed.

Early in our year, on the fifth of the Hindu month of Magh, the feast of *Basant Panchmi* is held in honour of the coming of spring, which by that time is thus near that the very coldest weather has gone by and the tide of the season has turned.

Everyone on that day wears yellow, some dressing completely in that colour, others only putting on a yellow pagri.

996 It is the custom on this and on the other three days above
631 named, for the Maharaja's servants to bring him a nazar, a present
651 —usually of money—according to the means, or rather in proportion to the pay, of the giver. This has now become so regulated

[illegible]

that everyone is on these days obliged to give from a tenth to a twelfth of his monthly pay. These sums amount in the year to what is equivalent to a three-per-cent. income-tax, levied, however, only on Government servants. 776 931 651

To receive these presents and to do honour to the day, a grand Durbar and parade of troops is held. The first time I was present it took place in the open, on a raised platform at the edge of the Parade-ground, beneath a large shamiana, or awning. The Maharaja and all the members of the Court came in procession from the Palace, on elephants and horses decked in their most gorgeous trappings; the elephants are almost covered with long velvet cloths embroidered deep with gold, upon which the howdahs are mounted.* The horses are handsomely caparisoned with velvet and gold saddle-cloths and jewelled head-stalls. [102]

The Maharaja, dressed in yellow and silver, takes his seat upon a cushion covered with a silver-embroidered velvet cloth of the same colour; for yellow pervades the whole ornamentation. Then the troops, who were drawn up in line all round the Parade, in number from between two and three thousand, after a general salute, march past, and at the same time the presentation of nazars begins.

First the Tika Sahib and his younger brothers put before their father bags of gold coins; the chief Diwan follows with a smaller number, and the other ministers and courtiers in succession give something, either in gold or rupees. The number of coins presented, when not calculated upon the income (as it is not with the five higher members of the Court), is always an odd number, as 11, 21, or 101. Then the servants of lower rank come forward, each being presented by the head of his department; the name of each is read from a list, and the amount of his nazar is marked down; those that are absent will have the sum deducted from their pay. So a large heap of rupees gradually accumulates in front of the Maharaja.

All through this time, besides the hum and hubbub of so many

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[*] Here are some of the complete howdahs common in the states of Hindustan: some are in the form of boxes with upright sides; they are covered with silver or silver-gilt plate; there is room for three people to sit cross-legged in each.

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people pushing impatiently forward to come in front of His Highness that their salaam may be noticed, there is the noise of the bands of the regiments as they march past; or, when that is over, of the dancing and singing of the dance-girls, who from the first have been waiting in numbers. But with all this the Maharaja will find occasion to give a kind word to some old servant, or a word of encouragement to the son of one who may be presented for the first time, showing by his greetings how good a memory he has for people and for faces. Then, later, a few poor people, perhaps gardeners or such, on so little a month that the tenth of it would not amount to a piece of silver, will come with a tray of fruit or vegetables, and be happy if the Maharaja takes notice of it.

When all have passed, a little time may be spent in watching the nautch, or dance, and then, the Maharaja rising, the assembly disperses.

Much the same thing as this goes on in Kashmir without the presence of the Maharaja; at least, there is the full-dress Darbár with music and dancing, while the servants of Government deposit their nazar in front of the gaddi or cushion which is placed to represent him.

The next periodical Darbár is on *Nauroz*, a Persian festival introduced into India by the Mahommedan rulers, and now kept up even in such a thoroughly Hindú Court as this. It is here celebrated in just the same way as the last, without, however, the prevalence of yellow in the dresses.

The third festival is called *Sair*; it is held in the autumn. In this, which lasts for several days, not only the Government servants are present, but heads of villages, tradespeople, workmen, and others, from many days' journey around, come in, bringing with them for presents specimens of their work, or of the products of their land or neighbourhood. On this day green is the prevailing colour worn.

The fourth and last of the nazar-darbár days is *Dasera*. It is a great festival, celebrated all over India in memory of the victory of Rám, or Ráma, one of the chief heroes of Hindú mythology, over Rávan, or Rávana, the King of Ceylon. The several tasks

Ix Drew G-8 (1863-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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dents of the war, as told in the Mahábhárata, are illustrated during a succession of days. Dasera is the last of these, when an immense image is placed to represent Rávan; Síta, the wife of Rám, whom Rávan had stolen away, personated by a boy dressed up, is carried towards, and lets fly an arrow against him. This is the signal for a general assault, and in the midst of the roar of artillery the images of Rám's enemies are blown up, burnt, and destroyed. It is just before this climax that the nazars are presented. 796 431 651

As this Darbár is held at the beginning of the cold weather, it is usually the first day of coloured clothes, pashmína being worn in place of the plain white calico and muslin common through the hot weather; so the dresses are gay and varied.

There are a few other feasts held which may have an interest. 776

Holí is a strange festival, a carnival indeed, the object and origin of which are not very clear. It is a movable feast, and comes in February or March. While it continues the Hindús free themselves, or at all events consider that they have a right to be free, if they choose, from the restraints of decorum, and indulge in fun.

In some places and in some Courts the carnival is kept up with great spirit for many days. Ranjít Singh's Court was noted for its celebration of Holí. At *Jummoo* it lasts a week, during which time business is attended to in the mornings as usual, but each afternoon is given up to the rites and orgies of the Holí. All the courtiers, dressed in white, take their seats, with the Mahárája, in some open place; then there are distributed around handfuls of yellow, red, and purple powder, which the people throw over one another, till their faces and beards are completely covered with it, and become of a frightful hue; then syringes are brought, and coloured water is squirted about, till all, the Mahárája included, are in as good a mess as can be imagined. At certain times, at a word from the Mahárája, the two lines of people facing each other make a mimic attack, by throwing handfuls of the powder and balls of gelatine or glue filled with it, till the whole air is made dark with the clouds of it.

On the last day the licence of Holí is allowed in the streets as

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVl Kashmir
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796 well; then no one can complain if, on going through them, he be pelted with colour-balls, or showered on with tinted water.

Diwáli is held at the beginning of winter. It is a day for the worship of Lakshmí, the goddess of wealth; the characteristic of it is illumination. Lamps are placed in long regular lines on the cornices of all the public buildings, and hardly a house is left without its own row of little oil lamps. The name of the day must be derived from the Hindí word *díwá*, a lamp. At this time merchants collect their money in a heap, and bow down and worship it. Gambling, too, is practised by nearly all on this day, under the notion that it will bring luck for the coming year. In the evening a dress Darbár is held.

It is the custom to begin illuminations early, almost before it falls dark, and they are over by the time that in England they first light up.

[72] *Lorí** is a festival and religious ceremony, not, I think, general through India, but observed in these hills and in the Panjáb. The religious part of it consists in offering a burnt sacrifice, but to whom the sacrifice is made I never was able to find out. A large fire is made in the Square; the Maharaja and his people, having first made their obeisances in the temple hard by, standing round, throw in handfuls of grain of all sorts, the signal for this being the decapitation by sword of a white kid, the head of which they throw into the fire first. The people keep the feast as well; in passing down the bazaars on this night, one has difficulty, in the narrow streets, to avoid the fires that every here and there are burning for the sacrifice.

535 In these and all other festivals and rejoicings, the chief entertainment of the Darbár is the nautch, or dance. Twenty or thirty dancing-girls are assembled, but the dancing is done by but one at a time. She—followed closely by two or three men, each drumming with their hands on a pair of small drums fastened in front of them, and up—advances with short steps taken on the heel, almost without lifting the foot off the ground, so that the movement is hardly indicated by any change in the position of the body. This is accompanied by stretching out and posturing of

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* This word has the nasalised *o*.

1g Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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the arms and hands in as elegant a fashion as possible; and the women of India have generally very well-formed hands and arms, which their tight-fitting sleeves show off. 536

Then the girl begins a song of a somewhat monotonous melody, 533 plaintive in effect, but partly spoiled by the shrill and loud tone it is given in. Here the accompaniment of the men with drums comes in, and they join their voices, too, exceeding the lady in volume of sound and in harshness.

The women are dressed not untastefully, except for their 292 fashion of high waists. They have a gown with a long skirt in many gathers, usually of coloured muslin; over their heads they wear a *chádar*, or long veil, often of muslin inwoven with gold; this is used by modest women to keep the face from the view of strangers; here it is held and moved about in graceful ways, and made of more service to set off than to conceal the beauties of the women. Over the forehead hang gilt or golden ornaments, and [301] round the ankles are strings of little round silver bells, which are made to tinkle in time with the dance by striking the heels together.

There is no real dance, either of steps or figures; it is simply 535 advancing and retiring to music; the end of it, apparently, is the display of the girl's face and of the graceful movements of the arms. Although for us, who are used to greater variety and activity of movement, and are used to seeing women unveiled, these nautches are tame enough, and, after the first, hardly worth looking at, yet they are certainly much enjoyed by the people of India. The song, too, is much thought of and delighted in. At our Darbárs all sit gazing continuously; there is seldom any conversation held during the time; all solemnly look on and listen.

A HUNT.

The Maharaja is fond of sport, and he preserves closely for 224 some twenty miles on each side of *Jummoo*, along the foot of the 643 hills and over the plain. The game is chiefly pig, but spotted deer also are found. The hunting season is in the cold weather, from October or November till March.

In some parts, where there is no open ground, the coverts are

1₂ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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driven towards a line of stages * made among the branches of the trees, on each of which sits a marksman, so as to be out of sight of the game. A large bag is usually got from a drive of this kind.

The more exciting sport, however, is pig-sticking, for which in some places the ground is well adapted. The way of it is this. The rendezvous is from seven to twenty miles away from Jummoo; the kind of place chosen is where there is a good large covert, one thick enough for the pig to be at home in, or else a field of sugar-cane, with an open plain in front, and, if possible, no more cover for half a mile or more. Preparations are made and orders are sent out the evening before. Through the night, sepoys and watchmen are going through all the villages that are to be called on for their services, giving notice, by crying out with a loud voice, of the place and time of meeting. It is incumbent on the inhabitants to send one man from every house, and before sunrise these take their way, stick in hand, and some with tomtoms and other equally musical instruments, to the appointed place.

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The Maharaja may start from Jummoo about sunrise; he is accompanied by all his Court; they will, probably, ride to the meet on elephants. Then there is a long procession of followers—there are scores of led horses, then commonly a squadron of lancers from one of the regiments; numbers of the Miáns, who are always eager for this sport; numerous attendants on the Diwáns and the Wazirs; bandtopis, or orderlies of the Maharaja, carrying long guns in a loose red cloth cover; men with dogs of various sorts coupled together; kearis, men whose business is snaring, with their short heavy spears and their snares; one or two *Hakims*, or physicians, and many others who do not intend to take part in the hunting, but come because there is nothing doing that day at Jummoo.

On the party reaching the covert-side, the beaters—the villagers who had been collected, who are generally about 2000 in number—are placed close in a line along one edge of the wood, and the riders take up their places on the opposite side in such positions as to have a vantage-ground for following up the pig when they

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* The stage is called manna, in Dogri; in Hindustani, machán.

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break, without letting themselves be seen till such time as the animal's retreat is irretrievably cut off. Then, when all is ready, the signal is given by bugle, and the whole line of men enter the wood together; keeping as close and as well in line as they can, they advance, beating every bush likely to conceal game of any sort, and uttering various frightening cries. All this being accompanied by the report of blunderbusses and the discordant sound of irregularly-beat drums. This, if well kept up, effectually drives forward all the game. The progress is, of course, slow—slow enough to keep in impatience the riders at the farther side, who from the beginning of the beating have been watching, spear in hand, for a break. First come out, as a rule, the jackals; then, perhaps, a hare or two; and later, when the line of beaters are closely nearing the edge, and there seems no other chance for it but to run, the pig break, often doing so in a score of ten or a dozen, and make across the plain for the nearest wood; and then begins the rush.

In this "royal" hunt, with such a crowd of people mounted, it is impossible to enjoy the sport at its best. Your run after the boar you have singled out may be interrupted by some horsemen who have been waiting half a mile off, for the bare chance of something coming their way; or after one pig as many as twenty spears may be coming from different quarters, giving him no chance for his life. However, there is something to be got from it; a man well mounted is pretty sure of a spear or two, and often enough a pig will steal away clear of the crowd, and give good sport to the one or two riders who may have seen him.

Some of the Court are really good riders and pig-stickers, and go about their work like sportsmen; but the majority think more of slaughtering than of fairly riding, and are anxious to see a large "butcher's bill," without much caring how the victims fall. The ways, indeed, are various; besides the spearing, they are pulled down by dogs that are let loose on them; sometimes a sepoy on foot will cut down a pig with his talwār, or sword; some, again, are knocked over by the beaters with their heavy spears; and others are caught in the snares and there murdered.

1g Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dogra AV6

224 643 On an ordinary good day twenty or thirty are sure to be brought in.

If in the course of the beating any number of pigs have broken through the line—which they are very apt to do, as the men will often let them pass through in preference to facing them—the same jungle is beaten over again for a second chance, and then perhaps another covert is tried; and so on, with, may be, an hour's rest for a picnic breakfast, till evening, when the whole party return in order as before to Jummoo; and the beaters, tired and hungry, take their way to their homes, having performed a service which may be said to be one of the conditions of tenure of their land.

Before starting for home the quarry is viewed, and each successful man tries to recognise the pig he had the honour of putting the first spear into. Then the Maharaja gives orders for the distribution of the game. A proper proportion is sent in for his own household. The courtiers get their share, and the rest is probably sent to some of the regiments.

Not often, but now and again, a casualty occurs; but there is very seldom a fatal accident. The boars are savage enough when attacked, and will charge boldly; but in such a meeting as has been described they are sure to be overpowered by numbers; still I have seen one bring down four horses in succession.

With a little more management and fewer riders the sport would be fine, for the pigs are numerous, and the country is good for riding, being only here and there broken by ravines; indeed, in spite of drawbacks, we have had some memorable days' hunting.

A Royal Marriage.

585 In the beginning of 1871 an event occurred at Jummoo, which, from its unusualness, and from its well illustrating some customs of the people and of the Court, may find a place in this account. This was the marriage of one of the two daughters of the Maharaja.

Such an event was unusual, because in former times, and

1: Drew G-2 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

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down to only twenty-five years before, it had been the practice 585
as explained in the last chapter, for people of the caste to which the Maharaja belongs—the branch of the Rājpūts which hold their traditional customs in purity, and allow their hands to be sullied by no labour but the work of fighting or hunting—to destroy their female children immediately after birth. The men, unable to find wives among their own caste-people, took them from the caste next below.

So it happened that for long there had been no marriage of a daughter of the house of the Rajas of *Jummoo*, though tradition spoke of such a thing having, from some special circumstances, occurred eighty years or so ago.

This practice of infanticide coming to an end in 1846, Maha- 582.
raja Gulāb Singh, a few years afterwards, opened his eyes to the fact that he had a granddaughter, and was at a loss to know to whom he should marry her. For it is no easy matter; the giving of a girl in marriage is acknowledging yourself to be lower in caste-standing than the family she goes to, and there were few in this part of India of whom he would willingly acknowledge that. But a neighbouring Raja there had been, the Raja of *Jaswāl*, near Kāngrā, whose family were ancient and descent pure enough to satisfy the *Jummoo* family. He, how- [558]
ever, had been dispossessed of his principality by the British, on account of participation in one of those conspiracies and combinations that some of the Panjāb chiefs made against our Power in the interval between the two Sikh wars. At the time we speak of he was detained a state-prisoner in British India. Him Maharaja Gulāb Singh begged off, explaining his purpose that a scion of the Raja's family should marry his granddaughter. So for many years the Jaswāl Raja lived in the Maharaja's territory, and now had come the time for the marriage of his son with the present Maharaja's daughter.

It had been delayed later than had been expected, and the two were older than Hindū bride and bridegroom commonly are. The bridegroom was about twenty, and the bride had reached fifteen; but now, at last, in the spring of 1871, all was ready.

Fr. Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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583 I had an opportunity of seeing the *trousseau*,* which was on view in the Palace at Jummoo. With it was put the dowry. Indeed, there is here no distinction between the two. The principle is that everything, including cash, that can be wanted in a household, should be supplied in quantity enough to last for many years.

The things were laid out in one of the large reception-halls, and, overflowing that, filled also side rooms and verandahs, while the more bulky and rougher articles occupied the courtyard. It was really a rich display. In front of the entrance was a heap of money-bags—one hundred thousand-rupee bags—making a lakh of rupees, the value of 10,000*l*. Close by, on trays, were gold coins to the amount of 2500*l*. Then, laid all over the floors in trays, were the dresses, eleven hundred in number, both made up and in piece, of muslin, silk, pashmina, and gold brocade, some undoubtedly rich, and all more or less adorned with gold braiding or edging; with many of them were gold-worked slippers, these long and narrow, with the heel pressed down.

Next in importance was the jewellery, divided into two classes, that of plain gold and silver, and that with precious stones, besides necklaces of gold coins.

Near these were silver dishes for household purposes, and a tray and cups of solid gold. Along one side were elephant and camel trappings, including much of massive silver; and there was some handsome ornamental saddlery, and silver bells and necklaces for cows.

Then there were many miscellaneous things—fans of various sizes and shapes; a large state umbrella, with gold-covered stick; drums and horns, and, strangely, dolls and balls for the bride to play with.

We must not pass without notice the dūla, or palankin, in which she is destined to be carried away, covered with gold brocade; while five plainer ones are ready for the five attendants who are to go with her. Outside were pitched a set of tents and awnings, laid with handsome carpets, all part of the outfit; and near at hand were exposed the household utensils—cooking-pots

* i.e. of the granddaughter of the Maharajah Gulab Singh — [illegible]

I1 Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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in number, and some of gigantic size for feasts; iron spits, and other cooking contrivances; axes, shovels, and a variety of other things too many to enumerate; *numbers of horse shoes and nails.* 583

The wedding and the feasting took up three or four days. On the first, the bridegroom, with his father, came in procession through the city, dressed in gold brocade, and veiled with a fall made of strips of gold tissue. At nine in the evening, accompanied by a great crowd, they reached the Square, where they were met and greeted by the Maharaja, who retiring, the bridegroom and his father were brought, amid the glare and noise of fireworks and bombs, to the Shish Mahal, or mirror-room, and there sat surrounded by their own chief people and a few of the Maharaja's, while a nautch[4] was performed in front of them. After half an hour the Raja and others left, and his son remained and had a light meal—all this being fixed in their customs, even to what he should eat. 585

After midnight, the bridegroom was carried inside the Palace, and the marriage ceremony was performed. This is done in great privacy; not even the bridegroom's father is present, only the Maharaja himself, one or two pandits (the officiating priests) and one or two of the Maharaja's near relations. This, of course, I could not myself witness; but I heard of a curious part of the ceremony. When the Maharaja is to give away the bride, as the gift should come from both him and his wife, the Mahárání, being behind a curtain, is connected to her husband by a long piece of cloth, and so made partner in the rite. The ceremony took, I believe, two or three hours, and then the bridegroom, leaving his bride still in her father's house, returned to his quarters.

Another of the strange customs is that when the bridegroom comes to the bride's house, as at this time, he is assailed by the women of the household with abuse, and songs of abuse are sung at him; these, I believe, are composed of nothing better than the equivalents of the usual Indian abusive terms.

It must be understood that the occasion is not supposed to be one of rejoicing on the side of the bride's party, but rather one of

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1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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586 grief; thus all the signs of enjoyment were on the bridegroom's side. The fireworks and salutes and all were prepared by his people only, and, on this same principle, we of the Maharaja's Darbár wore no better or gayer clothes than our every-day ones.

The next day there was nothing doing, except that the bridegroom's people held high festival at their own place, in which none of our side joined.

The third day the Maharaja entertained the party at dinner. The preparations were made in a courtyard having arcades on two sides of it. The bridegroom and his father first came and sat down for a while with the Maharaja, who was seated beneath an awning on the roof, at a spot which commanded a view of the whole; then these visitors were conducted below, and all their party (who amounted to 700) placed themselves according to their own arrangement. All this preparation took a couple of hours. At last all were seated, either under the arcade or in the open, on strips of woollen cloth (which is supposed to have some special character of purity as compared with other fabrics), or else, in the case of Brahmans and a few others who do not eat meat, on a platter, so to say, of leaves sewn together. Then the serving of the meats, twelve or fifteen sorts, to each person, took nearly another hour. They were put into leaf-cups, while for the rice a leaf-platter was laid. At last, when the rice was served, a heap to each man, the Jaswál Raja began his eating, and all followed suit, and well made up for the waiting. For drink, water is the only thing given. Soon after this the Maharaja, who had been looking on at the preparations, left, for neither he nor any of his people were to partake with their guests.

The next was the last day of the ceremonies. The bridegroom was to take away his bride. At two or three in the afternoon, he came quite quietly on an elephant, and went inside the Palace, while the courtiers congregated on the steps leading down from the Palace-door, and all the people of the city looked on. The
[587] procession, which was to be long, slowly began to file away. In speaking of the dowry, I had not mentioned that a number of horses, cows, camels, &c., formed part of it. These now headed

1_2 Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir

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the procession; first proceeded 51 cows, then 51 buffaloes, adorned 585
with red and yellow clothing and with the silver necklaces; then
51 fine camels passed, with cloths of the same colours; 300 sheep
and goats, too, were collected, but they did not go out in procession.
Next came coolies, carrying the trousseau; all the goods
described above they carried in covered baskets on their heads;
about one thousand men walking regularly in pairs; these were
followed by a hundred sepoys in full uniform, bearing each a bag
of 1000 rupees, thus was the lakh of rupees carried; then the gift
horses were led out, showy in action and gaily trapped, followed
by three elephants, which also formed part of the dowry.

Immediately after these, appeared, from the gateway of the inner palace, the dhola, in which were the bride and bridegroom; so closely covered was it that not a glimpse of them could be got; this, too, was their first interview with each other, for they had only met once before, and that was at the marriage ceremony, when they were both veiled. The Maharaja accompanied the bride and bridegroom to just outside his doors, and no farther. There joined in the procession, so as to precede the dhola or palankin, the singers and players with their tom-toms and their squeaky instruments, while immediately in front of it walked five of the Maharaja's chief officers; then came the Mián Sahib, the bride's brother, on foot, holding the pole of the palankin. The procession was closed by two of the Maharaja's treasurers scattering money from an elephant; first gold pieces, of which one saw handfuls glittering in the sun as they fell, and afterward rupees.

It should be told that a part, though only a small proportion, [583]
of the trousseau was of presents from the Maharaja's chief officers
and dependents, and other natives of standing, who were invited
from a distance. After a valuation, I concluded that the cost of
what the Maharaja gave, including cash, goods, and animals, was
about 70,000*l*.

The pair went at once to their new home, some 25 miles from Jummoo, where there had been assigned a jágír or estate for their maintenance.

I have given space for the description of some of the customs 633

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633 of the Court of Jummoo, both every-day and occasional ones, no only for the interest that may be felt in the customs themselve but because the whole city is bound up in one way or another wit the Court, because so many thousands are connected with it eithe directly or indirectly, and because all its doings occupy such large space in the daily business and in the minds of the people Jummoo.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

CHAPTER V.

VARIOUS PLACES IN THE OUTER HILLS.

EAST OF THE CHINAB—WEST OF THE CHINAB.

THE plain at the foot of the hills, being for the most part capable of cultivation and in great part already cultivated, is thickly peopled; everywhere populous villages are to be found. But when we are once on the hills themselves we meet with villages rarely, and these but small; scattered hamlets and scattered houses denote how scarce is land that can be made fit for tilling; sometimes in little nooks and sometimes on steep hill-sides are terraced patches of ground, whose owners either cultivate them from the nearest village, or have made their solitary home close by. In the dūns, however, there are wider spreads of cultivated ground, though separated from one another by dividing ravines. 361 (341)

A village in these parts is a collection of low huts with flat tops, mud-walled, mud-floored, and mud-roofed. The floor and walls are neatly smeared with a mixture of cow-dung and straw. The roofs are timbered either with wood of one of the acacias or with pine. They are supported by one or more pillars, which are capped with a cross-piece some feet in length, often ornamented with carving, that makes a wide capital beneath the beam. 342 362

There is no light in the rooms but what may come in at the opened door, or through the chinks of it when closed, such a complete shutting out of the air being equally useful in the very hot and in the cold weather. The substance of the hut is a very bad conductor of heat, and this character tends to keep the interior of an equable temperature. I have often been glad to retreat to such a place from the scorching sun that a tent is but a poor protection against.

In front of the cottage is a level and smooth space, nicely 080

In Drew G-8 (1869-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir 891

In front of the cottage is a [illegible]

351 kept, where the people of the house spend nearly half their time,
356 and where their cooking places are arranged. The whole cottage is, as a rule, neatly kept and carefully swept; the higher castes, especially Brahmans and Rájpúts, give, considering their appliances, an admirable example in this respect.

361 [364] The larger villages and the towns have a double row of shops, what is called a bazaar, each of which consists of much such a hut, with its floor raised two or three feet above the street, and with a wider doorway, and in front of it a verandah, where the customer may come and sit with the shopkeeper to transact business.

Of the towns in the Outer Hills there are none besides Jummoo of any great size, and there are only one or two others that can be said to be flourishing, for the poverty and the thinness of the population of the country round is against them. Since, however, some towns and some other places show features of interest, we will proceed to visit a few and note what has appeared worthy of observation.

EAST OF THE CHINÁB.

135 *Basoli* was the seat of one of the Rajaships between which
361 the low hills were divided before Jummoo swallowed up so many.
[692] A large building still remains that was the palace; it is now
unkept and almost deserted. The town had already decayed
[166] but for the settlement in it of some busy Kashmiris, who by
their trade of weaving bring some prosperity.

[136] Basoli is one of several places in the low hills, being at the edge of a wood that is seldom disturbed, where the red monkey abounds; the monkey, being respected by the Hindús and protected by the laws, has here come to be most bold, so he invades the town in great numbers, clambering over the palace walls and scampering across the chief open space of the town, and often enough doing mischief.

A day's march to the northward is *Balawar*, which is the oldest seat of the rulers who afterwards went to Basoli. It is at the foot of a brushwood-covered spur of hill, and has beneath

it a bouldery river-bed a mile or more wide. There are remains 361
of towers and walls that protected the place, some towards the 175
jungle, some at the edge of the cliff that overhangs the stream-bed, and there is an old gateway at the top of the slope that gave access from below. These, as well as the Mahal, that is to say palace or mansion, the remains of which show it to have been substantially built though not large, were the work of the Balāwar Rajas. One other building there is that still has repute; this is [346]
an old Shivdwāra, or Hindū temple, much ornamented with carvings, in the sandstone that is the material for all the buildings. Of this temple one side has fallen, and the rest seems ready to follow, while the remnants scattered about of columns and other pieces of masonry show that the buildings were formerly more extensive; the space around the temple is now all shaded by large banyān trees. Balāwar, as at present inhabited, is no more than a village.

Padū is a place of name a few miles from Balāwar, of name 361
because it also was the seat of a separate rule, whose Rajas were 175
of one caste (a subdivision of the Rājpūts called Pāl) with those 642
of Kulū, Bhadarwāh, and Balāwar, or Basolī; the four, being so allied, were often at war with each other. The last five Rajas of Padū, I hear, were—

Pur Napāl.	Avtār Singh (in the time of Ranjīt Singh of Lāhor).
Prithī Pāl.	Umed Singh.
Jy Singh.	

Rāmkot is a place some miles west, where used to live a family of feudal power, whose lords were the Jummoo Rajas. Its original name was Mānkot, and the family of Miāns who held it are called Mānkotiā Miāns. It is not long since the new name was given to the place. There is a large fort, which has [712]
been handed over to the Maharaja's new son-in-law for a dwelling-place.

Rāmnagar, some miles north of Rāmkot, is where the Outer Hills join the Middle Mountains. It is built at a height of 2700 feet above the sea, on a small triangular plateau, which is cut

361 off on two sides by ravines, and connected along the third with
175 the slopes of the hills that surround and shut it in.

642 This town has signs of having at one time been among the most flourishing in these parts. It was the capital of the country called Bandrālta, which used to be governed by the Bandrāl caste of Miāns. Their rule was displaced by that of the Sikhs under Ranjīt Singh, who took the place and held it for a time, until, partly for the sake of rewarding a favourite, partly because of the trouble of holding it against the hill people, the Thakars, Ranjīt Singh made Suchet Singh, the youngest of the Jummoo brothers, Raja of the place. Raja Suchet Singh held the place till his death. But I heard of a great effort made by the Thakars against him too, when some thousands came to assault it. The Dogrās, however, held out in the fort, which is a well-planned work, until help came from the Sikh army.

There are some remains of the house of the rulers of the time of the Bandrāl Miāns; but their descendants do not live here; they found a home and a pension in British territory.

175 The town of Rāmnagar bears marks of the presence of Raja
361 Suchet Singh. He took a pride in the place and improved it
[366] and encouraged the growth of it. The two long masonry-built bazaars were in his time full and busy; merchants from Amritsar and from Kābul were attracted to the place. Vigne, in 1839, remarked the great variety of races of people who were to be seen there; the bazaars were then being constructed. A large palace adorned with gardens, and the well-built barracks, show that Suchet Singh knew how to make himself and his people comfortable. On his death, which occurred about 1843, Rāmnagar came under the rule of Jummoo, and there was no longer the presence of a Raja to keep up its prosperity, which was indeed short-lived; and now the palace is deserted, and the bazaars are but half inhabited. There are a good many Kashmīrī settled in Rāmnagar; some of them are occupied with shawl work, executing orders from Nurpūr and Amritsar, and some in making coarse woollen cloth.

Udampūr is a modern town, situated in the innermost dūn

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before one comes to the Middle Mountains; it is on the upper 361
plain of that dūn, about 2400 feet above the sea. As a town it 175
was founded by Miān Udam Singh, the eldest son of Maharaja Gulāb Singh, who would, had he lived, have made it an important place; as it is, there is a good large bazaar, and the present Maharaja has begun building a new palace there, and has
entered on the construction of a canal to bring water from the [312]
Tavī River on to the plateau, for household and garden purposes and for general irrigation.

The next town is *Kiramchi*, only 4 miles away. This and 361
the tract of country near round it used to be under a Raja or 175
a Miān of the Pathiāl tribe of Rājpūts, who was tributary to 642
Jummoo, paying to it yearly 2000 rupees and giving the services of some 10 horsemen. About the year 1834 Gulāb Singh, having made up his mind to possess the place, refused the tribute and sent a force to besiege the fort; after some time they took it, and the country was annexed. What now remains of the fort is a well-built wall of sandstone and a dry tank; it is on a rocky mound in a commanding position behind the town.

Within a couple of marches from Jummoo, to the eastward, 361
are three or four places worth seeing. One of these is *Babor*, in 346
the Dansāl dūn, near the left bank of the Tavī; there are the 541
ruins of three old Hindū temples, of what age I know not; the buildings were of great solidity and considerable beauty; the chief feature of one of them was a hall whose roof was held up by eight fluted columns supporting beams of stone 10 feet in length; on these beams were laid flatter stones chequerwise, so as to fill up the corners of the square as far as the centre of the beams, and so make a new square cornerways to the other; on this was laid another set of stones cornerwise to this, and so on till the whole space was covered; this square mass of stone was ornamented with carving. The material of these buildings is a slightly calcareous sandstone which is found among the strata near; it has well stood against weathering, and its toughness may be known from one of the beams of it used in the construction being as much as 14 feet in length. No mortar was used in the

361 building; this must have been a predisposing cause of the lateral
346 shifting of some of the stones one upon the other which is to be
341 observed, the moving cause being, I take it, earthquakes. The other neighbouring ruins have a great resemblance to this first, but they are not all three equally ornamented.

[776] These old temples, though clearly devoted to the same worship as what is now followed—Ganesha for instance, the elephant-headed god, being among the prominent figures—are quite neglected by and hardly known to the people around.[a] But we will now go to a spot that is in the bloom of repute as a holy place, that is resorted to on certain days both by the people of the hills and by many from afar.

361 This is *Parmandal*, a place of pilgrimage that the Hindus visit
783 for the purpose of obtaining a moral cleansing by bathing in its
788 waters. It is situated in a nook among the low hills, far up one of the ravines that drain down to the plain. I went there with the Maharaja when he and all his Court made the pilgrimage—if so it can be called—on I forget what special day. It is two marches from Jummoo, and we went with a large camp, nor were we intent wholly on the religious ceremonies, for on the way the jungles were beaten and some good pig-sticking rewarded us.

We entered the hills by the winding valley of the Devak stream, the name of which denotes a sacred character. We encamped at Utarbain, which is a place but next in religious importance to the one that was our goal; here were two gilt-domed temples surrounded by cells for Brahmans to live in. The Maharaja gave food this day to all Brahmans who might come; a large number were collected in the quadrangle to partake of it, and presents were given—quantities of flour and other provisions, and money as well—to those Brahmans who permanently stay here. From Utarbain we made the journey to Parmandal and back in an afternoon; we continued up the sandy bed of the same stream; as we went on the valley became more confined and its sides more rocky; thus winding up we suddenly came at one of the turns in sight of a strange collection of buildings strangely situated. A double row of lofty and handsome buildings with

[a] [i.e. temple ruins in the town of Babor--Analyst]

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nought but the sandy stream-bed between them; there was the 3(1
chief temple with a fine façade, and, behind that, numerous 771
domes, one gilt one conspicuous; most of the others are houses 788
built by the courtiers of Ranjit Singh, who was attached to this
place and occasionally visited it; they are now inhabited by
Brahmans.

The whole place was alive with people who had come to bathe and to worship; booths and stalls, as for a fair, had been put up in the middle of the sandy space; the picturesque buildings, backed close by sandstone rocks, and the crowds of cheerful pilgrims, made a gay and pretty scene. [3/2] It is only for a short time after rain that a stream flows over the sands, now they had to dig two or three feet to reach the water; numbers of holes had thus been made, and the people scooped up enough water to bathe themselves with; the atoning power of such a ceremony is considered in these hills to be second only to that of a visit to Hardwár on the Ganges.

A journey of not many miles from Parmandal, but by a rugged path over difficult hills, would bring us to the two strange little lakes named *Saroin Sar* and *Mán Sar*, the latter word of each name being the one used for "lake." They are 8 or 10 miles apart, but are on about the same strata, and are each about 2000 or 2200 feet above the sea, being situated somewhat high on or between the parallel ridges. 133

Saroin Sar may be said to cover a kind of platform, from which on two sides the ground falls rather steeply, while on the other sides are low hills; the lake is about half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, a pretty spot; mango trees and palms adorn its banks, and cover thickly a little island in the centre; while the sandstone hills round are partly clothed with brushwood, and shaded, though lightly, with the bright loose foliage of the long-leafed pine.

Mán Sar is a larger lake, perhaps three-quarters of a mile long and half a mile broad; it is in a very similar position, at a high level, and nearly surrounded by hills, but at one side there is a great descent into a steep valley or ravine.

133° For the origin of these two hollows I have no theory to put forward; they are rock-basins, the rock being either a soft sandstone or sandstone with clay interstratified. I do not know their depth, but do not think it great; there seem to be springs of water in the lakes themselves; they deserve a more careful examination than I made of them.

WEST OF THE CHINÁB.

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487 We will now look at a few places to the west of the Chináb river, in the Muhammadan country.

Akhnúr, which is the first town, will most naturally come into the next chapter, as it lies on the road there to be described.

Bhimber, 40 miles farther west, is a rather flourishing town. The Rajas of Bhimber had their castle here; some of it still stands; it was a collection of buildings with loop-holed walls, making an enclosure 400 or 500 feet long and less than half that in width.

Placed, as this town is, at the beginning of the hills, it is the starting point in the mountain journey between the plains and Kashmir by the old royal road. When the Mughal Emperors of Delhi used almost yearly to visit Kashmir they commonly followed this route by Bhimber and the *Pir Panjál*, and at this day English travellers use it as much as or more than any other.

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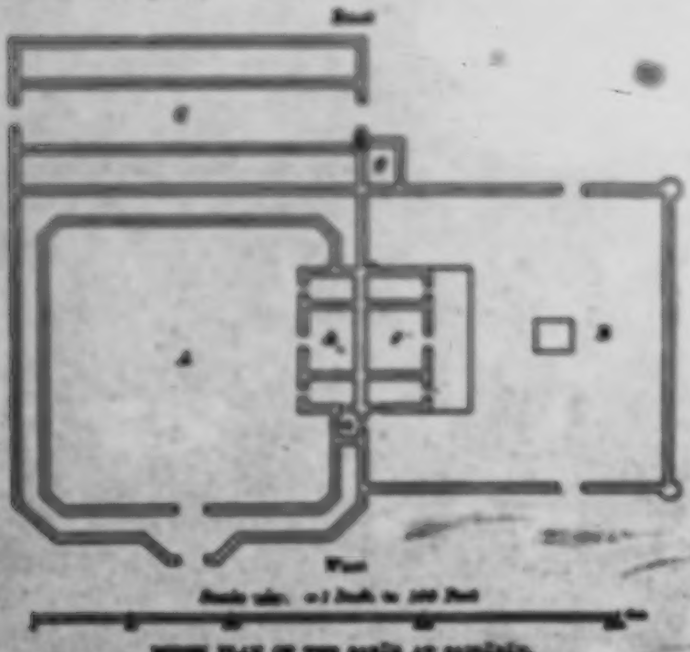
344 Here, and at almost every stage on to Srinagar, are remains of *saráes*, or rest-houses, built for the royal camp.

361 At Bhimber there was a greater variety and extent of accommodation provided than at most of the stages, for here the camp used to concentrate, and hence proceed by detachments along the difficult hill-road, where means of carriage were and are limited. First, in the higher part of the town of Bhimber, there is a saráe built of brick and sandstone, a square of about 300 feet. On each of the four sides are seventeen double cells or rooms with dome roofs, the inner room 10 feet square, the outer one 10 by 6; the height of these rooms is 10 feet at the upper end of the building; those opposite, which are built on lower ground, are made some feet higher, so that the wall is kept of one level. The outside wall

is carried above the roofs and forms a parapet. In the middle of the quadrangle is a chabûtra, or raised masonry platform; close outside the gate are the ruins of a mosque.

I do not think that this serai was intended for the king himself, for there are no rooms larger than the rest. Down in the plain, where the present Travellers' Bungalow is, are remains of what I have little doubt was his own halting-place. There was a square enclosure (traceable by a few remnants of the wall); in the centre of one side of it was a suite of rooms raised above the level of the ground, with a terrace in front; there were other buildings in the middle of the two next sides of the square; in the centre was a chabûtra or platform: close at hand was a hammâm, a small building in three compartments, with an opening in the roof of each, made for the escape of the steam of the hot bath. These I believe to have been the royal quarters.



GROUND PLAN OF THE SARÁI AT [illegible].

The next stage on the Kashmir road is *Saidábád*, near the village of Samání. Here is the finest example of all the royal

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serāe; a rough plan of it is annexed. It has three divisions: the great court, A, is entered by the chief gateway; on all sides of this quadrangle are the small arched or vaulted rooms, and, besides, in the middle of the south side is a set of three larger rooms on a higher level, marked *d*. These are now unroofed; I think there had been an upper story above them: they were doubtless the king's rooms. From these a small passage, *e*, leads to a corresponding set of rooms, *f*, which, with a terrace in front of them, look on to the second courtyard, B. This must have been the zenāna, or the ladies' apartments, and their private garden; this quadrangle has no cells round it; the wall is plastered smooth inside. A third courtyard, C, not communicating with the others, has along each side of it a row of double cells. *g* marks the position of a small mosque.

The serāe is massively built, and the vaulting has stood well. The third court is still used by travellers, but the two larger ones are empty, and the ground has been brought under the plough.

A quarter of a mile off are the ruins of another, rather smaller, serāe, where the present Travellers' Bungalow stands. The plan of it, though somewhat different, agrees with that of the rest in having *two* courts, one with cells around, the other with but a few rooms on one side.

The next stage towards Kashmir is *Naoshahra*, a town which is the administrative head-quarters of a district; here is a large old serāe, with inner court.

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Next comes *Changas*. This place I have never myself been to. I am told that it possesses one of the finest of the serāes in the whole of the route.

Rājaorī, or *Rāmpūr*, is the next stage. This will be more spoken of in the next chapter, since the route from Jummoo, there to be described, joins the one from Bhimbar at this spot; but in order to keep together the mention of all the royal serāes along the line, we will now enumerate those which exist on to Kashmīr, even though this leads us beyond the Outer Hill area.

At Rājaorī the halting-place of the Delhi Emperor seems to have been the garden on the left bank of the stream. This is a

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large oblong space enclosed by a thick wall, and traversed by two stone water-ways at right angles to each other. There are two bárádaris, that is, bungalows or summer-houses, one of which overlooks the stream, and looks on to the picturesque old town on the opposite bank. In former times there was a bridge leading across from the garden, as one can tell from some remains of its piers; though the stream is usually fordable at certain places, it is at times rendered quite impassable by floods. At the corner, again, are some hammams, or hot-bath houses.* 486 361

There is a sarái, which doubtless was used by the king's followers, on the right bank of the river, in the town itself; this is now occupied for permanent dwellings.

A few miles above Rájauri are two quadrangular buildings, one 50 yards square, the other 50 yards by 60, which are of the same time; these, however, are of another sort, they are simple enclosures with two entrances, and without any cells; very likely they were for stables.

At *Thanna* is a fine example of the Mughal sarái (as these rest-houses, the work of the Delhi Kings, are called); in this, I think, the rooms are larger and higher than is usual, but fewer in number.

After this a stage is missed, where I do not know of any like remains, though I think there must have been some. The next is the high village of *Poshiána*. Here are some remnants of a sarái that was not so well finished as those lower down, nor of such a size; for here there is not much flat space for any building; there is little room even to pitch one's tent.

Across the Panjál Pass, by the roadside, are a few small shelter-houses, consisting of two or three arched cells, which must often have been of service to wayfarers, who might, by making the journey too early or late in the season, expose themselves to the risk of a snow-storm. Soon after these we come to *Alíábád* sarái, which is one of the few of those that still are used for the original purpose of shelter for travellers. In its bleak position, at an

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* In this garden are some fine chinár or plane trees; the altitude, about 3000 feet, seems the lowest at which they will flourish. 137

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476 elevation of 9700 feet above the sea, it is indeed needful, and it is
361 often well filled.

The remaining serais, and these are on the Kashmir side, are at Dubshi, at Hirpur (a much ruined one, of good size), at Shâhjimarg, 6 miles beyond Shupeyon (as mentioned in Dr. Ince's 'Handbook to Kashmir,' I have not myself seen it), and lastly at Kalampûr, 12 miles short of Srinagar.

The positions of the serais were well selected; they were well spaced; nearly every one of them was placed where to this day are the common halting-places for travellers.

Returning from this excursion on the line of the Kashmir road, we will just look at a few more places in the Outer Hills.

361 [J-4] At the village of *[illegible]* is an old temple, much ruined, but still showing traces of fluted columns and trefoil arches; it is of much the same architecture as the temples of Babor. At the time it was built the people of these parts were doubtless still Hindu; perhaps, indeed, it dates from a time earlier than the beginning even of Muhammadanism.

[639] *Mirpur* is a good large town; it must be the next after *Jummoo* in size among those in the Outer Hills; it is on a plateau much cut into by ravines. The place is a flourishing one, from, I think, its being a centre, or a place of agency, for an export trade in wheat that is carried on by the *Jhelam* River from these hills to the places in its lower course. Some spacious houses belonging to Khatris must have been built from the profits of this trade.

626 175 *Pûnch* is a place of more than common importance. It is the seat of Raja Moti Singh, who, under the Maharaja his cousin, holds a considerable tract of country in fief.

In the time of the Sikh rule in the Panjâb, when the Dogrâ brothers divided among them the hill region, and held it tributary to the Sikhs, Pûnch was the share of Raja Dhiyân Singh. After his death, Jawâhir Singh, his son, held it; but his position was not recognised as independent of Jummoo in the treaties of 1846; hence he became a vassal of his uncle Maharaja Gulâb Singh. Later, some differences and disturbances occurred, which ended in Raja Jawâhir Singh having to leave the country, and Raja Moti [illegible] G-8 ([illegible]) 1875 [illegible] A 81

Singh, his brother, succeeding him at Punch, now rules there in obedience to the Maharaja. 636 175

Punch is a compact town, with a good bazaar; it is situated at the meeting of two valleys, which make a wide opening among the hills; the valley itself being somewhat over 3000 feet above the sea, we are here in a part that may be reckoned to belong either to the Outer Hills or to the Middle Mountains. There are here a fort and palace, lately added to and improved with much taste by Raja Moti Singh. 361

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A word or two as to the hill-forts of this region.

All over the low hills, on both sides of the Chenab, they are in extraordinary number. They were built at the time when each little tract had its own ruler, and each ruler had to defend himself against his neighbours. These forts are commonly on the summit of some rocky hill, with naturally-scarped face; by their position, and by the way they were planned, they are well protected against assaults. Though now they have all come into the hands of one ruler, they are still kept up, that is so far that a small garrison—may be only of a dozen men—is kept in each. Some of the most known are Mangla, on the *Jhelam*; Mangal Dev, near Naoshahra; and Trach, near Kotli; these are each on the summit of a rocky precipitous hill most difficult of access.

CHAPTER VI.

REGION OF THE MIDDLE MOUNTAINS.

[illegible] TO BADRAWÁR — BADRAWÁR — PÁDAR; ON DWELLERS OF THE MIDDLE MOUNTAINS — [illegible] — [illegible] — VALLEY OF THE CHINÁB — KISHTWÁR — KISHTWÁR [illegible] — KISHTWÁR TO RIÁSI — RIÁSI — RIÁSI [illegible] — [illegible] — MIDDLE MOUNTAINS OF THE WEST.

133 The phrase "Middle Mountains," which heads this chapter, is one that I have adopted for convenience, to denote both a certain tract and a certain character of mountain. I am aware that it is not capable of exact definition, still I find it useful to effect in a rough way the purpose above indicated.

The Middle Mountains are those which occur between the Outer Hills and the high ranges. They begin (reckoning from the plains) along a line that starts from a point 8 or 10 miles north of Basoli, and runs along just north of the towns of Rámnagar, Riási, and Rájaori; thence its course is less definable, but it takes a general north-westerly direction towards Muzafarábád. The northern boundary of the tract is made by the two lofty mountain ranges (or the two divisions of one mountain range, whichever they may be considered), one of which, coming from the south-east, ends off at Kishtwár, while the second is the Panjál ridge which overlooks Kashmir.

The width of our tract between these two boundaries is as much as 40 miles on the east; from that it gradually lessens to 10 miles near Rájaori; towards the north-west it again spreads, and then, as before said, has less definite bounds.

This space is occupied by a mass of mountains, cut into by ravines, or divided by more important but still narrow valleys, with hardly one wide flat space, whether plateau or valley-bottom. Its elevation is in general between 4000 and 12,000 feet; some few valleys reach below, and some peaks rise above those limits.

The form of the mountains bears a great contrast to that of the

Outer Hills. These were shown to be ridges more or less parallel, separated by flat valleys, sometimes narrow sometimes wide, with the main lines of drainage cutting across, that is, through, the ridges. On the other hand, the Middle Mountains are ridges of varying, irregular, direction, that branch again and again, like the twigs of a tree; the chief ridges are at the same time the more important watersheds. 133*

Looking from a geological point of view, we may say that there is not the same correspondence between the direction of the ridges and the strike of the beds as there is among the Outer Hills.*

The elevation of these Middle Mountains is sufficient to give a completely temperate character to the vegetation. Forests of Himalayan oak, of pine, spruce, silver fir, and of deodar, occupy a great part of the mountain slopes; the rest, the more sunny parts, where forest trees do not flourish, is, except where rocks jut out, well covered with herbage, with plants and flowers that resemble those of Central or Southern Europe. 137

Cultivation has been carried to almost every place where it is practicable. Wherever, within the altitude that limits the growth of crops, the slope of the ground has allowed of it, the land has been terraced, and narrow little fields have been made, these settlements sometimes being of extent enough to support a village, sometimes sustaining but one or two families. 311

Here, as in the Outer Hills, the tillage does not depend on irrigation, but on rain; these mountains, indeed, get the best of the Monsoon or rainy season; it is seldom that they suffer from drought, more often they suffer from an excess of downfall. Still the rainfall is not enough for the growth of rice; for this irrigation is wanted, but only in a few places can it be obtained; hence that crop is comparatively rare. 312 243

It is only in the very lowest parts of this region that two crops can be got from the same land. The times of growth of the two kinds of crop—of wheat or barley on the one hand, and of maize, rice, or millet, on the other—in most parts overlap each other to 243

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* This contrast is noted, with regard to a similar tract farther east, by Mr. H. B. Medlicott, in 'Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India,' vol. iii., part 2, p. 6.

213 an extent which varies with the height above the sea. Hence the wheat does not ripen till it is too late to sow maize or millet. But some land being reserved for the first kind of crop and some for the other, they have, in a sense, two harvests.

112 Snow falls over all the tract. In the lower parts it just falls and melts; but in most it stays for months, and in some as long as five months. It is this circumstance of duration of snow that causes great distinctions between the inhabitants and the customs of these hills and of the Outer Hills, some details of which will be found farther on.

The further account of the region can best be given by taking for examples and describing some of those parts which I am most acquainted with.

Rámnagar to Bhadarwáh.

133 A march from Rámnagar to Bhadarwáh, Kishtwár, and beyond, gave me an opportunity of seeing much of this mountain tract.

Near behind Rámnagar, which itself is counted in the Outer Hill region, rises a bold ridge. This, which can be traced on the large map, is the first of the Middle Mountains.

The road or path over it—one not fit for horses—rose up a long spur that projected from the ridge, till we crossed this at a height of about 8000 feet. The range keeps at this elevation and continues straight for some 25 miles. On the south side it has a succession of such spurs as the one we came up; they first jut out from the ridge at a low angle, then, leaving a high shoulder, the slope becomes more sudden; lower down again it changes to various degrees of steepness, which allow of the ground being in places terraced for cultivation. Between every pair of the rounded spurs is a hollow or ravine, each the bed of a stream of no great volume, but perennially flowing.

133 The surface of the ridge and of the spurs changes. Rocks
137 here and there project; the less steep portions are covered with pasture when facing the south, and with forest on the sun-sheltered slopes; the forest may be of oak, with rhododendron and horse-chestnut among it, or, higher up, of deodar and pine.

From the summit of this ridge, looking northwards, we see across the upper valley of the Tavi on to another ridge of fine massive mountains, rising to rocky but not sharp-pointed peaks, which are 10,000 and 12,000 feet in height. From this range come branches bold in outline; upon them can well be seen the alternation of forest and pasture land, and the sharp ending of the trees along the central line of each spur, where the aspect of its two slopes with regard to the south differs enough to produce that effect on the vegetation, the growth of wood always keeping to the more shady part. The general look of the hills reminded me of the Black Forest of Germany, of its darkly-wooded slopes and bare summits of the higher mountains. 135 137

A path led down into the valley of the Tavi River through a fine forest of spruce and silver fir (*Pinus Webbiana*), and deodar trees, with sloping glades of fresh grass, dotted with the young trees in such fashion that one might have thought one was in a well-cared-for shrubbery.

In the valley we came to a village named Thilrë, on a plateau about 200 feet above the level of the Tavi River, surrounded close by the hills, and shaded by walnut trees; this is at a level of about 6000 feet. In the deep channel below the river foams along among large boulders, confined by rocks that are capped with a deposit of alluvium of rounded blocks of gneiss embedded in earth. These banks are in part clothed with shrubs and trees that have found a footing upon them. Just opposite a beautiful little cascade is made by a side stream jumping in stages down the chasm it has worn for itself in the rock that confines the larger river.

The General Map will show that the two ridges—the one we crossed over, and that on the north side of the Tavi Valley—come round and join some 10 miles above the village of Thilrë, and that the river rises in the space thus enclosed. Our way was to follow up the stream to its head, and, crossing the watershed, to drop down on the other side to Bhadarwāh.

The path, which kept the valley, was among deodar, silver fir, and spruce fir, with some pines of the species *Pinus excelsa*; each of these showed to perfection the beauties of their foliage; the

135 137 pine-needles hung in light feathery sprays, the spruce boughs in graceful curves, with which contrasted the almost geometrical regularity of the silver-fir branches. The deodar is here, and wherever on the Himalayas I have seen it, much more like a Lebanon cedar than the trees, still young, growing in England would lead one to suppose; the bending form of the boughs, as well as the particular light tint of green of the leaves of the young plant, are lost as the tree gets on in age, and the branches come to jut straight out and to make flat dark-leaved layers.*

132 133 137 Following up the valley, often we met with the river roaring among boulders and over rock-ledges; anon the path crossed it by a bridge, and rose on the right bank for some 1500 feet, and afterwards went along high above the stream. Here we came upon snow. It was the beginning of May—hot summer in the Plains and Outer Hills, spring in the region just past, but we came, as it were, to winter in rising. Across the valley we looked off to a snow-clad slope of some 4000 feet of height, whose summit was a rock-mountain of 13,500 feet. The lower half of that slope was covered, in lines following those sides of the indenting hollows whose aspect was favourable to forest trees, with thousands and thousands of tall straight conifers in dark green foliage, that threw their grey shadows over the bright snow. As the path led on and the valley rose, the bank that faced us becoming nearer, we saw each tree to stand in a hollow in the snow, for this being old, not of a late fall, had both quitted the branches and melted from around the trunks, though still thickly carpeting the space between. On the north side of the valley we were able to find a clear space for the tents to be pitched, the altitude of this camp being 9500 feet.

We had now reached ground of somewhat different character; we had come to a part which the natives call Seoji; it is the

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* The names which these trees here bear are—silver fir, *rūn*, or *ren* (with a nasal n): spruce fir, *tos*; Pinus excelsa, *cīū*, or *kailū*; deodar, *dyār*. I think that the names *rūn* and *tos* become interchanged not very far off. Dyār is the name used for deodar both in the Panjāb (where its wood is well known) and in these hills; but in Kashmir it is called *deodār*, the *e* being pronounced, according to the rules given in the preface, like the *e* in the English word "date."

upland space enclosed by the meeting of the ridges, where the Tavi 132
has its source. At this high level there is a spread of gently 135X
undulating ground, with rounded knobs and smooth dells, a space 137
pleasant to meet with after the steep slopes and narrow valleys.
The higher hills had retired. As one viewed them from the top
of some of the mounds, one saw a great difference in the look
of those on the north from what we had seen on the south side of
the valley. On the north was an amphitheatre made by rugged
mountains of grey rock with snow-fields beneath; below the snow
the amphitheatre enclosed a thick forest of alpine oak. This I
saw when the evening sun was brightening the rounded masses of
its foliage, from the midst of which rose here and there the straight
forms of some dark fir trees.

The oak, *Quercus semecarpifolia*, in the native language *krei*, is at this point the highest forest tree. Unlike the conifers, it flourishes on hills that have a south aspect; it grows certainly as high as 11,500 feet, and I think it reaches to close on 12,000 feet; of the firs the limit was only a little above 11,000 feet.

The depth of snow prevented my verifying the thought which 132
came to me on seeing the undulating hillocky ground of this 133'
enclosed upland, namely, that the irregularities of its surface were 254
the moraines and roches moutonnées of former glaciers. The end of
May or June would be the time to follow up the inquiry, as the
snow by then would have melted. The stream which we had
traced up now divided. I was told that the southern branch came
from a little lake called Kalli Kund. This strengthens the idea of
glacier-traces, for mountain-lakes have often been caused, in one
way or another, by the action of glaciers.* The G. T. Survey
have marked the highest summit near—that at the meeting of.

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* What appeared to me to be other signs of former glaciers, not very far from this, are the masses of rock which lie in lines in the Bhadarwáh Valley. The large blocks, mostly of gneiss, are sometimes as much as 40 feet long and 25 feet high; they are among an agglomeration of angular and rounded pieces of gneiss and slate. The heaps of the larger masses are seen to be arranged in curving lines, as the side valley they came from bent round to join the main one. I am not quite sure of their being moraines; avalanches perhaps may have had to do with forming them—avalanches of the kind that later on, under the head of Pádar, will be described. The linear heaps extend below the level of the town, to, say, 5200 feet above the sea.

132 the ridge—as 14,241 feet; it does not bear perpetual snow, but
133 there is a very constant bed near, whence snow is sometimes
664 sent for summer consumption to Jummoo, after being compressed
by beating.

132 The other branch stream we followed to its source. The way
133 led us to a part of the ridge that was depressed, when a few hundred
feet of steeper ascent brought us to the Pass, which is 10,900 feet
137 above the sea. The ridge it crosses bears the name of Seval Dhār. This Pass is closed by snow for three months from the middle of December; later in the season than we came it would be practicable for ponies, which, however, would have to be taken up the valley by a somewhat different road than ours.

The gaining of the summit opened to us a magnificent prospect as we looked beyond. On the right was the high peak, on this aspect brilliantly white with snow; from this mountain juts out a mighty spur, whose sides, that descend full 5000 feet, are clothed most thickly with fir forest. Spurs from other parts of the range make long ridges with dividing valleys; their sides, though not rocky, are steep-sloped, some parts of them grassy, some parts dotted with trees, and some completely covered with wood. Where these spurs end off, runs along nearly at right angles to them the Bhadarwāh Valley, a flat gently sloping to the north-west. The town and village that occupy it are in sight. Beyond that again rise hills like what we have near us, dark forest ridges, their spurs part grassy, part wooded. These are branched in such complication that their connection cannot be made out except by studying a map of them. Last beyond—seen clear over these ridges, stretching far right and left along the whole of the space visible between the near jutting hills—is a great snowy range, the one dividing Chamba from Pāngi, the continuation of which reaches to Kishtwār. It is a serrated rocky line, with wide snow-fields in front of it, part of which is permanent snow. Some lofty sharp-pointed peaks rise from the general level of the range; of these one has much the form of the Matterhorn. The higher mountains of this ridge measure 17,000 and 18,000 feet.

Down from the Pass was first a steep descent, which the snow made difficult for the laden men, and then a more gradual slope along a spur, through a forest of the same sorts of conifers. The spruce and silver fir flourish most in the high parts, while lower down the deodar and *Pinus excelsa* are most numerous. The trees, as a rule, run to a height of 100, 120, and 150 feet; many are wonderfully straight. In the descent of several thousand feet such as we were now making the changes in all kinds of vegetation are very striking; first below the snow were great bunches of different sorts of primulas; these farther down gave way to other flowers of great variety; deciduous trees gradually became more frequent, and with their fresh spring colours among the dark foliage of the conifers gave new beauty to the forest. 132 133* 137

BHADARWAH.

When we had descended more than 3000 feet we reached the valley of Bhadarwah. This is a nearly flat-bottomed valley, a mile in width; in length it extends thus open for about four miles, above and below narrowing so as to leave hardly any space between the hill-slopes. The hills which bound it are the ends of spurs from the forest ridges. Some of these spurs have bits of cultivated ground at different levels, and in some places we noticed traces of former cultivation—terraced ground overgrown with young pines, of twenty years' growth or more. 133*

The valley-bottom has a slope of about 3°. The land is terraced to this fall in steps of a few feet each, so as to fit it to receive the irrigating water that here is plentiful enough to provide for a crop of rice. For this, in the month of May, the people were busily preparing, both by ploughing and breaking up the ground with a heavy kind of hoe or mattock. Men and women combined, in gangs of ten or a dozen, were working over the fields, shoulder to shoulder, striking in regular time, and beguiling the hours by singing as they worked a monotonous but not unpleasing chorus. The process that follows—and this, being lighter labour, has not the same accompaniment of song—is pounding the clods with what are exactly like croquet-mallets; 243 [462] [533]

In Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir Av;

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243 after this a little rain is waited for, that the earth may crumble and become fit for watering and putting in the rice.

246 Among these mountains the months of winter, with snow deep on the ground, make it necessary for the peasant to lay in a good store of fodder for his cattle. Nowhere do the natives of India or the Himalayas seem to have learnt the advantages of making a large rick. Perhaps the holdings are too small, and co-operation in such a matter has not been arranged. In the neighbourhood we now are in they have two or three methods of storing the grass, which itself is plentiful on the slopes in summer. Sometimes they fix a series of poles upright in the ground in one line, and make a rough thatch over a ridge-pole at top, and then pile up the grass between and around the sticks. Another plan is to twist the grass into a loose rope and throw this over the forks of trees, where, hanging down, it is uninjured by the snow that falls, and is easily pulled off when wanted for use.

361 The town of Bhadarwāh is a busy, and, for such a hill country,
342 a comparatively large place. I estimate that there are 600 or 700 houses, and about 3000 inhabitants. It is built almost entirely of deodar wood; the frame-work of the houses is altogether of wood; only between the double plank-walls the spaces are filled in with stones, sometimes laid loose and sometimes cemented with mud; most of the houses have a sloped shingle-roof. There is a curious plan of building up pillars for the corners, and sometimes for the middle supports, of the houses and the temples. Square slabs of wood a few inches thick are placed upright in pairs, one pair being surmounted by another at right angles, and so on alternately.

361 Bhadarwāh has an open market-place, a long straight street
[366] leading to the Fort, two or three other bazaars, two mosques, and a large temple. The waters of one of the streams come through the very middle of the town, and branches from it are brought through all the streets. Both in among the buildings and all round the place fruit-trees are growing—apple, pear, mulberry, apricot, and cherry, and there are poplars, and a few chīnār or plane trees.

These characteristics, combined with the presence of numbers 513
of Kashmîrî people who live in the town, have gained for it the 166
name "Chotâ Kashmir," or Little Kashmir.*

More than half of the inhabitants of Bhadarwâh itself are Kashmîrî; these quite throw into the shade the original Hindû inhabitants; they have adopted almost all kinds of employment, numbers of them are shopkeepers, and numbers more are occupied in making shawls, on orders from Amritsar and Nurpûr. Some Kashmîrîs have land, and cultivate it themselves; some, indeed, do this for half the year, and follow shawl-weaving for the other half—during the long snowy winter. Around are several villages of Kashmîrîs; but here, outside the town, they are much outnumbered by the Bhadarwâhîs, the older inhabitants. I could not find out at what time so many Kashmîrîs settled here, but, from the absence of any distinct tradition on the subject, we may conclude that it was at least three or four generations ago.

An elevation of 5400 feet above the sea gives the place at 132
this time of the year an agreeable temperature, that makes it a favourite with many. Sometimes Gurkhâs from the British regiment at Bakloh, bringing their wives and families, spend their leave at Bhadarwâh, where they can get the advantages of fine air and cheap living.

On a spur, some 300 feet above the town, is the Fort, a square 712
building of combined wood and stone, with bastions of masonry 361
work. Near by are some remains of the former residence of the 175
old Rajas. The Rajas of Bhadarwâh were Miân Râjpûts; they were allied, as to caste, with the families that ruled over Basolî and Kulu. This old family was dispossessed about the year 1810 by the Chamba family, who thus combined Bhadarwâh and Chamba. These others held it for twenty or thirty years only, when, through two or three stages of transfer, it fell into the hands of Gulâb Singh, of Jummoo.†

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* Another name (which the Hindûs sometimes give to it) is *Bhaderkâshî*, derived, I think, from the sacredness of a shrine there is on the river-bank opposite.

† One account shows Bhadarwâh to have passed from the Chamba family, by way of dowry for one of the daughters of that family, to Raja Hîra Singh, nephew to Raja Gulâb Singh. A short interregnum followed on Hîra Singh's violent death;

PAHĀRĪS, OR DWELLERS ON THE MIDDLE MOUNTAINS.

101 563 Having thus tried to give some notion of what is a fair specimen of the Middle Mountains, I propose, before speaking of any more places in particular, to say something about the inhabitants.

These I shall call by the same name, "Pahārīs," as is given them by their neighbours; for although, as explained in the introductory chapter, the word, meaning "mountaineer," is itself indefinite, yet it is restricted by the Dogrās to these particular races, and as there is no general name among the people themselves corresponding to what I want to express, I do not think we can do better than adopt it.

131 The Race Map[1] shows the Pahārīs to extend over the tract I have called the Middle Mountains only as far west as Budil, in the valley of the Ans; as to the part of that tract to the west and north-west, the people have already been described under the head of Chibhālīs; the Muhammadanising of that country of Chibhāl preventing us from separating all the races that may have existed distinct in former times.

142 [563] The space, then, coloured Pahārī on the Race Map[1] is occupied by mountaineers who have remained Hindū. Over the whole of it the people have a general resemblance. They are a strong hardy race, of good powerful frame, but still active; they have a straight forehead, good brow, with a nose markedly hooked, especially among the older men. Among the people round Rāmban I noticed a special form of narrow nose, bent over with a peculiar curve. [302] Their black hair is allowed to grow to their shoulders; their beard and mustache are thickish, but the beard does not grow long.

291 The men all dress in a light grey thick woollen cloth, which is made in almost every house.* In some parts they wear a short coat, in others a long and full one, hitched up by a kamarband, or waistband, of a woollen sort of rope, wound many times round. Their pyjamas are loose down to the knee, but below that fit

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175 this was brought to a close by Gulāb Singh sending a small force to assert his right as head of the Jummoo family; his troops met with but little resistance, and the principality was annexed to Jummoo.

* Pattū (pattoo) is the name for this coarse homespun cloth over all the hills and in Kashmir.

[1] [cf. category 116, End Map II -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir A VI

close; this is a very good form for hill countries.* Their cap is 291
of different shapes, sometimes a skull-cap, more often one with side
flaps. Lastly, a lūī (looee) or blanket, of the same cloth, worn in
many ways according to the occasion, enables them to withstand
all the severe weather they are exposed to.

The women have a long gown of the same homespun, and, like the men, wear a kamarband. In some parts the gown is of nearly black cloth instead of grey. Sometimes they wear a low round red cap; near Rāmban the women have a peculiar tall one.

The caste that among the Pahāris prevails in numbers far over 564
others is the Thakar, which was mentioned as occurring among [241
the Dogrās. The Thakars, indeed, have nearly all the land in proprietorship; they cultivate for the most part their own land; they are the peasantry of the mountains, as the Jats are of the Panjāb plain.

The low castes, Dūm and Megh, are scattered about everywhere; they dress in the same way as the others, and have acquired something of the same general appearance, but are not such large men, nor have they as good countenances.

GADDĪS.

At the south-east end of this region, where it borders on the 101
Chamba country, there is a race called Gaddīs (or Guddees), who 131
seem to have come at some time or other from the Chamba Hills. 564
They are Hindūs, and have the same subdivisions of caste as the 221
others, but they do not keep their caste rules so strictly. They pos- 233
sess large flocks of sheep and herds of goats, and they migrate with them to different altitudes according to the season. When snow threatens on the higher pastures they descend, coming in winter to the Outer Hills, and even to the edge of the plains. In spring they turn their faces homeward, and step by step follow the returning verdure, by June reaching the highest pastures and the hamlets, where some of the family had kept warm their home.

In the upper valley of the Tavi, which was lately described, live 000

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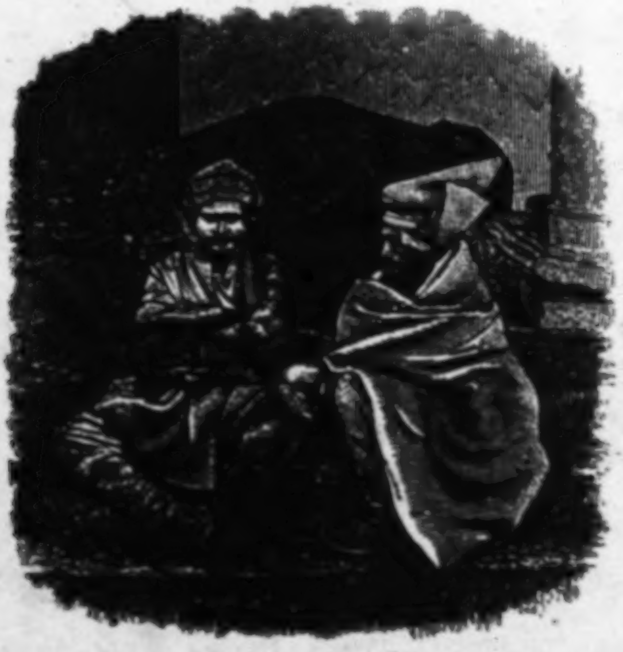
* See the cut on the next page of some men of an allied race (the Gaddīs mentioned below), whose dress is the same as that of these Pahāris, except as to the cap.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

In the upper valley of the Tavi, which was lately described, live
101 some Gaddīs in communities of their own, with their own head-
131 men, in small villages separate from those of the other hill men.

361 The relationship of these Gaddīs to the other Pahâris cannot be a distant one. 142 In physique they closely resemble the people we have described. It is likely that whatever peculiarities they possess have been acquired by specialisation of occupation through some centuries.

291 In dress they have one striking peculiarity in their hat, made of a stiff cloth, which is of a form indescribable, but it is well shown in the accompanying cut taken from a photograph. This gives a fair notion of the features of the Gaddīs, as well as of their dress, which, as stated before in the note, is the same as that of the Pahâris, except as regards this peculiar hat.



GADDÍS, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

197 As to the language of the Pahâris, many separate dialects are spoken; every 20 miles or so will bring you within hearing of a new one. Places no farther apart than Râmban, Dodâ, Kishtwâr,

Pādar, and Bhadarwāh, have their own speech, which, though not 197
incomprehensible to the people of the neighbouring place, still is very distinct from theirs. Counting all these together as Pahārī dialects, we may say that between Pahārī and Dogrī there is so much difference as to make Pahārī incomprehensible to a man of Dūgar. More will be said on this subject in the chapter on Language.

Gujars.

There is another race who spend half their life on these 101
mountains and half at lower altitudes, namely the Gujars. 131

Unlike the Gaddīs (who are really hill people, and only for 221
a few months at a time visit the lower parts), the Gujars have 361
their homes below; they are only summer visitors to the mountains. Since they were omitted from what was said about the inhabitants of the Outer Hills, they may fairly find a place here.

These Gujars are a set of people who are found scattered at intervals over the country between Delhi and the Indus. In these parts which we deal with they have their homes in the plains outside the hills, here and there among the lower hills, and in some valleys among the higher mountains. Sometimes they occupy a village by themselves; sometimes they share it with others; but even in that case they remain a very distinct
body. Though holding some land, they do not chiefly depend 233
on it for sustenance, for they are a migrating, pastoral tribe, who seek for their herds pastures in various parts at different levels, and live mostly by the produce of their cattle.

I agree with Sir George Campbell that they are an Aryan 142
race; but their countenance cannot be called high Aryan. Their forehead is narrow; they want the well-formed brow of the finer races. The lower part of the face is narrow also; but the nose has always something of the curve, as is often seen in Aryan nations. Some I met with had lighter eyes than are common among the other tribes of the country, and, generally, as compared with the people we have hitherto had to describe, their beard was scant. In figure they are tall and gaunt; in motion slow
and ungainly. They are rather surly in disposition, having that 000

They are rather surly in disposition, having that
181 kind of independence which consists in liking to be left alone and to have as little as possible to do with other races. When, however, one does come in contact with them, they are not bad to deal with.

291 Those who live down below and come up to the Middle Mountains for the summer dress somewhat scantily; they have loose short pyjamas; the upper part of the body is often bare; but there is a lūī, or blanket, in reserve, which is commonly put over the head, and hangs down behind. Those who are settled farther among the mountains (and these Gujars are found in Kashmir, if not beyond,) adopt a dress more like that of their neighbours, better suited for severe weather.

233 Wherever I have met the Gujars, I have found them to be possessors of herds of buffaloes, and to drive these, as the spring and summer advanced, into the higher mountain pastures. In the beginning of May I met many about Bhadarwāh who had just arrived from below; they had with them their wives and families, spinning wheels, churns, and other helps for getting a [234] living. Their gains are derived chiefly from the sale of ghī, or [438] clarified butter, the preparation of which occupies them continually during their stay among those summer pastures. They are generally in communication with traders of the towns below for its sale, having often, I think, received advances in anticipation of the season's yield.

197 Their language is not the same everywhere; that depends on the country they are settled in—not that which they come to in their summer wanderings, but where their house, their winter home, is. Thus there are Gujars in Kashmir who speak Kashmīrī, while those who come to the Middle Mountains speak a mixed dialect of Panjābī, or Dogrī, and Pahārī. These have, however, some words peculiar to themselves. I heard the following half dozen in the mouths of some Gujars, from near Budil, which may be worth preserving:

Mother	ālī.	*Son's wife*	bau.
Sister	bebe and bībī.	*Husband's sister*	nanad.
Son	gabru.	*To milk*	[illegible]
Daughter	gabrī.	*To be milked*	[illegible]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

563 As to religion, all I have met—all who live within these territories—are Mussulmān.

VALLEY OF THE CHINĀB.

133x In reaching Bhadarwāh we had entered that portion of the Middle Mountain region which drains directly into the Chināb, and we will now take a general view of the country that constitutes the valley of that river, so far as it flows in this particular mountain-tract.

The Map shows that the ridge we last crossed stretches from near Bhadarwāh in a direction a little north of west for more than 50 miles, as the crow flies, while the length measured along its sinuosities would be a good deal more. Points on this ridge are 12,000 feet high, but 10,000 is its more general elevation. While the higher parts are rocky, other portions of its summit are rounded and grass-covered, with rocks showing only here and there. At the western end, towards Riāsī, the slopes of it are steeper and the edge narrower. The rock that composes it at this part is a massive and hard limestone. Near here a short branch goes off towards the plains, which culminates in a peak, that, viewed from below, shows a very marked triangular form, and is flanked by two others of similar shape. This bears the 788 names of Trikhtar and of Devi Thār; near its summit is a spot 484 that is a place of pilgrimage much resorted to by Hindūs from the Panjāb. In the beginning of the hot weather one every day sees passing through Jummoo numbers of people from the plains, mostly of about the rank of shopkeepers, on their way to this place, with their wives and families, the women mounted astride on a pony and supporting a child or two. An excursion of this sort for them corresponds to our trips to the seaside; and if they meet with more fatigue and rough work in the journey through the hills than is suitable to a pleasure trip, then the religious object of the journey enables them to bear disagreeables, which with us would likely be the cause of unrelieved grumbling. x

133 From that long ridge branch out towards the north a number of spurs, which, like what they branched from, have but narrow

133ˣ [137] summits; nothing that could be called a table-land ever occurs. The slopes of these are often covered with fir forest, with the usual succession of species according to the elevation—spruce and silver fir at the very top, giving way, when one has descended 1000 or 2000 feet, to *Pinus excelsa* and deodar, and lower still, at about 5000 feet, to *Pinus longifolia*.

361 311 [485] From the height of 6000 or 7000 feet downwards, one meets with scattered patches of tilled ground and with the isolated cottages or huts of the owners. Here and there, on the frequented roads, the houses are collected into a little village that boasts of a shop to supply the simplest wants of travellers.

133ˣ All the space between the ridge and the river is taken up by such spurs alternating with ravines; the vertical distance is some 7000 feet, the lower part of the slopes, that which overhangs the river, being often the steepest.

The Chīnāb is one of the great rivers of the Panjāb. It rises in the country called Lāhol, in two streams, the Chandra and the Bhāga, the joining of whose names into Chandrabhāga make the word by which the combined river is often known among Hindūs. The other name, Chīnāb, which is more usual, has, I think, the derivation that is so obvious and is commonly given to it, namely, Chīn-āb, the water of China, which name probably was given by the Muhammadans from a notion—by no means far from the truth—that it came from Chinese territory; for the sources of the river are very near to ground that was tributary (though by two removes) to China, and the tract it first flows through is inhabited by the Lāholis, who are allied to the Chinese in speech, look, and religion.

The river after leaving Lāhol (which is now under British authority) passes through Pāngī, a part of the Chamba territory, and enters that of Jummoo in the district called Pādar. From its entrance into this onwards it flows for 180 miles through such country as we have been describing—some more detail of which remains yet to be given—and then for 25 miles through the Outer Hills, before it debouches into the great plain.*

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* Details of the course and volume of this river will be found at p. 117 of Cunningham's 'Ladak.' [SEE SOURCE 1: CUNNINGHAM, AJ4, W. Tibetans--ANALYST]

In this course occur three marked bends; sharp changes of direction that affect for many miles the course of the river. The first is where it rounds the space of ground occupied by Kishtwār; in doing this it makes an acute angle, having first flowed somewhat north of west, and then, below Kishtwār, going a little to the east of south. The next great bend is at Jangalwār, where it changes suddenly, from a southerly to a westerly course, a whole right angle. The third is at Arnās, where, from flowing west, the river gets to flow south.

Doubtless these changes have a meaning; that is, they are to be connected with some cause to be looked for in the origin of the valley and the geological structure of the country. We will not here enter on such speculations, but will only point out one or two facts that belong to physical geography. At each of these bends, opposite to the salient angle, a large stream joins the main river. At Kishtwār it is the Wardwan River; at Jangalwār it is the considerable stream (called Khāl Ne) that drains the Bhunjwār and other valleys; at Arnās the Ans River flows in from the north. Again, at each of the bends the main stream seems to turn round the end of, or else to cut through, a range of mountains it had been flowing nearly parallel to. In the first case the range is the lofty one lying on the south-west of Pādar; in the second case it is a branch from the mountains enclosing Kashmir; in the third case the main river may be said, immediately after its bend at Arnās, to go through the steep limestone range.

There is another intermediate bend, not so marked as these three, which yet has these same circumstances. A few miles below Rāmban the Chināb changes its direction, makes a rather obtuse angle; in doing so it turns round a spur (on which is the mount called Singipāl) from the ridge we have described on the south of the river, and at the bend the Banihāl stream from the north joins in.

In considering the Outer Hills we saw how the Chināb flowed through them, and the character which they gave to its banks. Tracing the valley upwards, we come to the Middle Mountain region just above the town of Riāsī. Here the river is flowing

/133x in a very sinuous course between steep inaccessible rocks; great eddies are produced in the curves of it. For several miles the gorge is impassable in any other way than on a raft of two or three large logs lashed together, and this is by no means a secure mode of traversing it. I heard of one or of two men, I forget which, who, in following their calling of collecting timber, had ventured into the gorge, and their raft had been caught in one of the eddies, and been carried round and round between the impracticable cliff and the main current, in such a way that no efforts of the men could disentangle it; and so for days the raft went round bearing its helpless burden, who, at last, when nearly exhausted, were saved by the chance arrival of some others of their trade, by whose aid the first were freed from their watery prison.

361x /133 [7/2] On one of the projecting rocks, nearly surrounded by the deep waters of the river, is built a fort called Dhiyāngarh, named after Raja Dhiyān Singh, and farther up are the forts of Salāl and Arnās, on opposite sides. Above the falling in of the Ans River the banks are more accessible; the footpaths that connect the villages, which at intervals occur in the valley, sometimes go along near the water-side, and sometimes have to leave it for a bit where rock-cliffs some hundreds of feet in height bound it.

I have not passed along the whole of the course of the river, but have crossed or touched it at various points. Rāmban is a place near where the Jummoo and Kashmir road crosses it by a wooden bridge of considerable span. Here the river is about 2400 feet above the sea; the village is on a terraced plateau a few hundred feet above it. Above Rāmban the mountains rise boldly on both sides of the river, with sometimes a rocky and sometimes a grassy slope; the stream flows in a narrow channel between them, often with a great depth of water. In this part is Gajpat Fort, a small work on the right bank, crowning a sugar-loaf hill whose sides have a slope of 40° or 45°. Farther on is Doda, fort and village; a place I have never seen.

x /133 The character of the mountains on the north side of the Chināb can be seen in one view from the opposite mountain. As one climbs this, on the south side of the river, and at successive

1s Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

heights looks back across the valley, the mountains on the north show out their whole form and grandeur. Behind Rāmban is a very distinct ridge, continuing for 15 miles at an average height of 9000 or 10,000 feet. From this ridge a succession of spurs come down to the river, separated by valleys which are little more than a mile distant from one another; at their mouths small tracts of land are terraced and often irrigated. The spur-sides are steep, but seldom rocky, the greater part of their surface is covered with herbage; some also is forest, but, from the general south aspect, not a great proportion; it is only where side-slopes give a more shady outlook that thick forest can be found, but over a good part of the rest trees and bushes are scattered. 133x

Besides the cultivation low down near the river, patches of land have been brought under tillage all the way up to 7000 feet, after partial levelling and terracing. This is more common than anywhere else on the flatter tops of the spurs just above their last fall to the river, say at an elevation of 5000 feet. Such hill-side cultivation depends entirely on rain for its moisture, for water cannot be brought to such spots for irrigation. 311 341

Farther back, are higher, rocky, mountains that reach some 2000 feet above the forest limit; these make part of the range that bounds Kashmir; over a long depression in this the Banihāl road leads to that country. Farther west there are the ridges of Dainkmarg, Pātal, and Sartali, all which have bold rocky summits. 133x

The branch valley, in which flows the Banihāl stream, reaches up among these mountains. Along the bottom of it are evergreens and deciduous trees, making a beautiful and varied foliage. The steep hill-sides above have long-leafed pines scattered over them; among these the road leads us, cut into the bank in winding contours, high above the stream. Farther up the valley the road comes to the very side of the stream, which flows among fallen rocks, often rushing over them in rapids. As we go up we gradually leave behind the trees of the lower region, and get among those that frequent higher levels.

Following up the main river, the next place where I have

133x approached it is Jangalwār. Here the level of the water is about 8000 feet; the rock is of a character to affect the form of the river channel; some four miles above Jangalwār the river flows through a narrow gorge formed by massive rocks of a siliceous mica schist. The mountains that rise up from this make a narrow steep-sided valley; for a height of four or five thousand feet above the stream the general slope is 37°; and so, with the indentations of side valleys, it continues to near Kishtwār.

KISHTWĀR.

361
133x I first got sight of Kishtwār from an upper road, away from the valley road. The view pleased the eye by displaying a plain in the midst of the mountains, not perfectly level, but undulating, everywhere cultivated, dotted with villages. This plain, which is about four miles in length from north to south and two miles across, is bounded on the right by mountains, and in front beyond it were seen mountains; on the left, that is on the west, it was ended by a deep ravine where the river flowed, the farther bank of this again being formed by lofty rocky mountains.

To reach this plain or plateau we had first to descend deep into another ravine that bounds it on the south, and from that to rise again. The plateau is 5300 or 5400 feet above the sea. Unlike most of the flatter openings among the hills, it is not a mere plain nor a terraced slope, but it has little eminences and undulations; nearly all is under cultivation. The villages are shaded by plane-trees and by fruit-trees; leading from one hamlet to another are hedge-rowed lanes, with white and yellow and red [526] rose, and other shrubs, flowering. By the town is a beautiful piece of smooth, nearly level, turf, half a mile long and a furlong broad, called the Chaugām, a place in former times kept for Polo playing, for which the carved goal-stones still remain, but now only common hockey is played on it; this place, too, has some fine chinār or plane trees ornamenting it, and one massive but broken deodar-tree.

133x When one has been travelling over rough roads in a mountain tract, and has not for many days seen any level ground, the sight

1_2 Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

of such a plain as this of Kishtwār gives one a peculiar pleasure; the secluded space, so well adorned with verdure and with flowers, and enclosed by great mountains, will from every one who sees it gain admiration.

As a rule, the mountains around are rocky below and have wooded slopes above; the wood is oak on the eastern hills, and deodar and fir on the opposite ridge. The mountain on the south-west of the plain is a remarkable one; it is separated from us as we stand at the western edge of our plateau by the river valley, which has been cut down to some 1300 feet below us; as we look across, a great cliff of some 3000 feet of height faces us, from the summit of which the ground slopes back to the wooded ridge. The most conspicuous and beautiful feature is made by the drainage from the upper part coming over the cliff in a waterfall of great height. Of this fall it is impossible to obtain a near and at the same time general view, but by going some way down the slope we get a fair sight of it, though at the distance of a mile or more. The water comes down not in one but many jumps; the aggregate height of the falls within view is about 2500 feet, and above these are a few hundred feet more, which can be seen from other points. The first two falls are each of about 500 feet; these are conspicuous from the town; below them are two or three small ones, making up six or seven hundred feet more; then there are irregular drops and cascades, partly hidden by vegetation and by the irregularities of the channel, these extending for some eight hundred feet to the river; thus the two and a half thousand feet are made up.

In this waterfall there is every variety of movement. In the greater leaps the water—although in volume not little, for the roar is distinctly heard at a distance of two miles—becomes scattered into spray; again it collects and comes over the next ledge in a thick stream; in parts it divides into various lines, which, at the distance, seem vertical, immovable, white threads. In the morning sun the spray made in the greater leaps shows prismatic colours, visible even at the distance of our chosen point—a phenomenon attributed by the people of the place to fairies who bathe

133x in and display the strange hues of their bodies through the shower. The cascade is in greatest force in the spring, on the melting of the snows above, and it was thus I saw it; from that time it diminishes, but it is again increased when heavy rain falls in the rainy season, that is, the late summer; in winter it is least.

361 [366] The small town of Kishtwār is dirty and dilapidated. There are about 200 houses, including a bazaar with some shops; but there was a complete absence of life, of the busy cheerfulness one sees in some bazaars. The people seem to have been brought to a low stage of poverty from having in former years been given over to the Wazīr family, which still holds much influence here. Two large houses, built after the fashion of the houses of the richer people in Kashmir, which belong to that family, are exceptions to the general state of decay. [712] There is an old fort, on a little rising ground, oblong, with corner towers and other projecting buildings: it is manned by some thirty men.

563 [564] The inhabitants are more than half Kashmīrī; the rest are Hindūs of the Thakar, Krār, and and other castes. The Kashmīrīs here, too, carry on their shawl work; there are some twenty workshops for it in the town. In this place, as in Bhadarwāh, they seem to have settled for some generations.

132 The climate of Kishtwār is something like that of Bhadarwāh, but it is somewhat warmer, and must have a less fall of rain and snow. Snow falls during four months, but it does not continually stay on the ground; it may do so for twenty days at a time. On the slope towards the river, 1000 or 1500 feet below, it stays but a day. The fruits produced are apple, quince, three kinds of pear, plum, a few apricots, cherry, peach, grape, mulberry, and walnut.

KISHTWĀR HISTORY.

175 Kishtwār was governed by Rājpūt Rajas, who in early times probably ruled independent of all others.

The first whose name I can hear of is Raja *Bhagwān Singh*, who must have lived 200 years or more ago, as he was seven generations back from the one who was ruler fifty years ago.

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The name of Raja Bhagwān Singh was preserved from the oblivion that has overtaken his ancestors solely by his having had the hardihood to make war on the King of Delhi of the time. It was in the direction of Kashmir—then ruled from Delhi—that occurred the collision between these two powers so disproportioned in force. Tradition says that there was some fighting, but that the Raja ultimately submitted,* and then the King of Delhi kindly bestowed two Wazīrs upon him, to advise him, to see that he committed no such errors as the last. The names of these two were Jīūn Pāl and Kahn Pāl; they were Khatrīs of Delhi. It is a curious thing that descendants of these men to this day are in Kishtwār; I made acquaintance with some of them. The position of these two Wazīrs must have been just like that of a British Resident at a Native Court in India now; but in that their office became hereditary, and that their families for generations supplied advisers to the ruler, the parallel does not hold. 175

After Bhagwān Singh, came in regular descent Raja *Mahā* Singh (or perhaps Mān Singh) and Raja *Jy Singh*, of whom nothing is recorded.

Then came (I am told he was son to the last named) Raja *Girat Singh*. This one left his old faith and became a Muhammadan, being converted by the miracles of one Syed Shāh Farīd-ud-Dīn. Girat Singh was called also a disciple of the Emperor Aurangzeb, who gave him the new name and title of Raja Sa'ādat Yār Khān. 797 175

This conversion seems to have been followed by that of a certain number, but by no means a majority, of the Kishtwār people. Of Muhammadanised Kishtwārīs, as distinguished from Kashmīrīs who, being Muhammadans, came in and settled, there are some both in the town and in the villages. No doubt many of the servants of the Raja turned Muhammadan with him. We must remember that at that time the faith had the prestige of [166]

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* One march on the road from Kishtwār to Kashmir is a place called Mughal Maidān, or, by the Kashmīrī, Mughal Mizār; Maidān means *plain*, Mizār means *burying-place*. People say that here some two hundred Mughal soldiers, that is, soldiers of the Delhi King, were cut up by the Kishtwār Raja's forces; it is probable that this happened on the very occasion spoken of in the text.

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797 being the one held by the rulers of India. I have met people, 175 Muhammadans, descended from the *farāsh*, or carpet-layers of the Raja, who were converted with him.

175 After this first Muhammadan Raja (whose change of religion determined the faith of all succeeding Rajas) came Raja *Amlūk Singh*, who received from the King of Delhi the style of Raja *Sa'adatmand Khān*. Then came Raja *Mihr Singh*, who received from the same source the title of Raja *Sa'idmand Khān*. Next came Raja *Sujhān Singh*; then Raja *'Ināyat Ulla Singh*; lastly, Raja *Muhammad Teg Singh*, also called *Saif Ulla Khān*. It is curious to see how the Rajas kept to their old title of *Singh*, in spite of having received from the emperors the Muhammadan one of *Khān*.

642 Raja Teg Singh was the last independent Kishtwārī ruler. 631 Down to his time the descendants of the two Wazīrs sent from Delhi were serving the family (they, by-the-bye, had not become 175 Muhammadans); but Raja Teg Singh made his chief adviser, and gave the title of Wazīr to, one Lakpat, a Thakar, who till then had been a small landholder. This man came to have a quarrel with his master, and I have heard something about the Raja drawing on him and wounding him. At all events, Wazīr Lakpat fled from Kishtwār and came to Raja Gulāb Singh, at Jummoo, and put him up to annexing Kishtwār, showing how easily it could be done. Gulāb Singh brought a force to Doda, and there was met by the Raja, who, without fighting, gave himself [797] up. He went to Lāhor, to Ranjīt Singh's Court. Teg Singh had two sons, Jemal Singh and Zurāwar Singh. Cunningham says that the representative of the family (whether one of these two or a further descendant I do not know) was converted to Christianity by an American missionary at Ludhiāna.

175 Kishtwār has ever since belonged to Jummoo. Wazīr Lakpat held high office under Raja Gulāb Singh, and did him good service: he was killed at Munshī Bagh, close to Sirīnagar, in the fight between Gulāb Singh's troops and Shekh Imām-ud-din's, in the year 1846. His son was Wazīr Zurāwrū, who was a confidential minister of the Maharaja's when I came to Jummoo;

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he died while I was there. The family still have in some way power, and I think hold land, in Kishtwār.

It has been said above that the descendants of the two Wazīrs from Delhi for long remained in power in Kishtwār. They were, in fact, hereditary ministers. They so far left the rules of their caste—induced to do so, no doubt, by their isolated position away from all their caste-fellows—as to intermarry with the Thakars. When I was in Kishtwār an old gentleman of that family, Wazīr Khoja Bhoncha, a man then over eighty, a man who had travelled, who had seen Multān and Peshāwar, told me of some of the events written above, and of others in which he had been an on-looker, and even an actor. Some of these are connected, distantly perhaps, with the late history of our own country. He told me about Shāh Shuja'-ul-Mulk, the refugee King of Kābul, the supporting of whom afterwards brought so much trouble to the British nation; how one day, on Bysākhī, the festival held on the first of the month of Bysākh, Shāh Shuja, got free from the toils that Ranjīt Singh of Lāhor was holding him in, and made his way through the mountains, all strange to him, through, necessarily, tracts held by Hindū rulers, whose protection, as they were more or less under the influence of the Sikh power, he could not rely on, to Kishtwār, to the one Hill Raja of those parts who was of his own faith. The Raja of Kishtwār entertained him well, and supplied his wants for two years. This Wazīr Khoja Bhoncha was appointed to attend him as *mihmāndār*, or guest-keeper. The Wazīr spoke with great admiration of Shāh Shuja', as a fine man, and a man of real kingly disposition and presence. After staying quietly in Kishtwār for two years, the dethroned king became impatient, and he formed the wild scheme of attacking Kashmir. The traveller Vigne says that, Azim Khān being then the Afghān Governor of Kashmir, Shāh Shuja' entered it by the Mārbal Pass with three or four thousand men. He was defeated, and was obliged to return to Kishtwār. Ranjīt Singh, who himself was making attempts on Kashmir, was not going to let Shāh Shuja' carry on such projects, and he would not have him remain in Kishtwār.

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175 He sent word to the Raja to forward the refugee to him as a prisoner. This the host declined to do, but it became necessary for Shāh Shuja' to leave his protector for fear he should bring about his ruin. The advance on Kashmir probably was in 1815; the retirement from Kishtwār in 1816. Crossing the snowy range to Zānskār, and marching along at the back of it, Shāh Shuja' came over into Kulū, and made his way down to Ludhiāna, the British frontier post. From the time he reached that place till his death his strange fortunes make part of British history.

KISHTWAR TO PĀDAR.

133+ We will now trace the Chīnāb still farther up, into the district which bears the name of Pādar. In doing this we shall get among mountains of a different character from those hitherto described, too lofty to be classed as "Middle Mountains;" but it will be more convenient to follow the river into this higher part of its valley now than to break off on account of its not strictly coming under the heading of this chapter.

It has been said that this Chīnāb river flows in a deep hollow many hundred feet below the Kishtwār plateau. A road from Kishtwār to Kashmir crosses the river just above the junction of the Wardwan stream, which flows in from the north. The level of the junction I made to be about 3600 feet. Above the junction, for some hundred yards, the Chīnāb comes through a narrow channel in the rock, only 60 feet wide, flowing smoothly and 491 slowly, with doubtless a great depth of water. The rise and fall between winter and summer is about 30 feet. It is here bridged in a way that is often adopted among these high mountains for the larger rivers. There is a suspension bridge of simple construction. First of all, a dozen or more ropes, more than long enough to span the river, are made of twisted twigs, commonly of the birch, but other trees or shrubs are used as well; each of these ropes, rough, with the cut ends of the twigs projecting, is about of that thickness that it can just be spanned with the finger and thumb. These are collected into three groups, each group of four or more ropes loosely twisted together; one of these cables is hung across for one's footing; the other two, a yard above it, one on each side, are for one to steady one's self by. The passage of these rope bridges (which go by the name of *Jhūla*, that is to say, a swing) is usually not difficult; still, for some people, the seeing a torrent roaring beneath the feet, with only a few twigs for support, is nervous work; when, with a bridge of large span, there is a high wind that sways it to and fro it is really difficult to those unused, and even to those used to the work if they have to carry a load. Traffic is sometimes stopped for some hours by reason of the wind. The greatest span of a bridge of this sort that I have known is about 300 feet. The one at Rondū I measured, and found to be 370 feet in the curve. 491

It will be understood that four-footed beasts cannot cross by these bridges: in this case by Kishtwār, ponies are swum across, aided by a rope held by a man who leads it across the bridge. This is a dangerous business for the animals, and it often leads to losses, for one mistake or a little hesitation will cause them to be drowned. I have met with one exception to the rule of four-footed animals not crossing these bridges. I knew a dog who commonly followed his master over them; it was a spaniel of English extraction that belonged to the Thānadār of Zānskār: he would deliberately, slowly, walk along the rough twig-ropes, steadying himself at every step; even when the bridge was swaying in the wind he never lost his nerve.

Such a bridge as this is renewed every three years, if before that it is not carried away by any unusual flood.*

Following the river up towards Pādar, we get at once among high rocky mountains. /33x

The road takes a shorter way than the river, rising over the last spur. It is four days' march from Kishtwār to Athollī, in

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* About Muzafarābād the ropes composing the Jhūlas are made of buffalo-hide. In some parts of the Chināb Valley another sort of bridge is in use; it is called *Chīkā*, which may be translated "haul-bridge;" a smooth rope of several strands is hung across, and on this traverses a wooden ring, from which hangs a loop in which one seats one's self; by another rope the ring and all are pulled across; down the curve the passage is quick, but the pulling up is a slow process, sometimes interrupted by the breaking of the hauling rope, when the passenger is left swinging in the middle.

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Pādar, the distance being 48 miles. In the first day's march we pass through a thick forest of oak varied with firs. The path contoured through it for some miles; there were signs of deserted terrace-fields, which must have been thrown out of cultivation long ago, for oaks of 6 feet girth were growing on them. Anon the road passed along a rocky face of hill somewhat difficult to cross; again we came to a wooded slope, where there was a mixed forest of deodar, *Pinus excelsa*, oak, and chestnut, with underwood of hazel; and so, with many ups and downs and much curving in and out of the ravines, mostly among woods, Bagnī, the first stage, was reached.

For the next two marches and more the way leads over somewhat similar ground, but with greater heights to climb. The river is edged by cliffs, and to avoid them the path rises to great heights. In one march we had to ascend as much as 2500 feet. The road was in many parts difficult; sometimes we had to ascend many hundred feet across smooth slopes of rock; where not rocky, the ground was often in forest; there was little cultivation, but there were signs of there having been more in some former time.

Our height above the river gave such an advantage for seeing the mountains on the opposite side of it that the views from many points along the march were some of the grandest I had seen in the Himalayas. We looked across the valley, sometimes with a clear open view, sometimes getting peeps through the dense forest, on to great broken cliffs or rocky slopes that rose direct from the river for 6000 or 7000 feet; these were the ends of mighty spurs from the lofty ridge beyond, which we sighted, as we passed along, looking up the valleys that in succession opened between the spurs.

From one of the highest points reached by the road, a place called Sirī, 8700 feet high, which was formerly a summer grazing place, and is the halting place at the end of the third march, we saw as great a vertical height within a few miles as one can often see even in the Himalayas. The summit was 12 miles distant, and in that space a height of 16,000 feet was visible. There rose a magnificent set of peaks, called the Brama peaks—five points in

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a sharp rocky ridge—20,000 and 21,000 feet high; some are so steep as to bear little or no snow; some are thickly clothed with it. A glacier occupied a hollow, and extended towards us for some miles, but ended off still high up. The rocky ridges and precipitous spurs that lead down from the peaks are on a very great scale; a thousand-foot cliff would count for little among them. At the lower part of the slopes, wherever a little ledge has enabled the seed to lodge, deodar-trees crown the rocks. The river washed the foot of the spurs at a level of five or six thousand feet. /33x

Passing on round mountain spurs on our own side, we suddenly come into view of the inhabited part of Pādar, which is altogether on the south side of the valley. There are a number of villages occupying ground sloping to the river, backed by lofty wooded and snow-capped hills. The road brought us down to the level of these villages, and then led us along the river-side for a few miles to Atholī, which is the head-quarters of the district. [361]

Besides the road by which we had come from Kishtwār, which is the summer road and does not open till May, there is another that may be traversed in the winter when the water is low, for then some of the obstacles—the steep cliffs—can be turned by taking to the river-bed. There are, however, some parts of this which make it a very difficult path; it is impossible to take ponies along it; the upper road indeed is hardly fit for them, but the few that go in and out of Pādar go by that way, only at some risk. 487

PĀDAR.

The space included under the name Pādar consists of the valley of the Chīnāb from a little below Sirī, our last stage, up to the boundary of Pāngī, which belongs to Chamba, a length of 30 miles, with, in addition, the valley called Bhutnā up to its source, and the subsidiary ravines of both the Chīnāb and the Bhutnā River.* /31

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* Pādar is, I believe, the proper native name. Sometimes by the Dogrās, and more often by the Zānskār people, it is called *Pāldar*, or *Paldar*. Cunningham (see his 'Ladak,' pp. 342–344) confounds it with Padam, the chief place in Zānskār; this mistake curiously confuses a portion of his otherwise admirable account of the conquest of Ladākh by the Dogrās.

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133x 361 Pâdar is surrounded, we might almost say enclosed, by mountains bearing perpetual snow; these give rise to glaciers, which end off at too high a level for them to project into the main valley. Most of the mountains in sight from below are either the [311] rocky or the forest-covered lower slopes. The cultivated part is very small in extent; there is the collection of villages in the four miles below Atholi, where is the widest opening in the whole tract; and there are some small villages at intervals farther up the two valleys. All these together have 400 houses.

131 Atholi, which may be counted the chief place in Pâdar, is on an alluvial plateau, 6360 feet above the sea and 200 feet above the river; on the opposite bank is a wider plain, some 60 feet [7 12] lower in level. At the very point of the meeting of the Bhutnâ River with the Chînâb, only 40 or 50 feet above the water, is the present fort, a little toy-looking affair; it is a square work with round corner towers, built, in the manner of the country, of alternate courses of stone and timber, and plastered over; it is garrisoned by ten or twelve men. Behind the fort are remains of the former town of Chatargarh; these are linear heaps of stones, arranged, on the whole, in a square form. On the same plateau are groups of trees, sheltering some wooden temples and shrines.

133x The Chînâb, which flows between the two plateaus, comes from the direction of Pângi through a rock-bounded gorge, in a narrow deep stream; then widening out it sweeps along below Atholi. At the beginning of June, when the sun was fast melting the snows, and the glacier-water was bringing down in suspension a fine light drab mud that coloured the whole river, the rate of the current at this spot was 6½ miles an hour. It is here spanned by a rope bridge; a wooden bridge that for some years had existed, was carried away by a flood about 1865; this probably was the flood which I heard of as having been brought about by a natural damming of the river in Lâhol far away up; the breaking of the dam made the waters rise at Atholi to something like 100 feet above their winter level.

132 The climate of Pâdar is severe. From its elevation, and the considerable moisture of its air, there is a great fall of snow in

winter. I hear that snow gets to be 3 feet deep and stays 4 or 5 months, and that there is a good chance of it falling at unseasonable times besides. This and a want of sun make it difficult for the crops to ripen. The sunshine is intercepted, not only by the clouds that the mountains attract, but also by the mountains themselves, which shut in the valley so closely. At Atholī I found that the average angular elevation of the visible horizon—that is, of the mountain-summits all round—was 18°. This want of sunshine affects the fruits, which do not well ripen, though some fruit-trees, especially walnut trees, are common. 132

Pādar is one of the few places where I have met with the edible pine, *Pinus Gerardiana*; it is a large spreading tree with smooth bark; scattered individuals of it are found in the forest.* Wild carraway grows here, and is gathered in quantities to be carried to Jummoo for sale; the price in Pādar is about eightpence a pound. 137 222 438

The district we are now in is one of those where deodar forests occur in such positions as make it practicable to fell the trees for timber for use in the Panjāb. The necessary condition is that the slope on which the trees grow should be so near a large stream that without an extreme amount of labour the logs can be moved or slid, without fear of splitting, into the water, where they will float away down the stream. 313

Since the beginning of British rule in the Panjāb the demand for deodar timber has been great. No tree grows in any quantity in the Panjāb which will produce beams fit for a large building. Hence in former times to some extent, but still more since the British came there, the Panjāb has called on the Himalayas to supply it with timber; of all the Himalayan trees the deodar has been proved to be the best to resist the destructive insects, especially the white ants, which abound in the plains.

In the course of years the most favourably situated deodar forests in the Chināb Valley have been felled, and there now remain chiefly trees which either are of a less girth than can be

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* The only other part where I have found this tree is near Dōiyān, in the Astor country, as mentioned in Chapter xvii.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AV/

3/3 used to the best advantage, or are at such a distance from the stream-bank that the transport of the logs to the water is difficult, or, may be, would involve a prohibitory expense.

What was considered a good tree was one whose girth a few feet above the ground would be not under 9 feet, and whose height, for useful timber, was 60 or 70 feet; now in the forests we passed through from Kishtwār hither, the common girth was 5 or 6 feet only.

The plan is to fell the tree with axes, and cut it into logs of length varying, according to the use the timber is to be put to, from 10 feet to 20 or more, and to mark them in some distinctive way. The logs are then rolled or slid down the hill-side, or down some small ravine of regular slope, to the river.

This work is done in the spring and early summer—or if deferred till the autumn, it would be but in preparation for the next year—so that, on the rising of the river from the snow-melting, in May, June, July, and August, the logs may float away. In spite of some of them becoming stuck on the rocks or stranded on the shore, a good many will find their way through the mountain country to where the river debouches into the plains. What is done with them there we shall see when we come again to Akhnūr, on our march to Kashmir.

Although nearly all the easily-reached deodar-trees of large size have been cut down, there still remain, in the valleys of the Chināb and its tributaries, forests that may be made available by longer slides; and there are besides, in places very accessible, numbers of trees which, though not of full size, will yet produce much useful timber.

/33x While in Pādar I heard accounts, and carefully verified them, of avalanches that have at various times occurred there. They come from the range on the south. The summits of this are at a level of 15,000 and 16,000 feet; from that height down to the Pādar Valley is a fall of 9000 or 10,000 feet in six miles. The valleys that drain great spaces of these snow-covered mountains narrow at last to a gorge, just before debouching into the main valley of Pādar. It is in years when unusually much snow has fallen on the mountains that avalanches come; the snow rushes out of the gorge that makes the mouth of the side ravine in a continuous flow that lasts for half an hour or nearly an hour, carrying down stones and trees, carrying them down the sloping ground of the alluvial fan at the embouchure of the ravine. On one of these fans were stones 6 feet across, which had been, in the cognizance of my informants, brought over it by such an avalanche, and I believe that much larger masses have been thus moved.

The time when this phenomenon may occur is in the months of Poh and Māngh, that is, between the middle of December and the middle of February. The snow was described to me as being like flour.* The flow of it seems a real drainage of snow from a great area of the surface into the one line of the gorge.

There are stone-phenomena at Pādar and some other places, the accounting for which will be helped on by a knowledge of the occurrence of these avalanches. There are lines of heaped stones parallel with the side streams and leading up to the gorge from which may have come the avalanche; they are not like an alluvial fan deposit, though they are sometimes mixed up with that, and they are often too regular to be like the moraine of an old glacier; the material of such long stone-heaps was, I think, brought down with the rush of snow and deposited just at the side of the stream of it. It is, however, often difficult to decide whether a particular deposit should be referred to this agency or should be classed as an old moraine.

PĀDAR HISTORY.

Let us now turn from these physical details to learn a little of the history of the men who inhabit the district. 564 101

The people of Pādar are in great part Thakars. There are also some low-caste people, chiefly of the Megh caste; there is

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* In Tyndall's 'Glaciers of the Alps,' pp. 164–5, there is an account of an avalanche at Saas, where also the snow is likened to flour; the fineness of it must be due to its forming at high altitudes, at a very low temperature, and perhaps to there being at the time of its formation but a small positive amount of moisture in the air.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

564 101 an entire village of these near the fort. There are a few Muhammadans who probably are converted Thakars. The Thakars have just those characteristics by which we described the Pahāris generally.

563 166 Besides the Hindūs and Muhammadans, there are two or three hamlets towards the head of Bhutnā, eleven houses in all, inhabited by Bhots or Buddhists from Zānskār, on the farther side of the great range. I here only mention their occurrence; the characters of that Tibetan race they belong to will be given farther on, under the heading of Ladākh.

771 The people of Pādar seem a good deal given to serpent worship; they do not, however, separate it from their observance of the rites of the Hindū religion; the serpent is reckoned among the many devtas or gods recognised by that faith; one sees temples raised to different *nāg-devtas*, or serpent-gods, which are adorned with wood-carvings of snakes in many forms.*

175 564 643 The earliest state of Pādar that I can hear of is in a period that ended more than two hundred years ago; then the chief men, or the rulers, or the ruling caste, were Rānās. Rānā is an old Hindū word for a ruler who (in these parts, at all events) is less in power than a Raja. The Rānās of Pādar were Rājpūts; every village or every two or three villages had its Rānā, an independent ruler, who used to make war against his neighbour the next-door Rānā. The district of Pāngī was, I believe, in the same state. [241] [582] There are descendants of these Rānās in Pādar to this day; they have taken to cultivation and till the bit of land that has been preserved to them; but they still keep their caste distinct; they will marry the daughters of Thakars, but will not give theirs to them in marriage.†

175 That state of things, so pleasant for the Rānās, was broken in upon by Raja Chatar Singh, of Chamba, who was eight generations back from Raja Srī Singh, who was ruler in 1869; the time

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* One of these temples is where there comes out a hot spring of considerable volume which has a temperature of 131°; bubbles of sulphuretted hydrogen escape from it. Here a bathing-place has been built, and a dharmsāla or resting-place for faqīrs.

† Rānās are met with also in Bhadarwāh.

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of the change may therefore have been about 1650 A.D. Chatar Singh first conquered Pāngī; from there he advanced with some 200 men to Pādar, and, annexing it, founded the fort and town named after him Chatargarh, whose ruins or traces are still to be seen opposite to Atholī. 175

The place flourished well; forty years ago it had 140 houses —a large collection for this thinly-peopled country—nearly all enclosed within the four walls of the square fort. Water was brought to it from a ravine at some distance, being led across the plain in a wooden trough raised on a stone bank. I am told that on the founding of this town most of the followers of Chatar Singh settled there and formed the mass of the male population. Those who settled, whatever their caste—Brahman, Rājpūt, or what—intermarried with the inhabitants and became practically Thakars. One of my informants told me that he himself was descended from a Brahman who was of that immigration, but now he could call himself nothing but a Thakar. 361 364

From Chatar Singh's time onwards Pādar remained comfortably under the Rajas of Chamba for five or six generations. 175

A late episode of that time I was told of by the Pādar people, and incline in the main to believe, though I have not verified the story. They say that about the year 1820 or 1825 A.D., they made up an expedition against Zānskār, and brought that country (which was held by a Bhot Raja, under Ladākh) to be so far tributary that every year 1000 rupees, besides musk-bags and other things, were sent by the ruler of Zānskār as nazar to the Chamba Raja. A strange feature of this business was that it was carried through by one Ratanū, a Thakar, a small landowner of Pādar, and not by orders from Chamba.

The event that led to the next change in Pādar was the invasion of Ladākh by the Jummoo troops under Zurāwar Singh Kalūriā,* a leader in the service of Maharaja Gulāb Singh, in 1834. Of this invasion an interesting account is given by Cunningham from an actor in it. At the end of the first year of the war in 642 631 175

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* Kalūriā is the name of the tribe of Rājpūts (located near Simla), to which this bold leader belonged.

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175 642 631 Ladākh, Zurāwar Singh sent Wazīr Lakpat (whose early career we have traced from Kishtwār) from Zānskār to Pādar, in order to open a new road from Jummoo to Ladākh.

Cunningham's account says there was some little fighting. Lakpat passed on, leaving only a thānadār[1] and a few men in Pādar, having done no harm to the place. After Lakpat had left, the enterprising Ratanū above mentioned stirred up the people, who seized the Dogrās and sent them prisoners to Chamba.

The Raja of Chamba disavowed the act to Gulāb Singh, and, releasing the prisoners, sent them to Jummoo. But this did not avert the consequences. On the opening of the season Zurāwar Singh himself came with a force (Cunningham's informant says 3000 men), but he was unable to get at Chatargarh, for the bridges across the Chināb had been destroyed. He was thus kept at bay for two months; during this time he had established a battery on the edge of the plateau, on the left bank, where it overlooks Chatargarh.

At last, with the help of some peasants, the Dogrās got a rope across a few miles lower down, and crossing over by means of this, they came up the right bank of the Chināb; then, getting across the Bhutnā River by a bridge that had not been destroyed, they advanced on Chatargarh, took it by storm, and set fire to and completely destroyed the town, so that nothing but heaps of stones were left. Zurāwar Singh hanged several people, and mutilated several. By these measures and by the building of the present fort, the Jummoo rule became firmly established in Pādar, which has remained quiet ever since; it is now under the Tahsīldār of Bhadarwāh.

175 I must not omit to tell of the end of Ratanū, the patriot. He was sent prisoner to Jummoo, and there kept in confinement for three or four years; then he was released, and received for his maintenance a small jāgīr, or land-grant, in the Kishtwār country, which his sons still hold. Once after this he offended Gulāb Singh. On the death of the Raja of Chamba of that time he shaved his beard; it is the custom, as we have seen at Jummoo, for Hindūs to do this on the loss of their sovereign, and,

[1] [i.e., police OFFICER in charge of a station--ANALYST]

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so far as it went, it was a sign of disobedience against, a disavowal of, the authority of Maharaja Gulāb Singh. That ruler had Ratanū brought to him at Jummoo, but then forgave him. 175

BHUTNĀ.

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We have seen that Pādar includes the valley called Bhutnā, which leads down from the great snowy range till it joins the Chināb Valley. [482] From Pādar a road goes up Bhutnā and crosses to Zānskār by the high, snowy, and difficult Pass named Umāsī Lā by the Zānskār people, and Bardhār by the Pādar people and the Dogrās. I passed from Pādar over this Pass to Ladākh, but I do not propose to tell of the journey, only to take the reader up the Bhutnā Valley to see what there is of interest on this side of the snowy range.

Crossing both the Chināb and its tributary, we went along the [361] right bank of the latter by a fair path, sometimes 200 or 300 feet above the stream, and sometimes at the level of it. We passed patches of cultivation on both sides, and several hamlets of a few houses each; some of the villages had walnut-trees flourishing, but their fruit does not here ripen well. At one part we went through an oak wood, which grew on both hill-sides. Deodar had been growing, chiefly on the left bank above the oak, and farther up the valley it had reached down to the river, but it had all been felled for timber.

These hill-sides which we passed along, as is commonly the case in the narrow Himalayan valleys, were the extremities of spurs from greater ridges; they themselves showed us a face of some thousand feet, but they were connected with much more lofty mountains, mountains of perpetual snow, 18,000 to 20,000 feet high, which are only sometimes caught sight of through the dividing side-ravines.

Above Kundhel we see instances of a fall of rock having dammed the river. Going upwards, we first find the water coming over the talus or fan-material (the cause of the damming) in a cataract, while immediately above the valley opens, and the waters spread out almost wide enough for them to be called a lake.

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133 ✗ Farther up is another such closing of the river from the side and widening above.

These semi-lakes had apparently been quite lately formed, as there were trees upright some feet in the water, which therefore had been brought to its present high level by damming since the growth of the trees. But, again, there was something to show that the water had been yet higher before now—sandy alluvial beds some 15 feet above the present surface. These things prove that at different times the same event occurred; that the lake and accompanying lake-deposits had been formed, that the water had drained away to a lower level by a channel being cut through the dam, and that a later increase of the dam had caused the action to be repeated, though not quite to the same degree as before. ✗

133 731 As we approach Hamūri the valley has a more stony look; the masses of rock that have fallen from the cliffs above, or have been carried down in snow-falls, are very conspicuous. Hamūri itself, a little village in the valley, 8800 feet above the sea, interested me on account of the evidence it gave of certain recent physical events. Some twelve years before, about 1857, a rush of snow down the two ravines a little below the village, one on each side of the main valley, advanced the taluses so much that these completely dammed up the river; the waters of it rose to the level of the village as it was then situated, and came over some of the fields; the people left their houses for fear of inundation, but soon the waters cut for themselves a small channel, and the level of them was lowered some 30 feet, but still remained 60 feet higher than at first. From the dam downwards was formed a great and violent cascade; but above, at the time I am speaking of, there was formed as it were a lake, where the water was quite calm, and, from its depth, flowed very slowly. In the space of three years the greater part of this depth (which must have been 60 or 70 feet, plus the original depth of the stream) was filled up with sediment of sand and pebbles. The point of interest here is the great rapidity of formation of this lacustrine or semi-lacustrine deposit.

For a year or two the village remained undisturbed; then

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misfortune came in another form. It was a very snowy year. From the side of the valley opposite to that on which the village stood, from the left bank, came down an avalanche, and this was able, from the bottom of the valley of the river being so filled up, to reach across to the village. The village would have been safe had the original form of the valley been retained, but with the hollow bridged, as it were, with the gravel deposit, the avalanche spread over and made a great plain of thick snow (beneath which the river found its way), and completely buried the houses. It was night time, and all the people were at rest; the headman managed to dig his way out and call aid from other villages. In about twenty hours all the inhabitants of Hamūri were excavated alive, though some were insensible from the confinement of the air. The people love to relate how that more came out than had been buried, for during the night a child had been born beneath the snow.

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Hamūri was fated to undergo further alarms. Not long after the last event an earthquake brought down a great mass of rock from the cliff that overlooks the place. This landslip destroyed some of the fields and knocked in one or two of the houses, which, however, were empty at the time; so here, too, the Hamūri people had less ill-fortune than was threatened. But now they concluded that it was time to leave a spot of such danger, and they begged the authorities to give them land elsewhere; but since the keeping up of settlements in these high parts is almost necessary for the aid of travellers between Pādar and Zānskār, they were persuaded to stay, with the relief of some reduction of their land-tax; so they built a new village higher up, but they could find no site that is quite free from the danger of avalanches.

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A little before coming to Hamūri we had passed two cascades, on the left bank, made by two streams, near together, tumbling over successive ridges of rock; the whole fall of each was some 1500 feet. In a ravine nearer Hamūri, where the foot of a glacier that is embosomed high in the mountain comes to the edge of a steep cliff, the water from it comes over in a fall of several hundred feet.

133+ I must not leave unnoticed the *roches moutonnées*, produced by old glaciers, in the main valley a little higher up than Hamūrī, with grooves on the gneiss rock running in the direction of the valley; this is about 300 feet above the river and 9200 feet above the sea.

[361] [563] The highest village of any size in the Bhutnā valley is Machel, two marches, or 22 miles, from Atholī. At Machel Bhots predominate, though there are a few families of Hindūs. The Bhots seem to have been for long settled in this upper end of the valley. Machel is 9700 feet above the sea; the highest [221] inhabited place of all is Sunjām, half a march beyond Machel; here is but one household of Bhots, a hardy family; they are confined within doors by the snow for seven months in the year. We were there on the 7th June and the snow had melted from the fields about a month before.

137 We had noticed, as we ascended the valley, that the vegetation gradually diminished; at Machel the mountain side had become much barer; there were some stunted deodars, but at a height of 9800 feet the growth of that tree altogether ended; spruce and silver fir continued farther; birch, which had at first appeared at 8000 feet, grew higher than all the others. The last limits of forest trees that I observed, still along the valley, were 12,000 feet for silver fir and 12,500 feet for birch; but this was counting the last straggling trees.

241 At Sunjām, 11,000 feet, they sow wheat, peas, buckwheat, and the kind of barley called *grim*, the grain of which becomes loosened from its husk like the grain of wheat, which I shall hereafter call "naked barley." Often the wheat does not ripen, but they sow some every year for the chance. Sometimes the whole harvest fails, and then they have to go to the Kishtwār country for grain, taking down sheep to exchange.

133+ Beyond Sunjām is nothing but a waste of streams and bare mountains, of glaciers and of snow.

MIDDLE MOUNTAINS OF THE WEST.

West of the meridian of Jummoo, as has indeed been more than once said, these mountains have not such a wide area, nor

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one whose boundary with the Outer Hills is so well defined as is the case on the east.

As so much time has been spent over the eastern tract, I will now do little more than point out where on the west similar spaces occur.

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Just west of the Chināb, behind Paunī, a ridge, which corresponds to the one we traced as far as that river from the east, rises suddenly and towers above the Outer Hills which lie to the south of it. This is called Dragarī Thār, being sacred to a devta[1] whose name is Dragar. The south face of it is a great escarpment; it has a line of precipitous limestone cliffs, of which the part vertical is about 1000 feet, and far down beneath that a talus-slope continues; the ridge is narrow and the ground inclines quickly, but not precipitously, down to the north.

Looking in that direction from the summit, we get a general view of this mountain-tract which shows it to have the same characters as that around Rāmban and Bhadarwāh. We see a number of ridges, some parallel for a short distance, some branching, spreading out in innumerable spurs in every direction. The lower parts are dotted with chīl-trees and with patches, or, as they appear in the distance, specks of cultivated ground. The higher ridges bear thick forest of the other pine. These mountains are in the tract called Budil, which is drained by the Ans River. I have never been over it, but, from accounts, believe it to be very similar to what was described behind Rāmban, and to have for inhabitants the same Pahārī race. Beyond appears the snowy Panjāl, the southern boundary of Kashmir, which at this part is a complete ridge, nowhere broken by a gap, only jagged by rocky peaks standing up out of the snowy mass. In the beginning of May, when I saw the range from this spot, snow was covering a great vertical height of the mountains, but by August or September all melts away, except a few beds that have collected to a thickness by snow-slips.

The neighbourhood around Dragarī Thār produces iron, which is smelted by the caste called *Dhiyār*. These men, at the starting of a new furnace or the beginning of any other important business, go to a spot on the ridge where there is an altar raised

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[1] [illegible] a Hindu [illegible]

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326 to the devta Dragar, and there sacrifice. They kill a goat
776 and burn some *ghī* before the altar. The ghī burnt, they eat
782 the goat themselves, not, I think, sparing even the head to the
flames. The iron spoon the ghī was burnt in is left. There were
something like a hundred iron spoons accumulated, and around
some iron tridents were placed, and a collection of strangely-shaped stones.

133+ The next part that I know of these mountains is the country between Rājāorī and the Pīr Panjāl Pass. If we leave the main road to Kashmir and go up the Darhāl valley, we find ourselves at first between hills of the character of those which we have classed as "Outer Hills," but in about six miles they take the character of those of the "Pahār;" this is partly due to change of geological formation—for we have here come upon older rocks—and partly to increased height. The slopes are more continuous; they are unbroken by parallel jutting beds; their surface is better suited for the growth of forest trees. At the village called Barī Darhāl, a few miles farther up, we are quite among mountains of this kind; they are all clothed with thick wood, in the lower part of deciduous trees, while, above, the forest suddenly changes to fir, which extends far up the slope till replaced at the last by birch. These mountains belong to the Ratan Ridge, which not far from here branches from the Panjāl Range; the ridge itself, with its spurs and the space included between it and the high range, extending towards Pūnch, make another wide tract of "Middle Mountains." We shall come again to the Ratan Ridge on our march to Kashmir.

There is another long ridge, similar in many respects to the Ratan Ridge. It branches off from the Panjāl Range farther to the north-west, and runs in a general way from east to west, for 50 miles straight, or nearly 70 measured along its course. This, with its branches and spurs, occupies an area between the latitude-parallel of Pūnch and the Jhelam river, which area also we must count to belong to the tract.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

CHAPTER VII.

MARCH FROM JUMMOO TO KASHMIR.

ROUTES FROM THE PLAINS TO SIRÎNAGAR, IN KASHMIR—PREPARATIONS FOR THE JOURNEY—JUMMOO TO AKHNŪR; ONE MARCH—TIMBER CATCHING AT AKHNŪR—AKHNŪR TO RĀJĀORĪ; FIVE MARCHES—RĀJĀORĪ TO SIRÎNAGAR; EIGHT MARCHES.

AFTER the Middle Mountains, the next tract that will have our 487
attention is Kashmir. Before, however, beginning on that 494
country, I propose to give, in this separate chapter, some account of the roads, but especially of one of them, between the Panjāb and Kashmir, both for an example of the kind of travelling one experiences in such countries as these, and for the sake of connecting in the reader's mind those parts which up till now we have dwelt on with the countries beyond.

ROUTES FROM THE PLAINS TO SIRÎNAGAR, IN KASHMIR.

The statement of the number of routes between the plains and Kashmir may be varied, the number may be made greater or less, according as one takes in or leaves out the less frequented, difficult, roads, and according to whether one counts the combinations that may be made by following first one route, then by a cross-road joining another. In the Political Map are shown six or seven routes that start from various parts of the plains and unite at Sirînagar the capital of Kashmir, and in Appendix IV. the marches in each route are given in detail.

The various roads are used in different degrees and for different purposes.

The road from Jummoo by Banihāl is the chief commercial 438
route. It has become so for the reason that its starting-point in the hills is not very far from Amritsar, the emporium of the Panjāb, between which place and Jummoo there has long been a close commercial connection, while the road is open for more
months OF THE YEAR THAN SOME OF THE OTHERS.

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months of the year than some of the others. But the path itself is not good, nor is the country it goes over favourable to communications; there are five distinct ridges of hill to be crossed, besides many ups and downs over spurs that cause almost as much labour as do the passes. Horses can pass along it, though with some difficulty; the greater part of the carriage is done by men, or, in the case of grain, by pack-bullocks.

The second road, by Budil, is so far worse than the last that it is impassable for horses; it is only traversed by men, chiefly by those engaged in carrying up loads of salt and bringing down ghī.

No. 3 is a cross-road from Jummoo to join the next.

The road numbered 4, from Bhimbar over the Pīr Panjāl Pass, is the one, as told in Chapter v., that the Delhi Emperors used to go by, and that at this day English travellers much frequent. It is a road that one can ride over on a hill pony.

The next, from Bhimbar, by Rājāorī and Pūnch, to Sirīnagar, is a combination of numbers 4, 5, and 6. It avoids the high Pīr Panjāl Pass, and for that reason it is freer from snow, and open for traffic earlier in the season, than the preceding one.

The route marked No. 6, from Jhelam, is not much used, since it traverses rough ground. In some respects, however, it has advantages over the others. It seems to me likely that when the railway from Lāhor is completed as far as Jhelam, that place will become a good starting-point for Kashmir, and this road may get more into favour, and merit a better construction and maintenance.

Route No. 7, from the British Hill-station of Marī, or Murree, is not much used for commercial purposes, but is a great deal frequented by English travellers. One can now go right up into the hills, to Marī itself, by post-carriage, and there, already in cool breezes, can at leisure prepare for the march to Kashmir. The road, too, is about the best of all; horses can go along it without danger.

Route No. 8, from Abbotābād by Muzafarābād, is the only one that is free, or nearly free, from snow in the winter; besides this

it has the advantage of not going over high ground, the ups and 487
downs in it are trifling; hence it is a convenient road for those 494
whose way, from Kashmir, say, lies in the direction at Atak and Peshāwar.

Not all of these roads are open to the English traveller (whose [486] journeyings involve special arrangements); the first three are closed to him. The others have been open to Englishmen for six months of the year. Quite lately new arrangements have been made; I am not sure whether or no this restriction about time has been taken off. There is now, I believe, a limitation of the number of officers of the army who may go to Kashmir for their leave; 200 at one time are allowed. The justification for this is the great requisition for carriage that, as will be seen below, each British traveller is sure to make.*

The road I have chosen, for ourselves to look into the particulars of it, is a combination of Nos. 3 and 4. We shall go from Jummoo in a north-westerly direction, so as to cut into the road from Bhimbar at Rājāorī, and from there onwards to Sirīnagar.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE JOURNEY.

A few words before starting, as to certain specialities of travel- 484
ling in the Himalayas. 565

The natives of India are good travellers. The poor man, one who gets his living by the use of his muscles, will make a bundle of his extra clothes (if he has any), of his bedding and his cooking-pots, and with that balanced on his head or slung over his shoulder, will make a long march without asking anything of anyone, except of the shopkeeper from whom he will buy his daily allowance of flour or rice. The class above him, those who get, say, their living by their pen, or by buying and selling, will surely have a pony for the march, probably a quiet, useful animal, one that ambles along at an easy pace; the bedding will be laid in folds on the saddle, and the rest of the baggage carried on the pummel or else made

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* Some useful information about those routes which are open to European travellers will be found in Dr. Ince's 'Kashmir Handbook' (published by Wyman Brothers, Calcutta); and in Kashmir itself that book will be found very useful.

1_1 Drew G-3 ([illegible]) 1875 AVI Kashmir AV/

484 565 [485] fast behind. Such a traveller, with his one servant running along at a jog-trot by his side, will be independent of porters or baggage-animals; he will do his march in his own time, and be satisfied at the end of it with any accommodation he can get—that of the mosque if he be a Muhammadan, of the Dharmsāla if he be a Hindū, or, in some cases, of the more general rest-house; or, in default of all of these, he will get the shelter of some cottage—freely given to a civil application—and there make himself at home.

000 It is different with the Englishman in India. His wants are not few, nor his demands either. Accustomed to numerous attendants, and to a complication of domestic appliances, he goes on the principle, when travelling, of taking with him such a large proportion of these as will give almost every comfort, except what the variations of cold and heat make unattainable, even in the wildest and most out-of-the-way parts.

I do not blame him for this: he may be right to keep all the comforts or luxuries he can. But there is no doubt that to do this increases the difficulty and the trouble of marching; every diminution of impedimenta will make it so much the easier to get along. A traveller in the hills who requires but a few porters for his baggage will be so much more independent of set routes and of the local authorities as to have an absence of trouble that will counterbalance the loss of a good many material comforts.

The usual fit-out that we Englishmen carry with us in these hills consists of a tent, carpet, bedstead, table, chairs, bedding, clothes, and other paraphernalia; this for one's own tent. In the servants' departments there will be at least another tent (probably two others), cooking things, plates, washing and ironing things, eatables, and beverages to any extent that one may choose to provide them, stable-gear, and various other things that each servant is sure to see himself provided with for his own particular work. These, with the addition of the bedding and clothes of half a dozen or more servants, make up a good amount of luggage to be carried, as it mostly has to be, on coolis' backs.

The tents to be taken in these hills are much lighter than

The tents TO BE TAKEN IN THESE HILLS ARE MUCH LIGHTER THAN 484
those square double-roofed tents used in India; even the smaller 342
variety of that sort called "hill-tent" is somewhat too cumbersome. A simple tent, 9 feet square and 7 feet high, with the sloped roof ending in a wall of 3 feet, suits us best. For natives, a tent with the roof slope continued to the ground is good, since, for the same height, it gives more floor-space. A small shāmiāna, or square awning on four poles, with or without side curtains, is one of those things that will add to one's comfort; it affords shade without the confinement of air; for indeed the inside of such tents as we have spoken of is almost unbearable from heat when under a bright sun; only one reckons on being able to pitch under the shelter of a tree; in default, a shāmiāna will be most useful. At one time I arranged a tent, of somewhat different shape, in such a way that one side would lift up, and, being supported on a couple of sticks, do duty for a shāmiāna by day, while at night the join was laced up and the tent made taut again.

Very moderately provided after this plan one will require 482
some twenty coolis for porters. If one lays in stores for a march 492
of some months, it will want great care and a stern though discriminating rejection of the unnecessary, to keep the number from running up to fifty or more.

One seldom or never has baggage animals of one's own enough for the carriage of the camp; it may be useful in some cases to keep two or three mules or baggage-ponies; but it would not be wise to depend on them, for on these rough roads they are so apt to break down—to get a sore back or to fall lame; and sometimes one wants to go where neither mule nor pony can follow. The universal practice is for an Englishman, or for any native of rank who may get a special order from the Maharaja, to take his carriage, whether it be ponies or coolis, from stage to stage, changing it, getting fresh men or animals from the villages round, for each day's march.

Along the frequented roads there are special officers (called Kotwāl) for managing this business; where these are not, it becomes the duty of the lambardār, or headman of the village [622]
(called muqaddam in Kashmir) to undertake the service.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

492 (called muqaddam in Kashmir) to undertake the service. In
482· general there are few four-footed beasts to be had. Coolis are the chief carriers; for these 50 lbs. to 60 lbs. is a fair load; the animals would carry from 160 lbs. to 200 lbs. The daily pay for a cooli is four annas, that is sixpence; for a pony or mule twice as much. The coolis carry their loads in various ways. In the Outer Hills they carry them on their heads, first making a soft bed with their turbans; this certainly is not the best way for difficult ground; farther up, in the Middle Mountains, the people often carry the weight on their shoulders, bending their head forward and fixing the load on the shoulder and back of the neck. But the most business-like way of all is that followed by the Kashmīrīs, some of the Pahārīs, the Ladākhīs, and the Baltīs, of loading the back by means of a light framework of sticks and rope, which is suspended from the shoulders.

482 The amount that the Kashmīrīs, especially, carry in this fashion is surprising; not that they will do much more than the weakest cooli when the labour is forced, and there is only a fixed daily pittance for the work. But a great number of Kashmīrī cultivators occupy themselves in spring and autumn in taking goods from the plains to Kashmir by contract, by weight, and on that bargain will exert themselves manfully. I once arranged my loads for the ordinary coolis, but afterwards met with some Kashmīrīs who were ready to take them by weight; these loaded themselves each with *three* of the loads that had been made up; one man carried four dozen of beer packed in cases; another load that was carried was 192 lbs.; and I have a well-authenticated case of a young man carrying 240 lbs. And this was not for a short journey, but for over a hundred miles of uneven road with many long rises and several passes, one of them over 9000 feet. In doing such feats as this the Kashmīrīs take their own time: the ten days' march they will take eighteen or nineteen days about; but they will do it all on a diet of unleavened bread or of rice.

000 Thus prepared with baggage and porters, we will now start from Jummoo for the journey to Kashmir; the distance is 184 miles, which will be covered in fourteen days, a day's march varying com-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875
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monly from 9 to 15 miles. We shall divide the distance into 000
sections according as the characters of the country change.

Jummoo to Akhnūr: One March.

The length of this stage is 18 miles; it is a long march, 133*
especially for a first day's, and it might be conveniently divided into two; Nāgbanī at 7½ miles would be the intermediate halting-place. The road, however, is easy, being altogether in the plain. For the first few miles from the city we pass through a narrow [137]
lane cut in the acacia forest, the lane bounded by tall hedges of [136]
Euphorbia. The forest abounds with wild pig; passing along at dusk one is sure to see several in the path, and there are spotted deer about, but they are shy and one does not often catch sight of them. Emerging from the forest we find ourselves well clear of the hills also, with the view unconfined by the lower ranges. We see in one glance a great length of the mountains that lie between us and Kashmir extending on the right; the look of them varies something with the time of year; I have made the journey [132]
oftener than once, and in different months; we will suppose it to be May, when the heat of the plains and of Jummoo has become oppressive, and one looks forward with delight to enjoy the cool air of the mountains.

In May, then, though the lower snow has melted, there remains much on the Panjāl hills. High up spread fields of white snow, with both rocky peaks and snowy ones projecting from them. In front of them are the dark forest-slopes of the Middle Mountains, which are well seen in the opening of the Chināb and Ans valleys. The outermost low ridges clothed with green make the foreground.

The road goes on, a well-frequented one traversed by both [361]
carts and camels; we pass over a fairly cultivated plain, rather dry in soil; we go by some Government gardens and a few hamlets and villages. As we near Akhnūr we come on the line of an [653]
important canal the Maharaja is having constructed to bring the waters of the Chināb to the foot of the Jummoo hill. While we were three or four miles away from the foot of the hills the soil

133+ was loamy and nearly free from stones, but now, coming up northwards and again nearing their edge, we get on pebbly ground, and soon, from a gravelly bank, we look across the Chīnāb River on to the fort and town of Akhnūr.

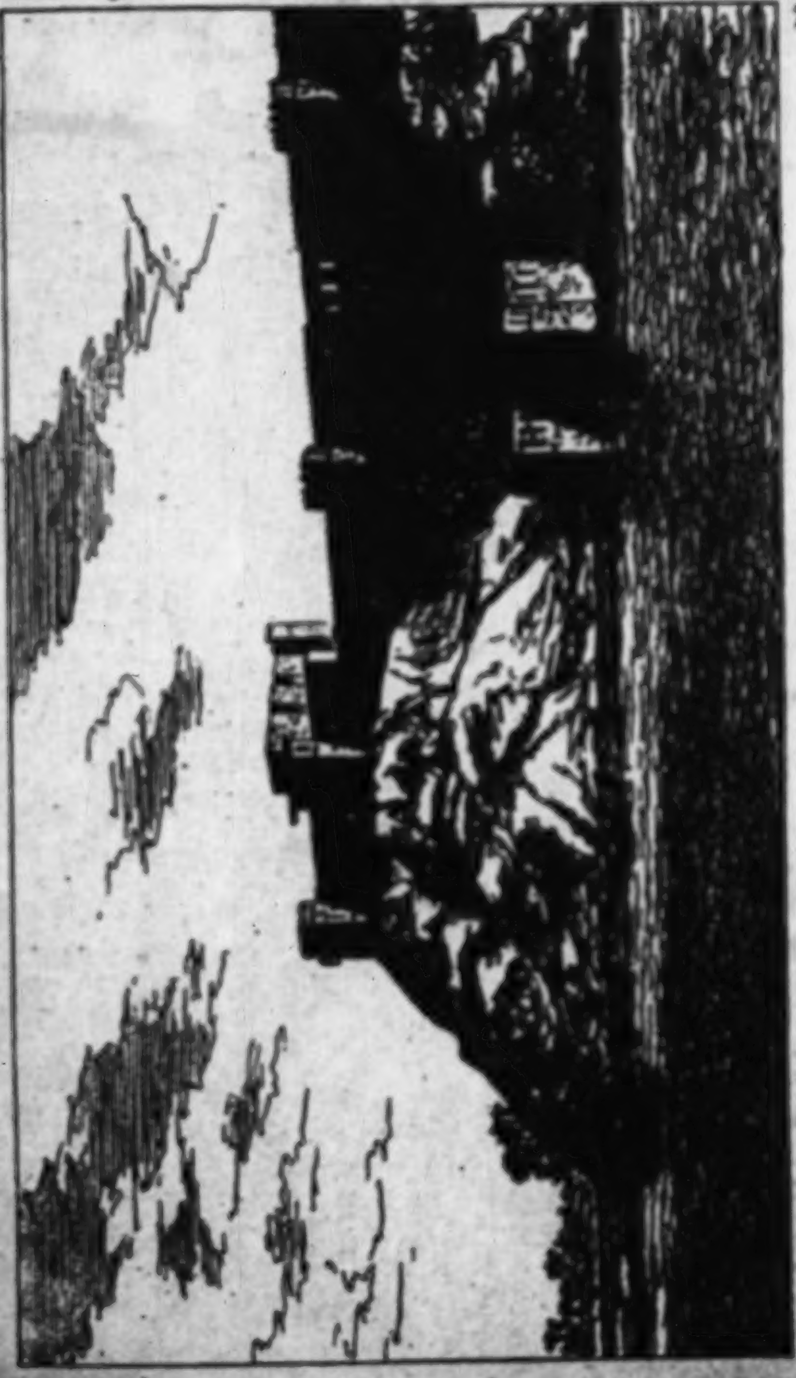
491 The river is at this time swollen with the melting snows. Every day of bright sunshine on the higher mountains makes itself felt, raises the level of the water and widens the spread of it, and increases the force of the current. The passage across by the ferry-boat comes to be a serious matter; scores of people, who have been waiting hours for the opportunity, rush in on her coming to the bank, and with the cattle, ponies, and camels that have been forced on board over the bulwarks, soon fill her to overcrowding. When she puts off, weighed down and unmanageable as she is, the force of the current carries her a good half mile away in crossing the few hundred yards. Then, emptied of her freight, the boat is laboriously tracked up again for another trip. Two such journeys each way is as much as can be done in the day's work.

912 361 The appearance of Akhnūr from the left bank of the river is striking. The chief object is the fort, of which a sketch is given. It is a building of lofty walls enclosing a square of over 200 yards, with one entrance gate by the river and another on the land side. The walls are crowned with battlements of the same form as one sees in the Mughal forts throughout Hindostān. The fort was built 90 or 100 years ago by Miān Teg Singh, who held under Jummoo a jāgīr, here and at Sol, a place in the hills a few miles off. It is now occupied by troops of the Central Government, but the same family, descendants of Teg Singh, retain some of the estates and have their house in the town below.

361 Akhnūr is but just below where the river struggles out of the hills, and just above that part of the plains where the ground is so little above its surface that the channel divides into many. The town is built on a terrace above the river, which is overlooked by a few houses of the better sort, while the part behind is mean and dirty.

A little above the fort, on the slope of the river bank, are found traces of a former city; one sees large well-made bricks on

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVB Kashmir: AV1



AKHNŪR FORT, ON THE CHENĀB.

361 the surface, but there is no building or wall remaining; the bricks are often dug up and carried away to be used again. Near this spot is a place where the river was bridged by one of the invaders of India—I think it was Ahmad Shāh Durānī—who passed his army across the Chīnāb at this place.

563 The inhabitants of Akhnūr are much mixed; a portion of them are of the same various castes as about Jummoo; but there are a large number besides of Muhammadans, who bear the name of Kashmīrī, and, doubtless, were originally of that nation. Unlike, however, Kashmīrī settlers in other parts, who usually retain distinct their language, ways, and look, these have lost their native tongue and speak only Panjābī, and, in appearance and character, though very different from the Dogrās, yet they are not recognizably Kashmīrī.

TIMBER-CATCHING AT AKHNŪR.

313 Akhnūr has two or three circumstances that should make it flourish as a town. It is where three or four roads, some bearing much traffic, converge; it is just within reach of boats that navigate the Chīnāb, this position being made use of chiefly for building boats and sending them down for sale; thirdly, Akhnūr is where the timber from the mountains, that floats down the river, is caught and stored.

This last business brings much employment and gain to the people. We saw in the last chapter how, far back in the mountains, the deodar trees were felled and cut up, and the logs rolled down to the edge to await the rising of the river. It is at this time of year, in May, that they begin to come down. No further care has been taken of them; they are left, in the first instance, to take their own chance of finding their way down that long distance of from 150 to 200 miles.

From Riāsī, 20 miles above Akhnūr, to a place as far below it, this 40 miles is the space along which the logs are caught and brought to land. Nearly the whole population of the places along the river bank, people of almost every caste, occupy themselves in the work, for it comes at a time when farm-work is slack, one harvest having been got in and seed-time for the next 313 not having come. The plan is to provide what is called a *sarnā*, [501] a goat-skin carefully taken off and carefully closed wherever an opening occurred; the end of one fore leg only is left open for inflating; the skin is blown out tight, and the end fastened up with a bit of string; to the hind legs are attached loops through which the man puts his bare legs, and the stiff inflated goat-skin comes up in front of his chest; then, jumping into the river, the man balances himself on the sarnā, lying almost flat along it; by aid of his hands and a peculiar motion of his feet he can swim along at a fine rate, and fears not to trust himself to the waves and the rapids of the swollen river. Standing at a spot whence he knows the current will force him out to mid-channel, he waits till a log of timber comes opposite him, and, dashing in, he soon reaches it, and then, by the exertion both of force and skill, guides it to a sheltered nook where it may be landed and hauled up. The places convenient for this are known, and men are kept ready at each to receive the logs as they are caught, while a munshī is by to measure the timber, and give a note of its length and girth to the swimmer, who swims away with it in his turban to look out for another log. [465] The notes representing the day's or the week's work he will bring at his leisure to the office at Akhnūr, and receive payment in proportion to the cubic contents of the timber he has brought in.

There are some thirty stations for this work within the space mentioned, including several in the branch channels below Akhnūr. A log that passes the upper ones will pretty surely be caught below; even at night, between the late summer evening and the early dawn, the timber can hardly get through the whole space before some early bird is down upon it to bring it in.

Some of the timber comes from as far away as the Chamba 423 territory, above Pādar, where the Panjāb Forest Department fell 3/3 it, having taken a lease of the Chamba Raja's forests. Some was felled by the Maharaja's Forest Department, of which for a few years I had the management. Some other belongs to contractors, to whom the right of felling has been sold. These different

423 313 properties are recognized by the marks that are cut on the logs in the forest; each owner, having his agent at Akhnūr and other landing-places, manages to collect his own; the swimmers (*tārū* is the word they are called by) bring in all indiscriminately, and the payments made by any munshī will be adjusted afterwards.

In this way thousands of logs are caught every season; 20,000 logs belonging to the Maharaja's Forest Department, have been secured in one year; these would average 20 or 25 cubic feet of timber, and would have a value of more than 20,000*l*.

313 Many logs get fast in the middle course of the river, become stranded, or fixed between rocks, or otherwise entangled, and are left by the receding flood. For these, on the waters lessening in the autumn, men are sent up along the river bank, to disengage them and roll them to where they may again be started, or to a place whence they will be carried down by the next summer's flood.

The next stage in the timber-business is to concentrate the logs, especially to bring down to Akhnūr those that have been caught at the upper stations. This is done on the force of the current slightly moderating (as it will when a few cloudy days lessen the snow-melting), by forming small rafts of from two to four logs each, and guiding them down between the projecting cliffs of the narrow channel, and over the successive rapids that rock-ledges at intervals have made. It is a service of some danger. Two men guide the raft with bamboo poles, ready, with their sarnās, to take to the torrent if by chance the raft should be forced against the rock. When this happens the logs will be separated, and if the men have the good fortune to escape, they will again make to them to bring them in separately, and claim the wages which for this, too, are fixed as by measurement. Great nerve and pluck are often shown in the management of these rafts, and, dangerous [438] though the work is, accidents are not common. Collected at Akhnūr, the timber is either sold there or made up into the larger rafts — of 50 or 60 logs — of which the lower course of the river will allow the passage, and floated down some 50 miles, to Wazīrābād, on the Grand Trunk Road, whence it will be distributed over the Panjāb.

The felled timber used to be very nearly all deodar, that being 3/3 the wood that stands best against the destructive white ant; latterly, I believe, they have been trying *Pinus excelsa* for sleepers for the railway, and some number of that tree has been cut for the purpose; young trees of *Pinus longifolia* have always been sent down for the roofing of the small houses of the natives. But beside what has been felled, a considerable, in some years a wonderful, amount of waifs arrive by the river, of trees that have fallen and been carried down by snow-slips, or in any way whatever have found their way to the river side. This is called *ror;* [423] it belongs by old custom to the government of the territory in which it may first be caught and brought to bank. The Maharaja gets the lion's share of this on the Chināb, but a little may pass through to the British territory. Felled timber that has through carelessness remained unmarked goes the same way. A few trees of pencil cedar from forests high up the mountains find their way down; they are generally ten or twenty feet long and four or five feet girth at bottom, quickly tapering.

Besides the regular gradual rise of the river by the snow 133x melting, induced by a bright sun shining on the high mountains, there are apt to come, in the rainy season, more sudden floods, which may bring the waters up to a much higher level than they reach by the other mode of rising. That first kind of rise is called "charhā"; the flood is called "har." In the *charhā* the water is cold, coming fresh from the snows, and its colour is milky from the glacier-mud. The *har* is brought on by rain; two or three days' continuous rain over any large area of the hills is enough to cause such a flood. According to the area it originates in—to the character of the rocks occupying that area—is the colour of the water black, brown, or red. It comes suddenly and as quickly subsides, lasting in general but a few hours.

While the steady rise and continuance of the waters in 3/3 the *charhā* is most favourable to timber-catching, the *har* may 133x destroy all the work that has been done. The river will sometimes rise to the timber-heaps in the store-places, and float off

3/3 /133 and carry away numbers of logs. During the force of the flood no swimmer can ride his sarnā; none can venture on the water; the river for a time asserts itself and is master, and no one can interfere with his doings while he carries off the carefully-stored timber, the accumulation of much human labour, and scatters it here and there on the banks, and leaves it on the shoals of the lower part of his course.

AKHNUR TO RAJAORI: FIVE MARCHES.

361/133 Now we must leave the gay scene of the swift river, dotted over with the swimmers on their strange-looking steeds, riding in pursuit of the logs—all which we can see beautifully from the windows of the Bāradarī on the summit of the fort, and face the burning sun for another march. Five hot marches await us over ground of one general character, over the rough country of the Outer Hills, what we have already in the account of their physical characters in some measure described. We will therefore treat of these together, and not separate each day's doings, though a list of the marches will be useful: they are numbered from Jummoo:

	Miles.
2. Akhnūr to Chaukī Chorā ..	13½
3. Chaukī Chorā to Thandāpānī,	13
4. Thandāpānī to Dharmsāla ..	9½
5. Dharmsāla to Syālsūī	9
6. Syālsūī to Rājāorī	14

The road leads straight away from the river north-westward and for four miles is still in the plain, but it is a plain gradually rising; then we reach the outermost line of hills and enter them by a valley, going up the boulder-covered stream-bed; the cliffs and hills on each side rise higher, and make the valley narrower, as we go on. The hills are covered with a forest or brushwood, which harbours undisturbed many a peacock, whose scream sounds strange in conjunction with the voice of the cuckoo, who also at this time here makes himself heard. After a bit we rise to the level of the broken plateau that occupies the space between the outermost ridge and the ridge of Kālīthār, and here is the stage called Chaukī Chorā, a scattered village, with little portions

of land cultivated among the steep and rocky area. Beyond, the 361
road rises up Kālīthār, going partly over bare rock, which is here 1337
much exposed. The form of the ground in this neighbourhood was carefully described before, so we will not tarry, except to say that the road goes through a little nick in the ridge of Kālīthār, and then winds or zigzags down the steep escarpment, from the foot of which a few miles of road, which is comparatively level, with the exception of the deep gulley of the stream, bring us to Thandāpānī, another halting-place, at the beginning of the next innermost set of hills.

These we have to traverse in the following three marches—two short ones and a long one. First we go along in front of a ridge of sandstone in upright layers, with the beds vertical, these sometimes making the scarp of the hill, sometimes projecting out from the ground as it were a wall, and at other times we see them fashioned by weathering into curious fantastic shapes. Then entering we thread our way among a maze of low hills, parts of successive ridges divided by narrow hollows; the surface is nearly all covered with brushwood and there is little tillage seen, here and there only are scattered houses met with.

At this time of year the ground is dry, and all the way from 485
Akhnūr the road has been hot and thirst-bringing; the sun's 564
heat being reflected from the rocky ground tells on one with double force. A good charitable custom of the Hindūs brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands; he will maybe have been placed there and paid by some well-to-do Hindū, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.

564 [563] In the march from Syālsūī onwards we crossed the boundary of Hindūs and Muhammadans, leaving the former and entering the country occupied by the latter. The Hindūs about Dharmsāla and Syālsūī were in great part Thakars; that caste has evidently been of chief importance here, and has not been so 342 much overshadowed by Miāns as it has farther east. The Thakars' houses, usually high up on the tops of the hills, are solidly built of stone, and have something of the character of forts; they even bear the name "kot," an old word for fort.

133+ At last we get clear of these hills, and come into the valley of the Western or Mināwar Tavi, which is at this time a stream of moderate volume flowing over ridges of rock, often making deep pools between them which are very favourable to the fisherman.

226 A strange way of slaughtering the fish is sometimes practised here by the natives. An earthen vessel is filled with the milky juice of the plant (*Euphorbia*), which bears the name of *tor*, and, attached to a long pole, is moved about in the pool; the juice getting mixed with the water blinds the fish, and while they swim here and there, not knowing which way to go, they can easily be speared.

133+ Continuing up the valley by the left bank of the river, between low spurs of the hills, in a few miles we come opposite to the town of Rājāorī. This place has been spoken of in Chapter v. The old royal garden there described, opposite the town, has become the halting-place for travellers, chiefly for the English. We have here come into the Bhimbar route to Sirīnagar frequented by them, and from this place onwards our own road coincides with it.

361 631 The town of Rājāorī shows a front to the river of large stone buildings, some of them ruinous. There is a mosque of the time of the Emperors, now used for a wood store: the rest-houses of the same period have been mentioned before. Then, besides these regal works, are buildings of different sorts raised by the former Muhammadan Rajas of Rājāorī.* It must be remembered that

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* Probably these regions are the only part of India where Muhammadan rulers have borne the title of Raja.

1s Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

the Delhi Emperors, though having their road to Kashmir through 361
this part, still left the country in the hands of the native Rajas, 631
who were bound to do all they could to facilitate the royal
journeys and the transmission of the loads of fruit from Kashmir
to the Delhi Court. The Bhimbar Raja held his country on the
same terms.

The Rajas of Rājāorī were Muhammadanised Rājpūts. The 564
early ones were of the tribe of Rājpūts called *Pāl*, that caste to 175
which belonged the Hindū Rajas of Balāwar and other places on
the east of Jummoo. The Muhammadan Pāl of Rājāorī were
succeeded by Rajas (also Muhammadans) who belonged to the
Jarāl tribe of Rājpūts; this was seven or eight generations back;
these rulers also have passed away, but there are in the neighbourhood both Hindūs and Muhammadans of those two castes.

The Rājāorī rule extended north and south 20 or 25 miles, 175
and about 30 miles from east to west; its northern boundary was 361
the Ratan Ridge; to the south the country of the Bhimbar Raja
bounded it. The revenue I am told was only 16,000 rupees; but
for all that the money-income of the country was so small the
Rajas have left some marks of their rule; there is what was once
a large fine house, their residence, in the town of Rājāorī; of part
of this the roof is fallen, but the river front is preserved and is
used for offices. Near it is the mosque they worshipped in;
this also is gone from its first use, and is now made use of as
an occasional resting-place for European travellers, when, from
the swelling of the river, they cannot get across to the bāradarī
in the garden on the left bank. Higher up is the Rajas' burial-place; here one tomb was pointed out to me as Raja Āgā Jān's.
Āgā Jān was ruler when the Sikhs took the country; they
imprisoned him and put his younger brother on the throne,
who sat on it till he was obliged to hand it over to Maharaja
Gulāb Singh. When, as explained in Chapter I., all of these 175
territories that had not before been acquired by Gulāb Singh were 631
transferred to him by the Treaty of 1846, there came an end to
the Rājāorī rule; the Raja ultimately submitted without resistance,
and was pensioned. He is now dead, but his son still receives

175 something through the British Government, which he enjoys at
631 Wazīrābād.

177 Rājāorī has one conspicuous building raised by its last, the
361 present, rulers. A large temple, elevated on a rock by the river,
[346] shows to all that Hindū power has again spread thus far west.
As another sign of this, the Dogrās have changed the name of the place to *Rāmpūr*, thus designating it after one of their gods; this new name has displaced the old in official dealings, but not in the mouths of the commonalty.

RAJAORI TO SIRINAGAR: EIGHT MARCHES.

133+ We have hitherto in our journey been among the Outer, the
487 Lower, Hills; in these next marches we shall get over the higher
ranges of mountains, those that are the great barriers of Kashmir. The first two days' march from Rājāorī will take us northward over the Ratan Ridge by a pass that is called the Ratan Pīr; the next four will lead us eastward through the main Panjāl Range (of which the other was a branch) by the pass called the Pīr Panjāl, and will bring us down to the level and out into the wide opening of the vale of Kashmir; the last two are wholly within that valley.

The following is a list of the eight marches, still numbering from Jummoo:

	Miles.		Miles.
7. Rājāori to Thanna	14	11. Aliābād to Hīrpūr	14
8. Thanna to Baramgalla ..	10	12. Hīrpūr to Shapeyan	6
9. Baramgalla to Poshiāna ..	10	13. Shapeyan to Kahnpūr ..	15
10. Poshiāna to Aliābād Sarā ..	11	14. Kahnpūr to Sirīnagar ..	12

In the first march, from Rājāorī to Thanna, we keep for 14
[311] miles in the same not wide valley, following up this western Tavī
stream, rising by a gradual incline. The ground of the valley is all terraced and made into rice-fields, which at this time are flooded with water led from the stream in preparation for the sowing, which will be done a week or two later. The valley is closely bounded by spurs of hills, which change their look as we near the end of the march, for we then get among a higher class

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of hills, such as we have all along called the "Middle Mountains"; at Thanna we have reached to the foot of the slope of the Ratan Ridge itself. 133 487

In the march from Thanna to Baramgalla we go over the Ratan Pīr.* It is a good steep pull to reach the summit, which is 8200 feet above the sea; there is hardly any depression in the ridge at that spot. On some of the slopes the mountain is thickly covered with forest, a forest of much variety and beauty. Box grows here largely; it is cut and sent to the towns, where [136] it is mostly used for making combs. On the higher parts of [137] the ridge one meets with numbers of the great black and grey monkey, called *langūr*.

From the Ratan Pīr one looks north and north-eastward on to the Panjāl Range, and obtains grand views of its mountains. The descent also gives beautiful prospects, both of near forest views and of the more distant hills. The road is rough and difficult; one's pony, that was useful for the ascent, had best be allowed to go down the hill without a rider.

Baramgalla, which is the halting-place, is in the valley of the stream that rises near the Pīr Panjāl, and with many others goes to form the Pūnch River. It is shut in closely by spurs of the hills.

The next march, from Baramgalla to Poshiāna, is along the bottom of the narrow valley, among the large rounded stones of

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* In these hills the word *Pīr* has come to be used more or less generally for Pass. 792
The history of its acquirement of this meaning I conceive to be this. *Pīr* in Persian 771
means first, *old*, or *an old man*, and thence a saint or *faqīr*. It is common for faqīrs to 103
establish themselves on Passes for the sake of contemplating the works of God and of receiving the alms of travellers; when any noted holy faqīr died on a Pass, the place became sacred to his memory, and was often called after him, his title of *Pīr* being prefixed; at last it became so common for every important Pass to have a name beginning with *Pīr* that the word acquired the secondary meaning of Mountain Pass.

Ratan Pīr must be called so after one Ratan, which is a man's name among the Hindūs. As to Pīr Panjāl, the latter of the two words is applied to a great mountain ridge, at all events to the one we are coming to, I am not sure whether it is a general word for a range in any language. Pīr Panjāl now means simply the Pass of the Great Range. There was, however, at one time a faqīr who lived on it and bore the title of Pīr. Bernier, who crossed in Aurangzeb's time, says there was a hermit on the Pass who had resided there ever since Jehāngīr. Bernier wrote this in 1665. Jehāngīr reigned from 1605 to 1628; by this the hermit would have dwelt there thirty-seven years at least. I imagine it was from him that the Pass acquired the first word of its present name.

133x 487 the stream-bed. The hill-sides are too steep for the road easily to be made along them, so the traveller must keep close to the river, which has to be crossed about thirty times, as it nears alternately the right and left bounding cliffs. A series of little wooden bridges are prepared, which are good enough for foot-passengers and for an unladen horse, but ought not to be ridden over.

361 At last we leave the bottom of the valley and rise by a steep ascent on the north, of some hundreds of feet, to Poshiāna. This is a small village, the highest in the valley; it is inhabited by Kashmīrī.

133x 487 The march from Poshiāna to Alīābād leads us over the chief Pass. The road first contours to the base of the valley; from there the rise to the Pass may likely at this time of year—the latter part of May, we will suppose—be made by keeping in the ravine, on the snow-bed that now fills it. If this has melted, one must rise on the left and keep the narrow path which goes along the hill-side at some height above the bottom.

In rising to the level of the Pass, which is 11,400 feet above the sea, we go through the stages of fir and birch wood, and come to where the slopes are grassy, and the hills above are of rock and fallen stone, with many snow-beds remaining yet unmelted.

One time that I came here I found the Pass, and the ground and the snow for two or three miles' distance, strewn with dead locusts, which about the middle of May had been destroyed by the cold in an attempted invasion of Kashmir.

133x 137 487 Between the Pass and Alīābād there intervene some miles of a very gradual descent. From Alīābād to Hīrpūr, the next stage, the road makes an irregular descent of more than 2500 feet, over rough, and in wet weather slippery, ground. The hills rise up boldly from the bed of the stream (which here, of course, flows towards the valley of Kashmir) for some thousands of feet. Often broken by rock and cliff, elsewhere covered by forests of pine, spruce, and silver-fir, they rise above where these can grow and show an unusually great extent of ground covered with birch-

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

trees; above this are the grassy summits of the spurs as visible 133X
from below; one must rise on to the spurs, and trace them back 137
away from the valley, to get to the region of stone and rock, which 487
would be reached at about 12,000 feet altitude.

The stream, which flows a little north of east, receives other mountain-streams from both sides, and becomes an unfordable torrent. Descending and crossing it by a bridge, we come to comparatively level ground, clear of the steep mountains. For the next few miles our way is along a charming woodland path where the ground is covered with wild flowers, among them violet, strawberry, forget-me-not, and buttercup, and the fir-wood is varied with many trees and shrubs in bloom.[*]

The hills on each side get lower, and as we near Hīrpūr we 133X
find ourselves between what, as compared with the mountains, 487
are mere banks that frame, rather than confine, the view, and let us see a portion of the long-looked-for country of Kashmir.

But a small part of the vale itself appears; we look across it on to the complicated branched mass of mountains connected with the great snowy range that bounds Ladākh. One knows not how to call it—a wall of mountain—a serrated ridge—a rugged-edged mountain-mass; none of these express what one sees if after the first glance one looks, when the light may favour us, carefully to find out the details of what comes to view. The nearest spurs are 25 miles off; they can hardly be distinguished from out the mass, though they project far in front of it. Behind them, nearly 40 miles off, is a distincter mass of dark mountains which are some 12,000 feet in height; their projecting spur-slopes and the ravines alternating with them can even at this distance be made out. Above this dark mass we see a great extent of pure white snow-covered ground, from out of which rise great snowy peaks. One of these that stood prominent was 50 miles away, and some points within our view were nearly 70.

This was the first great view of Kashmir. But when we

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[*] It is a remarkable fact—one that has been noticed by Dr. Falconer and Dr. Thompson—that on the Kashmir side one does not meet with the oak and rhododendron, although the elevation of the ground corresponds to that where, on the outer side of the Panjāl hills, these trees are abundant.

133+ reached Shapeyan, the next stage eight miles on, we came to
487 where we could look back, and on, and all round, and still see mountains without a break encircling the vale. The range we had passed through with days of labour seemed strangely ~~near; it~~ bore great snow-beds with bold rocky peaks projecting as it were through them; in front were dark forest-covered slopes. Opposite was the same great line of mountains we had seen from Hīrpūr. The bounding hills of the far ends of the valley, seen only at times of clear atmosphere, complete the ring-barrier of Kashmir.

361 Shapeyan, the first halting-place well within the vale, is a wooden town; through ~~every lane of it water from the mountains~~ flows in narrow canals. From Shapeyan, Sirīnagar lies north, 27 miles distant, a two days' journey. The intermediate places are Rāmū, at 12 miles, and Kahnpūr, at 16; either of which may be chosen to halt at.

133+
361 The road is now nearly level, only some low flat-topped hills are crossed. On each side fine prospects of the mountains extend;
487 on the left, of the forest-clad hills overtopped by peaks of rock and snow; on the right, the farther mountain-range that lies beyond the plain; but in parts the road is among the village groves where the eye, not reaching to the mountains, is content with the nearer homely beauties of shady plane or walnut trees, and wild rose-bushes luxuriant in their bloom. As we cross the last of the low hills we look from that higher ground over the low flat, and can see where Siriuagar is situated; the position of it is marked by two isolated hills, one of them surmounted by an ancient temple, the other crowned with the buildings of a fort. The last few miles of our ride are across the flat, between rows of tall poplars. We reach the city at the bridge that is the highest up of seven that span the river. As we cross it and see the boats plying up and down, the houses crowded on to the river-bank, of irregular form and varied construction, whose low-sloping roofs with their wide eaves throw deep shadows, the spiry pinnacles of mosques, and the bulging domes of temples, at once we know that in this high valley a busy city exists of unusual aspect and rare picturesqueness.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Kashmiri AV4

CHAPTER VIII.

KASHMIR.

POSITION AND SIZE—THE PLAIN OF THE RIVER ALLUVIUM—THE PLATEAUS OR KAREWAS—CLIMATE OF THE VALLEY—THE COUNTRY PEOPLE—THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY—THE CITY OF SIRÍNAGAR—ENVIRONS OF SIRÍNAGAR—SUMMER RETREATS.

POSITION AND SIZE.

THE country of Kashmir has justly a reputation for something 132
distinctive, if not unique, in its character. Its position and form 133
together are such that there is no parallel to it in the whole of the Himalayas. It is a plain embedded among the mountains, a wide vale enclosed by mountain ranges, lying at such a height above the sea as on the one hand to be of a climate entirely different from that of India, being saved from the heat that parches its plains, and on the other hand to be free from the severity of cold that visits the more lofty plateaus or wide valleys that are found more towards the centre of the mass of mountains.

Let us now look carefully at the position and extent of 131
this country, and by figures help ourselves to understand the 133
reasons of its special characters. Sirinagar, which is but a very few miles from the central point of the Kashmir Valley, is in lat. 34° 5′ N. and long. 74° 48′ E. Both the valley itself and the ring of mountains that surround it are irregular ovals. The position with regard to the great mass of mountains and to the plains of India is this:—the long diameter of the oval, lying north-west and south-east, is parallel with the general run of the chief ranges in this north-western portion of the Himalayas; the distance of the valley from the plain of the Panjāb varies from 50 to 75 miles; that is to say, there is a mass of mountains of that width interposed between the two plains. The

131 size of the country may be measured in two ways, one reckoning
133 from summit to summit of the mountains that bound it, the other counting only the valley, that is the nearly flat part, that lies enclosed by them. Taking, then, the ring of mountains, we find that the length of the irregular oval which the line of their summits forms is 116 miles, and that the width of it varies from 40 to 75 miles, the area within this rocky fence being about 3900 miles. The part which is comparatively low and flat, that which may be called the vale, is about 84 miles long, from north-west to south-east, and in width it varies from 20 to 25 miles; it has an area of 1800 or 1900 square miles. In level, what has been counted in with the valley varies from 6000 or 7000 feet above the sea down to 5200 feet; the lowest portion is along the north-eastern side; the average of the whole valley may be taken at about 5000 feet above the level of the Panjāb plain, near 6000 feet above the sea. The mountain ridge, or rather the combination of mountain ridges, that surrounds Kashmir varies much in height. The loftiest points are on the north-east side, where some peaks rise to close on 18,000 feet. Where the mountains curve round the north-west end of the valley, 12,000 and 13,000 feet are the average heights. On the south-west side, the great range called the Panjāl, whose summit-ridge is commonly 14,000 and 15,000 feet high, for a length of some 80 miles separates Kashmir from the Panjāb. On the south-east, a continuation of that range, at a somewhat less elevation, curving round unites with the range on the north-east. It is near the southernmost part of the oval that the lowest portion of the mountain occurs; for a few miles the ridge is something under 10,000 feet.

133 By the ring thus almost completed the valley is enclosed. The one gap left is the gorge by which the drainage of the valley and of the inside slopes of the mountains escapes to the sea. Towards the north-west end of the Kashmir Valley, the waters, having collected into one great stream, flow out by a ravine, or an extremely narrow valley, flowing in it for a long way before they reach the open plains. First they flow west; then to the north-west; and then, with a sudden turn, they come due south, till, after a course

1a Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Kashmiri AV4

of 190 miles* from the Kashmir mouth of the gorge, they reach the plains near Jhelam, having fallen in that distance 4000 feet of vertical height.

Returning now to the Kashmir Vale and looking more closely to the form of the ground, we shall find it to be divided naturally into two parts—the plain of the alluvium of the river, and the plateaus or platforms of older alluvial or lacustrine deposits; these must be spoken of separately and in some detail.

THE PLAIN OF THE RIVER ALLUVIUM.

The streams which drain the south-eastern end of the barrier-mountains, flowing from many directions, unite near where the town of Islāmābād stands, and form a river which, from that spot onwards, through the length of the valley till the gorge before mentioned is reached, is navigable. This river may be called the Jhelam, after the name given to the same waters lower down; the natives of the country call it the Behat or Vehat; an older name, still used by those of them who follow Sanskrit literature, is Vedasta.

It is by the banks of this river that the flat plain lies, extending along the north-eastern side of the valley from Islāmābād north-westwards for more than 50 miles, with a width varying from two or three to fifteen miles. The levels are 5400 feet at Kanebal by Islāmābād, 5235 feet at Sirinagar, and 5180 feet at the farthest point, by the shore of the Walar Lake; these show a fall of 165 feet in the first 30 miles, and 55 feet only in the next 24 miles; to the eye it is a complete level, but it does in truth slope, in the general direction of the river-flow, to an extent corresponding to the fall of the river. The flat is just like the alluvial flats that make the meadow-lands by the side of our English streams; its surface has been formed, as theirs has been, by deposition of sediment on the water overflowing the banks at flood-time; here, however, it has not been kept in meadow, but has to a great extent been brought under the plough.

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* Seventy miles from Bāramūla to Muzafarābād; 120 miles from Muzafarābād to the Plains.

/33 The plain is narrowest 10 or 12 miles below Islâmâbâd; about Sirinagar and beyond it is wide. In this last part great portions of the flat are a marsh covered with water in spring and summer, and left dry in winter. Other portions are more permanently covered and make weedy lakes; at the north-west extremity of the 50 miles of length there is a large expanse of water called the Walar Lake, some 10 miles by 6 in extent.

505 The river is much used for navigation; it is the great highway of Kashmir.‡ The goods that come from India by the Jummoo road, over the Banihâl Pass, are brought by land carriage—by coolis, ponies, or bullocks, as it may be—as far as Kanebal*; thence boats take them to Sirinagar. The boats float down with the stream at the rate of a mile and a half or two miles an hour. The course of the river is winding; often it touches the rocky spurs on its right bank, again turning off it may near the plateaus that on the opposite side bound the flat. When one has had many days of rough marching, over roads where every footstep has to be looked to, how enjoyable is the change to the smooth movement of the boats as they glide slowly down the stream, just helped or guided by the paddles of the boat people! Delightful then one finds it to travel in this easy way and watch the varying view as, in following the bending river, the boat now faces one mountain spur backed by loftier hills, now turns to another of different beauty, or else shows us the opposing line of snowy mountain-peaks.

/33 The immediate banks of the river are level and unvaried; their height above the water may be 15 feet when the river is low, as in winter; but on the snow melting the river rises, and if at that time come two or three days' rain, the additional volume of water is enough to bring it up to the edge and make it overflow. Against this the bank is all along artificially raised a few feet, but a heavy and continuous fall of rain will make the water overtop that bank as well, and produce a flood over all the flat, which may cause enormous damage to the crops over an area of many square miles. This flooding extends down to Sirinagar;

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* The affix *bal*, found as the termination of so many names of places in Kashmir has a force the same as that of *stān* in Persian, meaning "place."

‡ [i.e. the Jhelam river -- Analyst]

1₁ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVl Kashmir
Kashmiri A¹/₄

the waters, however, do not enter its streets, for the whole space occupied by the city is made-ground, being raised some feet above the natural level by the artificial accumulations of centuries, as by the building and destruction of houses of successive generations. The environs, however, suffer from the flood; the part where the English visitors dwell is sometimes covered; the bank constructed to defend it may give way or be overtopped. I have known 6 feet of water over the plain behind the visitors' houses, and have gone in my boat up the great poplar avenue with that depth of water beneath me. /32

A few miles above Sirinagar, on the left bank, is a low marsh called Shalûn, fed by mountain streams. This connects with the river by a channel which is kept closed by a door that opens river-ways; the object of this door is to prevent the river flood from spreading to the marsh and covering the low ground at its edge; it has happened that on the receding of the river a second flood was caused in it by the water of the marsh (which rose later) flowing out by the door that opened into the river. Another tract of water that is banked off is the Dal. This is the lake at the back of the city on the east; it receives its supply from springs and streams; a great bank separates the low land that edges it from certain side channels of the river, but there is a passage left for the sake of navigation, and a door that opens to the river. The lake changes its level but little; there is usually a flow of its waters out through the passage; only when the river is very low a temporary dam, that stops the passing of any boat that cannot be dragged over it, is made to prevent the lake being too much drained; when the river rises with a flood the gate shuts of itself and secures the lake district from inundation. A lock is here much wanted as well as sluices, for the regulation of the outfall and the maintenance at all times of navigation.

A stream of good volume, named Dûdgangâ, joins the river on the left bank at the city of Sirinagar; it is made up by the waters of several smaller ones that drain the south-western mountains. Farther down, both on the right and left bank, the mountain

13a streams fall into marshy expanses that are not permanently covered by the waters. These marshes are separated by an artificial bank from the river, but certain channels—themselves banked for [361] some distance—allow of communication between. Small villages are seen on little pieces of ground slightly above the level of the marsh,[1] whose inhabitants get their living as much from the water as the land around. In winter a great part of the ground becomes dry and affords some pasture. The whole space is a breeding-ground for mosquitos, which at times are exceedingly troublesome.

The river continues on, embanked, in a general north-westerly direction. Various portions of ground, of the low marsh level, have been recovered by an embanking. Deposition of silt also is occurring, and tending to raise what is still subject to inundation, and to carry the channel of the river farther and farther out into the Walar Lake, with which these marshes communicate, or into which they, so to say, melt.

The Walar Lake is by far the largest piece of water in Kashmir. Its boundary in some directions is ill defined; but the dimensions before given, 10 miles by 6, fairly represent its general length and breadth. The depth of the western and north-western part, which is away from the marshes, is about 14 feet, but where the streams debouch into it the depth is less and is continually lessening; formation of land even is going on. For about half the way round the lake mountains bound it. These are spurs, of heights varying from a few hundred feet to 5000 feet above the lake level; they are connected with ranges from [361] which a few peaks rise to the snow-line. Along the northern shore of the lake, in front of the mountains, is an edging of sloping ground covered with villages—the district called Kohiyāma, of which Bandipūr is a well-known village, from its being, so to speak, a port. This cultivated land is partly on the slope and partly on the flat that has been recovered from the lake. The eastern and southern boundaries of the Walar Lake, as before said, are indefinite; on the south-western side there is a flat whose edge is more distinct.

[1] [i.e., between Srinagar and the Walar Lake—ANALYST]

It is at the south-west corner that the water flows out from 133
he lake and the river recommences. A mile or two below is he town of Sopûr, built on both sides of the river with a conecting bridge. The river goes on, winding through a flat ountry like that above Sirinagar, and at about 18 miles from the ake it reaches Bâramûla, where the gorge begins and the haracter of the stream immediately changes. Thence its course s over rocks, in falls and rapids, and there is no possibility of urther navigation along it. This is the outfall for the whole rainage of the valley; all the streams had *joined* the river efore the gorge was reached.

One little lake we had passed without notice. This is Mânas al, which lies a mile away from the right bank of the river, nder the shelter of an isolated hill a few hundred feet in height. he lake is two or three miles long and a mile wide; the depth f it is greater than that of the Walar; 47 feet has to my knowedge been measured, and in parts the depth may be more. here is a channel connecting it with the main river.

Thus we see that the flat which extends along the north-east ide of the valley for a great part of its length is partly land and artly water, but where the surface is watery the land is not far eneath. We now turn to the higher ground of the vale.

The Plateaus, or Karewas.

Karewa is the Kashmiri word for these particular plateaus, hose characters will now be explained. In the dearth of decriptive geographical terms in variety it may be as well to make se of it.

The karewas are plateaus of alluvial or lacustrine material. [34]
heir soil for the most part is a loam or a loamy clay. They re divided from each other, sometimes cut into strips, so to ay, by ravines of from 100 to 300 feet in depth; occasionally hey are surrounded altogether by lower ground, but more enerally they connect on to some of the mountains that bound he valley. Karewas and their dividing ravines occupy a width, arying from 8 to 16 miles, along the south-western side of the

valley for a length of about 50 miles, from near Shapeyan to the river-flat between Sopūr and Bāramūla. Beyond Sopūr, again, the north-western end of the valley is mostly karewa ground. Lastly, on the north-east side of the valley, across the river, on its right bank, are spaces of karewa; in some cases there are in recesses made by retiring hills, in others they project out from spurs.

We must now make a distinction between two kinds of karewas. Of the first kind are those which on their summits make a table-land so flat as to the eye to seem perfectly so. Of the second are those which slope up continuously, but with an increasing slope, to the mountains.

For an example of the flat-topped karewas we may go to Pāmpūr, a small town five miles above Sirinagar on the right bank of the river. The space included between the river and the semicircle of mountains to the north and east, which space constitutes the *pargana* or "hundred" of Vihī, is almost entirely karewa; it is a flat table-land about 150 feet above the level of the Jhelam and its alluvial plain, ending towards the river in a bluff, partly worn down to a slope by weathering. The table-land is cut through by narrow valleys; these contain, and have been made by, the streams that carry away the drainage of the half ring of mountains; here but a small area, and that of not very high ground, is thus drained; the streams therefore are small and the ravines they have cut not wide. The surface of the karewa is dry and quite bare of trees; its position is not such as to make it receive a great rainfall, also there must be a natural deep drainage of its soil to the side valleys and the end cliff, so the moisture quickly leaves; still it will bear some crops. Some miles south of this, on the other side of the river-flat, is the karewa of Pāyach; this is in form a triangle, whose base is six miles and perpendicular four miles; it is an isolated plateau, entirely surrounded by low land, having the alluvial flat on one side, and on the other the broad valleys of streams that drain from the Panjāl. Behind Islāmābād is another good specimen of the flat-topped karewa. There a hill of limestone,

separated by some miles from the mountains, rises immediately 133
behind the town to a height of a few hundred feet. The space between that hill and the mountain spur that connects with the great ridges—an area of some six square miles—is a nearly level table-land, about 5800 feet above the sea, 250 feet higher than the stream valleys on each side. This space[4] is extremely arid; [312]
with difficulty can anything grow on it. Works have been begun for bringing water from higher up the northern valley, along the hill-side, to afford irrigation to this ground, which, with that aid, would be sure to bear good crops.

We now come to the sloping karewas. I think that all the karewas that occur along the south-west side of the valley belong to this class. By Shapeyan there is a large tract of ground [361]
sloping to the north-east from a height of 7000 feet down nearly to 5500. This may perhaps be called a karewa, though its surface is not so regular as that of most, and its slope seems to be radial, like that of a very flat cone; more accurately perhaps it might be called an alluvial fan on a very large scale. Watercourses are led over it from the hill streams, and they produce such fertility that the tract is crowded with villages. From Shapeyan if we were to go, first in a northerly and then in a north-westerly direction, to Sopūr, edging the hills, we should cross alternately karewas and low valleys. The karewas start from spurs of the mountains and extend out north-eastward, sloping slightly in that direction; the slope of them is greater near the hills and less away from them, until the outer parts get like the flat-topped karewas described above; the level of them may be taken at 6500 feet or rather more at their beginning, and they decline to about 5400 feet. The dividing valleys are sometimes narrow steep-sided ravines, with just a little width of green at the bottom, of land watered by the streamlet;-other valleys, where a great amount of drainage has collected and formed a large stream, are wide or become almost plains; these, by the stream-bed, are apt to be pebbly; they, too, slope gradually to the north-east.

Over the surface of the karewas water has sometimes been 133
brought for irrigation, and then a fertile tract is the result; but 312

[4] [i.e., the plateau near Islāmābād--ANALYST]

133 more commonly the cultivation of them depends on rain alone,
3/2 and in that case the yield is precarious. The Panjāl ridge supplies by its various streams an enormous amount of water, some of which is utilized, but to bring watercourses over the higher plateaus is difficult; as a rule, they are left to the chances of rain, and only the intervening valleys or the lower parts of the karewa are fed from the streams.

The north-western end of the valley, that part beyond the river, the district called Kāmrāj, I am little acquainted with; I believe it to be chiefly karewa land, cut into by various streams which unite with the drainage of Lolāb and Utar to form the Pohrū River. This is a river of but slight fall, it has formed or helped to form a wide low-level flat that may almost be classed with the river-alluvium plain. This flat makes the pargana of Zainagar, a fine plain, six or eight miles across each way; it is high enough to be clear of all the river floods, but not so high as to be drained dry like the karewas. Good crops here are grown with rain moisture only.

We have now finished our first survey, that which takes note of the form of the ground, of the vale of Kashmir; this which we have gone over is the part that, with the addition of a few high valleys, is peopled. Let us now consider some other circumstances that affect the country as a dwelling-place, and then pass on to look at the people themselves.

CLIMATE OF THE VALLEY.

132 In the absence of any continuous and complete set of meteorological observations, I must content myself with speaking in a very general way of the climate of the inhabited parts, and under this same heading shall say a little about the effect it has on the growth of the various crops.

In latitude, Kashmir about corresponds with the following places:—In Asia, Peshawar, Baghdad, and Damascus; in Africa, Fez in Morocco; in America, South Carolina. But the elevation above the sea, of 5000 and 6000 feet, gives it a far more temperate climate than what any of these enjoy.

132

A rather cold and showery spring, which may be taken to include March, April, and part of May, is succeeded by a summer a few degrees hotter than a warm English summer, with much more continuous fine weather. The four or five months from May to September are a good time for all whose fate may lead them to the country; they are enjoyed alike by natives of India and of Europe. In some years, indeed, the temperature of the lower parts of the valley rises several degrees above what Englishmen are used to in their own country, but as compared with India in the hot weather the advantage of Kashmir is enormous; at the worst the heat is of that stage when, in the plains of India, one would begin to think about using punkahs, and this heat is in most years soon reduced by storms.

[164]

Immediately about Sirinagar, which has lakes or marshes bordering on or not far distant from it in nearly every direction, the heat of July and August is apt to make the air somewhat feverish, enough so, perhaps, to induce a return of intermittent fever to those who had contracted it in the more trying climate of India, and even to originate the disease; a move of a few miles, however, will take one to drier parts, which are quite free from a tendency to fever.

As to moisture, the country is intermediate in position between that which is deluged by the periodical rains and that which is arid from the want of them. The monsoon, which, coming from the south-west, breaks with force on that side of the Panjál Hills, is almost completely intercepted by them and prevented from reaching the interior of Kashmir. In July and August one sees the storm clouds collected round the summits of those mountains, and knows that they indicate that the season of the rains has commenced in the tract beyond. Now and then the water-bearing clouds force their way across and precipitate their moisture on the slopes of the Kashmir side; for this reason the karewa country on the south-west, especially the higher part of it, receives a greater rainfall than the river-alluvium flat on the south-east. The mountains beyond again, those that divide Kashmir from Ladakh, receive a good deal of rain. May be, some

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Kashmiri AV4

132 moisture passes over the Panjāl ridge without precipitation, and becomes condensed on reaching the yet higher range beyond; or it may be that moisture evaporated from the valley itself gets carried away and deposited on contact with the mountains on the north and east. Certain it is that while clouds collect and storms rage and rain falls on the two ranges of mountains, yet the centre of the valley and the edge of the north-eastern hills—where, for instance, Sirinagar and Avantipur and Islāmābād stand—are comparatively free from rain. But occasionally the rain-clouds spread over the whole area, and give a supply of moisture enough to bring on those crops which depend on rain, and to bring down the temperature of the air.

241 The climate does not allow of a complete double harvest as in the plains of India and the lower hills, but still with some grains two crops can be got off the same land. Barley, sown about November, will ripen in the middle or end of June; after that, or after rape, maize or millet or some of the pulses may be sown. It is not, however, the common practice thus to take two crops from the land; those crops that belong to the autumn harvest are usually grown on fresh ground; but doubtless with a greater demand for land the custom would spread, at all events in favourable spots. Neither wheat nor rice allow of a second crop the same year; they both occupy the soil for too many months. Wheat, which is sown in the late autumn, ripens about the middle of July; it is not of a good quality, probably from too great moisture in the soil, for it is grown almost entirely on the river alluvium. Rice, which is sown at the end of May or beginning of June, as well as the other autumn crops, maize, millet, &c., will ripen in October. Wherever water can be got for irrigation rice is grown, and without irrigation it cannot be grown. Rice is in Kashmir the most important crop of all; though raised successively from the same ground, it yields a great return. [262] It is the common food of the Kashmiri, of those who live in the towns, and of those of the country people who can grow it themselves; the cultivators who have no irrigated land must content themselves with what of the maize or of the other cheap grains falls to their share.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

Kashmir: AV4

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Soon after the autumn crop has ripened and been cut, come signs of approaching winter. Any time after the middle of October snow may fall on the surrounding mountains, though still the valley remains free from it, and even bright and sunny; but the nights get cooler, and with November hoar frost may begin; or else through November and December a haze covers the low country, which will keep off the night-cold, but at the same time prevent the sun's rays from brightening the land. The snow by repeated falls, each perhaps of no great thickness, gets lower on the mountains, and about Christmas time one may expect a general fall of snow over the whole country. With this winter has arrived, and there follows a time, usually about two months, during which snow hides the ground. The temperature, however, is not severe; the season, indeed, would be better if it were more severe, for the snow that falls is but just at the freezing point; it continually melts with the warmth of the ground, while fresh falls replace it from above; thus a thickness of from a few inches to a foot remains for the two months. The cold dampness of this time prevents the Kashmir winter from being a pleasant season. The fog from which the snow forms hangs over all the valley; only sometimes it may clear away, and a brisker keener air is the result. But even when the fog so covers the vale the higher parts are commonly free. In rising, for instance, to the Banihāl Pass, one will get above the fog and look down on it as it covers in the hollow; or in going up the lateral valley called the Sind Valley, in a march or two one will get clear of the fog that frequents the vale, and reach to where there is deep snow under foot and bright blue sky overhead; here, at the edge of the fog, as it may drift sometimes higher up than at others, I have seen an exceedingly heavy rime formed on every tree.

In coming down from Ladākh one year I marched through Kashmir and over the Banihāl Pass in January. Snow covered the vale, and whitened everything on the plain except the trees round the villages; at Sirīnagar its depth was six inches, at Islāmābād it was something more, and at Shāhābād there was a foot and a half of snow on the ground. On the Banihāl ridge it was so

132 thick one could not measure it. The Pass could not be crossed by horses, and for men it was very laborious. What struck me on coming down the other side as a thing worth noting was that the snow ended off in a sharp contour-line in the Banihāl Valley at a level of 6500 feet, which is 1300 feet above the level where snow was lying in Kashmir itself.

Towards the end of February, in general, the snow disappears from the vale, and spring comes on with a burst.

THE COUNTRY PEOPLE OF KASHMIR.

142 The Kashmīrī people are doubtless physically the finest of all the races that inhabit the territories we are dealing with, and I have not much hesitation in saying that in size and in feature they are the finest race on the whole continent of India. Their physique, their character, and their language are so marked as to produce a nationality different from all around, as distinct from their neighbours as their country is geographically separated.

[144] The face of the Kashmīrī, as Sir George Campbell has observed with regard especially to one class of them,* is of the pure High-Aryan type; he was writing of the Kashmīrī Brahmans. It is also true of the cultivating class, the peasantry, who have kept their breed unmixed. They have a wide straight-up and high forehead and a fine-shaped head, a well-cut square brow, and eyes of a not very dark brown. With middle-aged and older people the nose acquires a decided hook of handsome outline; the mouth is often prettily curved with the young people, but it is apt to get straight and thin-lipped as they grow up. In figure they are, I should say, of middle height by our English standard, and not apt to run very much above it; they are a robust race, broad-shouldered and large-framed, and of great muscular power; some instances of what they could do as porters were given in the last chapter. The complexion is somewhat lighter than that of the Dogrās.

291 Their clothing is simple; that of the poor people is entirely woollen. They wear short pyjamas, and a long, loose, large-sleeved gown, and a skull cap. Those who have active work,

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* See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1866.

like the shikāris or professional sportsmen, hitch the gown up and fasten it round the waist with a kamarband. Anyone who may be bound for a long march will put on leggings of a peculiar sort, a bandage about six inches wide and four yards long, wound round from the ankle up to just below the knee, and then fastened by an equally long string, attached to the upper end, which is lightly wound many times round the calf of the leg. This, which is called "patāwa," is a much-cherished piece of dress, and without doubt is a very good thing for mountain work; in the first place, it may be used to convert the pyjama into a kind of knickerbocker, then it is a protection for the leg in going through grass or brushwood, as well as against wet and cold. But the Kashmīrīs allow it other advantages; they say it strengthens or supports the leg, and so keeps off fatigue. For their feet they have either the common shoe used in India, or else grass shoes made of rice-straw; the straw is first twisted into a rope, and then interwoven to make a sole, which is fastened on sandal-wise. 291

In character the Kashmīrīs have many failings and faults, but they also have qualities which make one to be interested in and to like them. They are false-tongued, ready with a lie, and given to various forms of deceit. This character is more pronounced with them than with most of the races of India. They are noisy and quarrelsome, ready to wrangle, but not to fight; on the least exercise or threat of force they cry like children. They have, indeed, a wide reputation for being faint-hearted and cowardly; still, I must admit that I have sometimes met with Kashmīrīs who as against physical dangers bore themselves well. In intellect they are superior to their neighbours; they are certainly keener than Panjābīs, and in perception, and clearness of mind and ingenuity, far outvie their masters, the Dogrās. In disposition they are talkative, cheerful, and humorous. 181

In another chapter something will be said on their language;[1] here it may in passing be told that from Panjābī and from Dogrī it is so different as to be quite incomprehensible to those nations; also, it is difficult to learn. The officials of the Maharaja's government, who have much to do with Kashmir, seldom master its language; 191

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[1] [Cf. category 116, pp. 466-468--Analyst]

191 if they do so at all, with rare exceptions, it is only so far as to understand, and not to speak it. The Kashmīrīs, on the other hand, are good linguists; nearly all the men and a good proportion of the women know either Panjābī or Hindostānī, or, more likely, speak a mixture of both. The Hindostānī language, indeed, will well carry one through Kashmir, though Panjābī is more spoken by the older men, who learnt it when the Sikhs were masters; now Dogrī has to some extent come in, and, from the yearly influx of Englishmen and their followers, Hindostānī; but, as before said, a mixture of the dialects is more usual. The Kashmīrī language is rather harsh in sound, but it seems, to one who listens to a conversation without understanding it, to be expressive, and able to be made emphatic; those who speak it seem never at a loss to express every shade of meaning wanted.

663 These country people have been spoken of as one of those classes in whom purity of race is apparent. One part of the valley is, I think, an exception in this respect. In the pargana of Machipūra, at the north-west end, there have settled colonies of people from west of Peshāwar, and these have, I believe, intermarried with Kashmīrīs. The class produced are now called Machipūria; they are divided into Machipūrias proper and Khaibarīs; the former sprang from an earlier colonization; the latter date from the time of the acquirement of Kashmir by the Durānī dynasty.

611 The country people are but poorly off; I think, indeed, that
731 they get a fair meal, but they can afford little beyond their simple
167 daily food, and are unable to provide against a rainy day; so when a bad year comes, as, though not often, does sometimes happen, they are put to great straits, and will perhaps leave the country in numbers; for the isolation of the place is such that it is exceedingly difficult for any great importation of corn to be made to redress the failure of a harvest. Thus famines have, in former times, been the occasion of migrations of Kashmīrī, the origin of the settlements of them we met with in various parts of the Outer Hills, and of those in the Panjāb itself.

342 The Kashmir villages, though untidy in details, are very picturesque. The cottages are two-storied; in some parts they

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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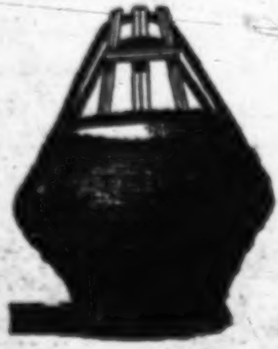
have mud walls, with a low sloping gable-roof of thatch or of 342
rough shingle; in others, where wood is more plentiful, they are entirely of timber, made like a log-hut. They are sure to have some rooms warm and cosy, to live in in winter time; and a balcony sheltered by the overhanging eaves makes a good sitting-place in summer. The lower story of the cottages is used in winter for stabling the cattle; their animal heat sensibly warms the house, and partly counteracts the coldness of the season.

But the Kashmíris have a plan that renders them very inde- 374
pendent even of household fires for a protection against cold. Of all classes, and of all ages, they carry what they call a *kángrí*. This is a small earthen pot, about six inches across, enclosed in basket-work; it contains live charcoal. They hold this beneath their great gowns, against their bodies, and the heat from it, especially when they are seated on the floor, diffuses itself beneath their clothing, and makes up for the scantiness and looseness of it; for in winter they neither change nor add to their summer clothing. The kángrí is accurately represented in the adjoining cut.



A KÁNGRÍ.

The cottages are not clumped and crowded, as in the vil- 361
lages of the Panjáb and of Dugar, but are commonly detached. By the village, grow, unenclosed, numerous fruit-trees—apple, cherry, mulberry, and walnut—which form a wood or grove around and hide from view the dwellings. Looking from a commanding height we see the vale all studded with such village groves. In the early summer, when the fields are flooded for rice cultivation, there is the appearance of a chain of lakes and straits, the parts occupied by the villages themselves being the only dry land. In all such prospects, when the eye has scanned the inhabited plain, it reaches beyond to the dark forests and shining snow-fields of the stately mountains.

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Kashmiri AV4

The People of the City.

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In Sirinagar there is more variety in the inhabitants than in the country around; the people here are more divided up into castes, some of which are based on hereditary transmission of occupations, of which there is necessarily greater variety than in the villages.

First, standing out marked and separate from the rest, are the Pandits. These are the Hindū remainder of the nation, the great majority of which were converted to Islām. Sir George Campbell supposes that previously the mass of the population of Kashmir was Brahman. An examination of the subdivisional castes of both Pandits and Muhammadans, if it were made, might enable us to settle this question. Whatever may be the case as to that, we certainly see that at this day the only Kashmīrī Hindūs are Brahmans. These, whatever their occupation—whether that of a writer, or, may be, of a tailor or clothseller—always bear the title "Pandit," which, in other parts of India, is confined to those Brahmans who are learned in their theology.

The Kashmīrī Pandits have that same fine cast of features which is observed in the cultivating class. The photograph given, after one of Mr. Frith's, is a good representation of two clothsellers who are Pandits, or Brahmans. When allowance has been made for an unbecoming dress, and for the disfigurement caused by the caste-mark on the forehead, I think it will be allowed that they are of a fine stock. Of older men, the features become more marked in form and stronger in expression, and the face is often thoroughly handsome. [142] In complexion the Pandits are lighter than the peasantry; their colour is more that of the almond. These Brahmans are less used to laborious work than the Muhammadan Kashmīrīs. Their chief occupation is writing; great numbers of them get their living by their pen, as Persian writers (for in the writing of that language they are nearly all adepts), chiefly in the Government service. Trade, also, they follow, as we see; but they are not cultivators, nor do they adopt any other calling that requires much muscular exertion. From this it

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Kashmiri AV4

564 463 happens that they are not spread generally over the country; they cluster in the towns. Sirinagar, especially, has a considerable number of them; they have been estimated at a tenth of the whole of its inhabitants.

The remainder of the citizens are Muhammadans. They have caste subdivisions, but I cannot give details of them. The remarks I shall make will refer to occupations only. It must be understood that castes among Muhammadans, though often traceable to the [564] same origin as those of Hindūs, are not such strict divisions. In the first place, there is not any restriction connected with them as [582] to eating in company. There is a general custom of marrying in the same caste, but this is often broken through, and outside marriages are made, which cause the divisions to grow less and less [286] distinct. A large proportion of the town inhabitants are shawl-weavers, whose handicraft has made Kashmir to be familiarly known over the whole both of India and Europe. These men spend long days in the low, crowded, factories, where the air is very impure, especially in winter; they keep the place close for warmth, and in the absence of ventilation the atmosphere becomes very highly vitiated. This, and the constancy of the sedentary employment, has acted on the physique of the shawl-weavers; they are a class whose sallow complexions and weak frames contrast [531] strongly with the robustness of most other Kashmīrīs. The other ornamental arts of Sirinagar are silver-work and papier-maché painting. The specimens of their work shown in the various Exhibitions have of late years made many familiar with it. It displays the same taste, the same artistic feeling—whether shown in simple beauty of form, or in harmonious brilliancy of colour—which has made the Kashmir shawl, when of the best, a thing inimitable by other manufacturers. Of other trades there are many—as the dyers, washers, and brokers—connected with the shawl trade; and there is every variety of handicraft usually found in an Indian city; but few of these, either from superiority of skill, or from the importance of numbers, require special mention.

One other class, which is a numerous and a conspicuous one,

564 shall be spoken of. This is the class of Hānjis, or boatmen. It
463 has been said that the river is the great highway of the country; it is navigable for two days' journey above and two days' journey below the city, and it forms the great artery of communication in
[501] the city itself. The class of boatmen, therefore, is likely to be important. They live, in some cases for months together, in some cases entirely, in their boats. A portion of the after-part of the boat is separated and covered in with matting, so as to make a dwelling-place not uncomfortable; even the winter can be weathered under such shelter, with the aid of the kāngri. By the help of plastered mud a fireplace for cooking is arranged, and the whole family—often three generations together—thus pass the greater part of their lives on board.

564 The Hānjis are the class with whom Englishmen who visit
181 Kashmir come most into contact, and from whom they are apt to form their opinion of the whole nation. They have, indeed, some of the best and some of the worst qualities of the Kashmīrīs intensified. They are men of active imagination, which is shown in their ready tales and in the lying legends they are always prompt to invent to amuse one. They are excessively greedy, never being satisfied as long as they think there is the least chance of getting more. The cowardice which is proverbially a characteristic of the Kashmīrīs, is shown by the Hānjis whenever they are overtaken on one of the lakes by a storm of wind. They have much of good spirits and of humour, and in energy and versatility they are behind none of their nation. The photograph of the group of Hānjis (this also taken from one of Mr. Frith's) shows that in face and figure they are a race deserving admiration. Their body is well developed by their labour of towing and of paddling; especially the muscles of their back become greatly strengthened
501 by the latter. These boatmen use a single heart-shaped paddle,
462 in the working of which they are exceedingly skilful. One of them, sitting in the stern of a boat, will both propel and guide by paddling on one side only; for a drawing of the paddle a little towards one, or a turn of the wrist outwards, will enable one to steer in the stroke itself. The women help in the paddling,

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1, Drew G-8 (1882-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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KASHMIRI BOATMEN

[Facing p. 180]

462 but only for slow work. In towing, men, women, and children
501 all take their turn.

There are several different kinds of boats in Kashmir, whose
501 names it may be useful to give. *Bangla* is a large state vessel,
with, as it were, a house built amidships; this is used only by the
rulers. *Parinda* is the name, metaphorically given, of a light, fast,
boat, with a small platform forward, and an awning over part of
it; this also is for persons of consequence. These two may carry
a score or two of paddlers. *Bahts* is the large-sized barge used
for carrying grain, a heavy, cumbersome, vessel; it has a kind of
thatched house at the stern for a living house. The *Dunga* is the
ordinary boat for carrying miscellaneous merchandise, and for
carrying passengers to a distance; it is this which the English
visitors take to with their establishment for the excursions up and
down the river. In such a boat one can pass both days and nights
very comfortably. These dungas are the home of the greater
number of the Hānjis. A *shikārī* is the sort of boat that is in
daily use with the English visitors; a light boat, manned, as it
commonly is, by six men, it goes at a fast pace, and, if well fitted
with cushions, makes a comfortable conveyance. A *bandūqī
shikārī* is the smallest boat of all; a shooting punt, used in going
after wild fowl on the lakes.

564 Last in our description of classes shall come the caste called
Bātal. This division is one that may likely have an ethnological
463 importance. The Bātal is one of those tribes whose members are
outcasts from the community. Like the Dūms of the Outer
Hills, the Bātals have to do the dirtiest work; it is part of their
trade to remove and skin carcases and to cure leather. I have
heard that there are two classes of Bātals — so apt are communities
in India to divide and subdivide, to perpetuate differences,
[262] and to separate rather than amalgamate. The higher
Bātals follow the Muhammadan rules as to eating, and are allowed
into some fellowship with the other Muhammadans. The lower
Bātals eat carrion, and would not bear the name of Musalmān
in the lips of others though they might call themselves so. By
the analogy of other parts, these Bātals are very likely to be the

564 463 remnants of inhabitants earlier than the Aryans. From among them are provided the musicians and the dancers; the dancing-girls whom one sees at the darbārs and festivals which the Maharaja holds at Sirīnagar are of them.

562 564 I have hitherto spoken of the men of Kashmir and not of the women. In my accounts of other races, also, it will have been observed that I have said little about the women. The reason is obvious. One sees so little of the women, except of the lowest classes; one so seldom meets them face to face, that it is difficult to generalise about their characteristics. In Kashmir there are one or two classes of whom one sees more than one would of corresponding ranks in other parts of India; still I do not feel able to give more than my general impressions of their appearance. Among the Kashmīrī the general run of women are decidedly good-looking. A well-shaped face, good brow, and straight nose, with black hair coming rather low on the forehead; these are features not uncommonly met with. Sometimes one sees a thoroughly handsome face. The women are tall and well grown; as to grace of figure, the looseness of their dress prevents one from speaking; but I do not think that they have the delicacy and elegance of form that many women in India have, and the well-turned arm and small hand there so usual is not common in Kashmir. The two classes one sees most of are the Panditānīs, that is the women of the Pandit or Brahman caste, and the Hānjnīs, or women of the Hānjī caste. At certain times of the day a trip through the city by the river will show you specimens of both. The Panditānīs have a delicate look; they have a light, rather sallow, complexion. The Hānjnīs are used to exercise and work; they show in their faces a healthy brown and red, and I think more often have a pleasing expression than the others. The Hānjīs' little girls of five or six are as pretty as any I have seen anywhere.

[302] 291 562 564 The girls, until they marry, wear their hair hanging down behind in numerous plaits, joined together and continued by cords and tassels. The women wear, like the men, a long loose gown, hanging in one fall from the shoulders to the ankles. For head-

dress they have a low red cap, with a white cloth hanging from it, 291
mantilla-wise, down the back. The Panditānis wear a white 562
kamarband, or waist-belt, confining the gown. The dancing-girls 564
of the Bātal caste, from whom some Europeans are apt to form their ideas of the women of Kashmir; and who, being least unwilling to undergo photography, are those whose pictures one can see in London, are by no means fair examples of the race; neither in figure nor in face are they so fine as the women of the other castes —of the Kashmīri race proper.

THE CITY OF SIRĪNAGAR.

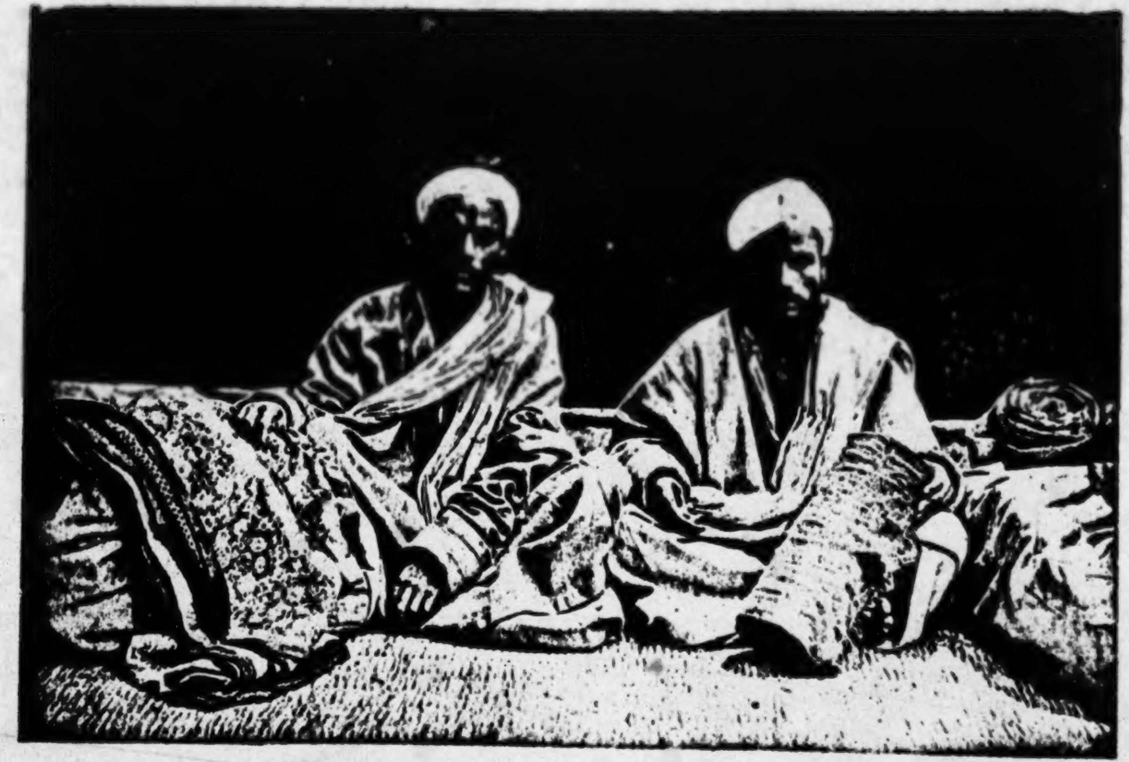
Sirīnagar is the ancient and the present name of the city. On 103
account of its being a Hindū name it was disused during the time the Muhammadans were rulers, and for some hundreds of years the city was called by the same name as the country, that is, "Kashmir." Accordingly, we find that Bernier in Aurangzeb's time, and Forster who travelled in this country in 1783, use the name Kashmir, and not Sirīnagar. But when the Sikhs conquered Kashmir they restored the old Hindū name, and "Sirīnagar" the town has since been generally called, though in the mouths of some Muhammadans it still is "Kashmir."

The city is situated about the centre of the valley as regards 361
its length, but quite at the north-east side of it, near where the 505
river Jhelam in its windings through the alluvial flat touches some of the projecting spurs of the mountains. Where the river makes a great bend, changing its course from north to south-west, there, along both banks for a length of three miles, the town is built, extending not more than half a mile on each side of the river. The stream is about like that of the Thames at Kingston in width and rate of flow. [363]
It is the chief artery of traffic; it is of much more importance as a thoroughfare than any of the streets; indeed, there are but one or two streets, and those but short ones, that have anything like a continuous traffic, while the river is always alive with boats.

The river aspect of the city is extremely picturesque. There 361
is nothing like a quay or embankment, and there is no line of 342
regular buildings, but each house is built independently. In

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Kashmir AV4

[Facing p.178]



KASHMĪRĪ BRĀHMANS

Kashmiri AV4

361 height uneven, of form varied, and in material changing as to the
342 proportion of stone and wood, the houses nearly all agree in having a low sloping roof, with eaves extending, and much window-space in the front, guarded by movable wooden lattices of elaborate patterns. The base of each house is a solid stone wall, sometimes of rough masonry, sometimes better built of cut stone obtained from some old Hindū temple. This firm wall is raised to a level above the rise of the highest floods; it has in many cases supported several generations of superstructures. Above it is the wood and brick building of two, three, or at most four stories, often projecting several feet over the river, supported by the ends of the floor-beams, propped, may be, from beneath. This upper structure is sometimes of brick columns, on which all above rests, with looser brickwork filled in between; but sometimes the framework is of wood, which confines the brickwork of the walls. These mixed modes of construction are said to be better as against earthquakes (which in this country occur with severity) than more solid masonry, which would crack.

361 The view of these buildings—uneven, irregular, but for that very reason giving in the sunlight varied lights and depths of shadow; of the line of them broken with numerous stone *ghāts*, or stairs, thronged with people, that lead from the river up to the streets and lanes of the city; of the mountain-ridges showing above, in form varying as one follows the turns of the river; of the stream flowing steadily below, with boats of all kinds coming and going on it—is one of remarkable interest and beauty. From a height of tower or hill, that will command a bird's-eye view, the sight is still more curious, because of the great expanse of earth-covered roofs, which at some time of the year are covered with a growth of long grass, that makes the city look as green as the country. The frontispiece, which is a woodcut taken from one of Mr. Frith's photographs, admirably represents these characters.

346 The public buildings are mosques, Hindū temples lately
712 erected, and the Palace.‡ This last is within the walls of the Sher Garhī, or fort, which is large enough to include, besides, a bazaar of some importance, the Government offices, and the

‡ [i.e., in Srinagar -- Analyst]

Ja Drew G-8 (1859-1875) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Kashmir/ AV4

houses of the courtiers. To the river it presents a loop-holed wall, 346
with bastions, rising some 25 feet above the general level of the 7/a
water, surmounted by these roomy but lightly-built houses. The Palace, at the lower corner, is an irregular building, of style partly Kashmiri partly Panjâbi, while a new lofty edifice with a large projecting bow has traces of European design, though it was not in reality planned by an Englishman. Close by is a golden-domed temple, which is frequented for morning and evening service by the Court.

Of one of the mosques a drawing is given on the title-page; 346
it is the one called by the name of Shâh Hamadân; it is a good specimen of the indigenous architecture, which has indeed become adapted to mosques and shrines in a way both to suit the object and to give a pleasing effect.

The river is spanned within the city by seven bridges, whose 361
structure of piers—built of alternately-crossing layers of poles [499]
(with intervals filled in with stones), widening above to shorten the span of the beam—will be understood from the view of one shown in the picture of the city. A few canals traverse the interior of the town. One of them is wide, and is overlooked by some of
the best of the houses. One is narrow, passing through some of [362]
the poorest parts; low dwellings crowd on it that, albeit they are well peopled, seem to be on the point of falling; these are irregular, ruinous, places that it would have delighted Prout to draw. A third canal leads from the upper part of the city to the gate of the lake, and shows along its winding course groves of plane-trees on the banks that make a beautiful combination with the smooth waters at their feet and the mountains that rise behind them.

ENVIRONS OF SRINAGAR.*

In the South Kensington Museum, on the staircase, is a pano- 361
ramic view, painted by Mr. Carpenter, of the vale and city of 133
Kashmir. This panorama is well worth studying. It does not, indeed, in its colouring do justice to the subject; Kashmir has yet

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* Many more details of the places round Srinagar than I have attempted to give will be found in a book before mentioned, 'Ince's Kashmir Handbook.'

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361 to be painted; but it is admirably truthful as to outline, and
153 an examination of it will make clear the position in the valley of the city and the character of its surroundings.

Taken as it is from a spot on the Takht hill, overlooking Sirinagar—a conspicuous rocky temple-crowned hill, nearly isolated from the last spur of the mountains—the view shows in the distance a long line of the steep snowy peaks of the Panjál; in front of them, towards the plain, lie the forest slopes and the barer ground of the high karewas; then the low vale extends its length, through which, in deep-winding curves, flows the Jhelam River. The last reach of the river, before it comes to the city, is edged by the houses, nearly hidden in the orchards, where lodge the English visitors. Where the city lies the river is hidden from our view by the buildings amongst which it finds its way; a great space is closely covered by the house-roofs; among them rise the spires of the mosques, and beyond them the fort-capped hill called Hari Parbat. On the right is marshy ground intersected by clearer water-channels; this melts or changes into the lake called the *Dal*, around which are some of the most favourite spots of all in the Vale.

The Dal is a lake measuring five miles long from north to south, and two miles from west to east; it is in part shallow, and inclining to be marshy; in other parts it is deeper, and everywhere it is of the clearest water. On three sides a mountainous amphitheatre backs it, whose summit is from 3000 to 4000 feet above the water. On the ground at the foot of these mountains, at the edge of the lake, are numerous villages surrounded by orchards, and the several renowned gardens constructed by the Delhi
[351] Emperors. Westwards, towards the open flat, are, first, the gardens that float—gardens made of earth and vegetable matter accumulated on water-plants; then the half-reclaimed marsh, alternate strips of shallow water and made ground, and then
367 the city. The three most delightful places on the lake are the Nishát, Nasím, and Shálamár Gardens. These were all made, the buildings constructed and the trees planted, by the Delhi Emperors; and if the buildings have gone to decay and lost

1_1 Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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much of their original beauty, we may congratulate ourselves on being able to enjoy the shade of the magnificent chinár, or plane-trees, which, while the Emperors' rule still lasted in Kashmir, had hardly reached their prime. 367

Nishât Garden, or *Nishât Bâgh*,* is situated on the sloping ground in front of the mountains. It is an oblong walled enclosure, of some 600 yards in length, reaching from the lake edge to the foot of the steep hill-side. It is terraced to the fall of the ground, and divided into five widths; the two outer are now in grass or orchard; within these are strips of ground in beds, an outer garden; in the centre the terraces have revetments, and a well-built masonry canal, with flower-beds along each side, occupies the whole length; the fall at each terrace-face is made over stone slabs carved in scallops to scatter the water, while each level stretch of the canal has a line of fountains. A bungalow (bangla), [345] or pavilion, built over the running water, completes the line at each end; the beauty of the vista is much enhanced by the great plane-trees on each side; over these the eye looking downwards commands a lovely view of the lake, while upwards the great cliffs of the mountains shut closer the prospect.

Shâlamâr Garden† is a couple of miles to the north. It is on a plan somewhat similar to that of Nishât, but the terraces are low on account of the ground being of a gentler slope. For the same reason the prospects are not so commanding. The chief beauty in [345] this garden is the uppermost pavilion, which is supported on handsome columns of black and grey fossiliferous marble, and is surrounded by a tank filled with fountains, while plane-trees overhang it. The canal leads down in cascades and level runs alternately, and beyond the gates it continues through the marsh far into the lake.

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* "Garden of Gladness."

† Curious mistakes have been made as to the derivation of this name—mistakes which are generally due to the traveller following the imperfect knowledge of his Persian-writing munshi. Vigne speaks of the name as coming from "Shah-il-imarat." In another book I have seen "Shahi-imarat," "royal building." The true derivation is obvious to anyone acquainted with Hindi words. Shâla means "house" or "abode"; Mâr is the name of the Hindu goddess of Love. The Kashmiris often contract Shâlamâr Bâgh to Shâlabâgh.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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367 *Nasim Bâgh*, or the Garden of Breezes, is a place that never saw its prime. It was constructed by one of the Mughal or Delhi Emperors, with a great revetment wall, terraces, and masonry stairs. On the plateau, 30 or 40 feet above the lake, a succession of cross avenues of plane-trees was planted. The structure, which made one grandeur of the place, fell into decay before the trees reached to the height of their beauty. Now the masonry is in ruins and half hidden. The splendid avenues of chīnār-trees throw a shade over quiet grassy walks. From among the foliage the view over the lake is exquisite; the water has a glassy surface, reflecting very perfectly the circling wall of mountains; but these have often, especially in the morning sun, their details softened, as well as their colours harmonized, by the brightening of the delicate haze that intervenes.

SUMMER RETREATS.

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485 Every corner of the vale, every nook where the lower land runs up into the hills, and every part of the slopes where the ground that belongs to the valley graduates into that of the mountains, will show some beauties for the traveller to delight in. Of such places as these some are frequently resorted to by Englishmen; others are left unnoticed, except when some sportsman in his search for game visits them. As examples merely I will name a few of those spots to which the traveller when tired of the city will like to find his way.

I have before said that, delightful as the Kashmir summer is in a general way, there is some part of it when the low neighbourhood of Sirīnagar, surrounded at no great distance by lake and marsh, becomes somewhat unhealthy. At this time—from the middle of July, perhaps, to the middle of September—the English visitors seek a higher level. Those of them who are not scattered farther about the country are apt to throng to *Gulmarg*.

This place is about 30 miles by land from Sirīnagar; this distance one would, with a camp, take two days to traverse. A more convenient route is to drop down by boat to Patan, which course can be navigated during the night, and thence make one long march to Gulmarg. The direction is on the whole west; the 133 boat crosses the river-alluvium flat, here much covered with water; 361 then from the edge of it one has to rise up the sloping karewa. 485 First the ground is intersected with watercourses, and villages abound; then, as it gradually gets steeper, one passes through a low jungle; then, rising to yet steeper slopes, which can hardly be classed with the karewas, we find ourselves in a forest of pine, threading which we at last reach the valley called Gulmarg. This is a little grassy and flowery valley; it well bears out its name, the meaning of which is "flower plain"; it extends two or three miles in one direction, while in width it varies to a mile as its maximum; it is enclosed by low hills, spurs from the mountains, crowned by thick forests of lofty pine-trees, that shut out all further view and make the spot a most secluded one. The level of it must be about 8000 feet; this elevation is enough to give an atmosphere that in the hottest time of the year is never oppressive. In this respect the climate is all one wishes for; but in some years the proximity of the place to the Panjāl mountains allows the rain-clouds to break over it and showers to fall more plentifully than for comfort one would choose. [221] Gulmarg is not permanently inhabited, but is frequented in summer by Kashmīrī Gujars.

The ridge that forms the boundary on the south-east is low, and may soon be surmounted. If one can find a gap in the forest to allow of the view, one will see the flat plain stretched below, with its villages looking but bush-patches in the distance, and beyond ridge after ridge of mountains, such as I have tried to show in the sketch given in the next chapter (opposite p. 196) of the great mountain, called Nangā Parbat, that shows up behind them all. To the south and south-west the mountains reach to very considerable heights; from some points one can obtain a view of them which shows great expanses of mountain slope, thickly covered with pine and spruce, and above these grassy hills and rocky peaks.

Lolāb is another place that at some seasons is delightful. I do not surely know its altitude; probably it is near 6000 feet. It is

133 situated on the farther side of the ridge that edges the Walar
361 Lake on the north-west. Crossing this, for which we have to rise
485 perhaps 2000 feet, and descending, we find ourselves in a plain about 6 miles long and 3 miles wide, encircled by hills which are for the most part covered with pine and deodar forest. The green vale, studded with villages, which are shaded by walnut and other fruit-bearing trees, is pretty and pleasant-looking; and from the way in which it is surrounded by the dark-wooded hills it gives one the
[311] impression of calm and quiet; but on passing along one sees much of the village land lying waste and neglected; this and the dilapidated houses tell of neglect and desertion following the oppression of a harsh system of land-taxation.

Tsirār is a place some 17 miles south from Sirīnagar, a town placed at the elevation of 6400 feet, on one of the higher karewas, a narrow karewa, from edge to edge of which the town extends. All around it are more narrow karewa ridges, the tops of them bare of trees, undulating slightly. They are divided by deep valleys, whose sides are covered with a low growth of *Pinus excelsa*. This kind of country continues up for many miles towards the mountains, the ridges gradually getting higher and more forest-covered. Behind these more gentle slopes rise the steeper mountains; these also, in their lower part, are dark with pine forest; above is a barer tract, which at the time I saw it, when winter was beginning, was covered with snow, and so to the peaks of the great ridge.

788 To this town of Tsirār, during the latter months of our year,
543 the Kashmīrī resort in great numbers to do honour to the
443 saint, whom they call Shāh Nūr-ud-dīn, who here is buried. The people come from the city, spend a day or two, and then return. Thursday and Friday are the fullest days; a fair is then held, when the bazaar and the temporary stalls are crowded. To the building which contains the tomb of Nūr-ud-dīn, and of some disciples and successors of his, access was most difficult, on account of the numbers. The guardians of the tomb, themselves faqīrs, greedily took from all. The people went though and paid each his mite, without seeming to bestow a thought on the religious character of

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

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788 the place. They threw much more heart into the fair itself. I
543 had never seen Kashmiris so self-forgetful and given for the time
443 to enjoyment. Everyone bought something, the value of a penny or two, as a fairing—a kāngri, perhaps, whose price here was something under twopence, or a carved wooden spoon, or coloured-glass armlets; something or other to take to those who had stayed at home. The Friday, according to their reckoning, had begun on our Thursday at sunset; during that night the religious object of the journey had been attended to; the next morning then they were ready for the return journey. Throughout the day they trooped back in thousands, people of all classes and ages crowding the path.

At the south-east end of the valley, where the different streams
361 that form the Jhelam come down in various branch valleys from the mountains, are many places where the eye finds relief from contemplating the beauty of distant prospects in nearer views of calmer effect. *Naubug* is one of these spots. Here a small valley is bounded by slopes of low hills that are long spurs from the high ridge behind, hills that rise only to 1000 and 1500 feet, well covered with grass and wood, the slopes not very steep, the hills rounded; these spurs branching make an ever-changing scene of nook, knoll, and dell. In the lower parts the valley-bottom is cultivated in rice-fields, which alternate with orchard-shaded village-tracts.

It is one of the charms of being in Kashmir that the independence of the kind of travelling there followed by all enables one with a map in hand, or by information easily got, to hunt out places that show varying scenery, and give numerous subjects of interest. Those places spoken of, as before said, are but instances; we will go no farther in attempting to describe more, only in the chapter on the march from Kashmir to Leh will be described the Sind Valley, which is one of the finest of all.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MOUNTAINS ROUND KASHMIR.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS — MAIN CHAIN, FROM NANGĀ PARBAT TO NUN KUN — THE MOUNTAINS OF THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY — THE MOUNTAINS ON THE EAST — THE PANJĀL RANGE — THE JHELAM VALLEY BELOW BĀRAMŪLA.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

133x In the last chapter we went in some detail into the subject of the form of the ground in the lower portions of Kashmir, which constitute the valley; as to the surrounding mountains, there was little more told than the height of them at different parts. But these deserve a fuller account. True it is that it is difficult to describe in words the shape or the course of a complicated range of mountains; still I will attempt in some measure to do so, relying much on the map (which for this chapter especially should be in the reader's hand) to make up the deficiencies of the writing.

Before commencing, I must guard against an unintended meaning being attached, a wrong force allowed, to the geographical terms which, in common with others who describe mountain countries, I shall have to apply. I think, for instance, that the words "ridge," "range," and "chain," often convey a wrong impression. Sometimes, indeed, it may happen, as in the Outer Hills, or with respect to any one simple branch, that the idea first conveyed to the mind by, say, the word "ridge," will be the true one —a simple, definite, though, may be, irregular, line of elevated ground. But when one comes to speak of the great masses of ground we have now reached, with their complication of form, though we are necessitated to use the same words, we find them inadequate to express the facts. Such ranges as we have now to treat of are wide masses of raised ground cut into by deep valleys (which seldom widen to broad hollows) and by innumerable

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

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branch ravines; the spaces between these ravines and between their trunk valleys making the spurs and the branch ridges. As to the summits, the spurs and branch ridges are not as a rule left wide, to form a table-land, but are quite narrow-topped; they vary (at different levels perhaps, or according to the composition of the mountains) in being sometimes rounded, sometimes sharp-edged; and there are the further differences of the summits being nearly level, or of a regular slope, or of being rugged or serrated, or else having, rising from the ridge, elevations that may be called peaks. Such are the masses denoted by the appellation "range" or "chain."

Again, if in a combination of mountain-ranges one particular line is called the "main range," or the "main chain," we must understand together what is meant by the expression. It may perhaps be applied to the *chief line of watershed.* Every range and ridge must be a watershed of some degree; it is the line of the most important watershed that is often spoken of as the main range. In the case before us, the line between the waters of the Jhelam and those of the Indus has that rank, and in the present chapter it will bear the above title. Now, it is not likely that for the whole distance such a watershed line will be occupied by the highest mountains. There will be gaps between them, that make the Passes from one drainage-basin to another—gaps, perhaps, lower than the depressions in the branch ridges; and, again, it not uncommonly happens that on the branches that do *not* constitute any important watershed there are peaks of greater height than any on what was called the "main range."

Whether a watershed, if of comparatively low elevation, is to be counted as the main range, and the higher peaks which, though separated, are perhaps arranged in another, maybe parallel, line, are to be reckoned as spurs from it; or whether we are to call the line of highest ground the range, and to say that it is cut through by valleys that originate at the back of it; this question seems to me nothing more than one of phraseology, to be nothing about which people who know the form of the ground need seriously differ, though one may prefer one fashion of describing the facts, and another the other. The danger, for truth, is when words are

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

133x used to connect facts in such a way as to make the hearer infer a closer relation between them than there really is. Such phrases as "the true continuation of this chain," or "this range disappears beneath the plains and reappears farther on," have a show of some deep meaning; but if one were to try and get them defined, they would, probably, turn out to mean nothing, or else to mean what was not borne out by the facts. The truth is that, beyond the superficial circumstances of outward form, the questions of the relationship of different ground-masses must be treated of with regard to their origin, that is to say, they must be treated of *geologically;* and when physical geologists inquire into them they will give their results in quite other, I may say more definite, language than of the sort quoted above.

I do not myself propose to attempt any geological account of the mountains. I have not observed enough of their internal structure to give the result in any general view, or to make very important inferences. While keeping, then, to geographical methods and using geographical terms, I shall hope to make use of these in such a way as to prevent a wrong conception of my meaning from being received.

Let us now begin our survey of the mountains. Let us look first at the great chain on the north-east of Kashmir, and afterwards we shall see how branches from this come round and enclose the valley.

MAIN CHAIN, FROM NANGA PARBAT TO NUNKUN.

Commencing with the great mass of which a part is called Nangā Parbat or Diyāmir,* we there find ridges and spurs, many points of which are over 20,000 feet high; the highest point of the whole mass (the one which bears the name) is 26,629 feet above the sea; this is not quite on the watershed between the Indus and the Jhelam, but is part of a branch that divides the Astor and Chilās rivers, both of which flow into the Indus at no

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* This mountain is called *Nangā Parbat* (which, in the Hindī dialects, means "Naked Mountain") by the people who see it from the south. The name *Diyāmir* is what it goes by among the Dārd races who live near it.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

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133 great distance from one another. This particular summit is a peak which rises from a lofty ridge that for 10 miles is over 22,000 feet in height; the faces of this ridge, on the east and south, make an enormous cliff, or steep fall, of from 6000 to 10,000 feet, on the greater part of which snow remains clinging, but it is in part of rocky precipices; from the highest point great buttresses radiate. Large glaciers take their origin from the mountain, of one of which a notice will be given in a later chapter. The great ridge and the chief peak are of such a height as to be seen from long distances over the neighbouring ranges of 16,000 feet altitude, which become quite dwarfed to the eyes. General Cunningham has seen the peak from Rāmnagar in the Panjāb, which is distant 205 miles. The sketch on the following page shows the mountain as it appears from the south side of the Kashmir Valley, 80 miles away.

The southern part of the Nangā Parbat Ridge becomes the watershed between the Indus and Jhelam basins, dividing the water that flows into the Astor stream from that which finds its way into the Kishangangā. At this part it is 20,000 feet high, and it originates glaciers on both sides. From here, for 120 miles reckoned on a straight line, we will trace the course of the chain, which takes a general south-easterly direction.

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133 For the first 50 or 60 miles it is not of such a height—neither in the line of watershed nor in its spurs—as to bear perpetual snow or give origin to glaciers. It seems to be commonly of an altitude of some 14,000 feet, with a few points of 15,000, or a little more. There are several gaps in the ridge that are passable. Two much-traversed roads, which join the Kishanganga and Astor rivers, go over Passes of 13,200 and 13,500 feet, while farther east Passes lead from the former river-valley into the basin of the Drās River; these can all be traversed by laden horses. After the length of nearly 60 miles the mountains become rather higher; there are peaks of 17,000 and up to 17,400 feet; these collect enough snow to form small glaciers. But the ridge is broken, and a not difficult Pass occurs which directly connects the Tilel branch of the

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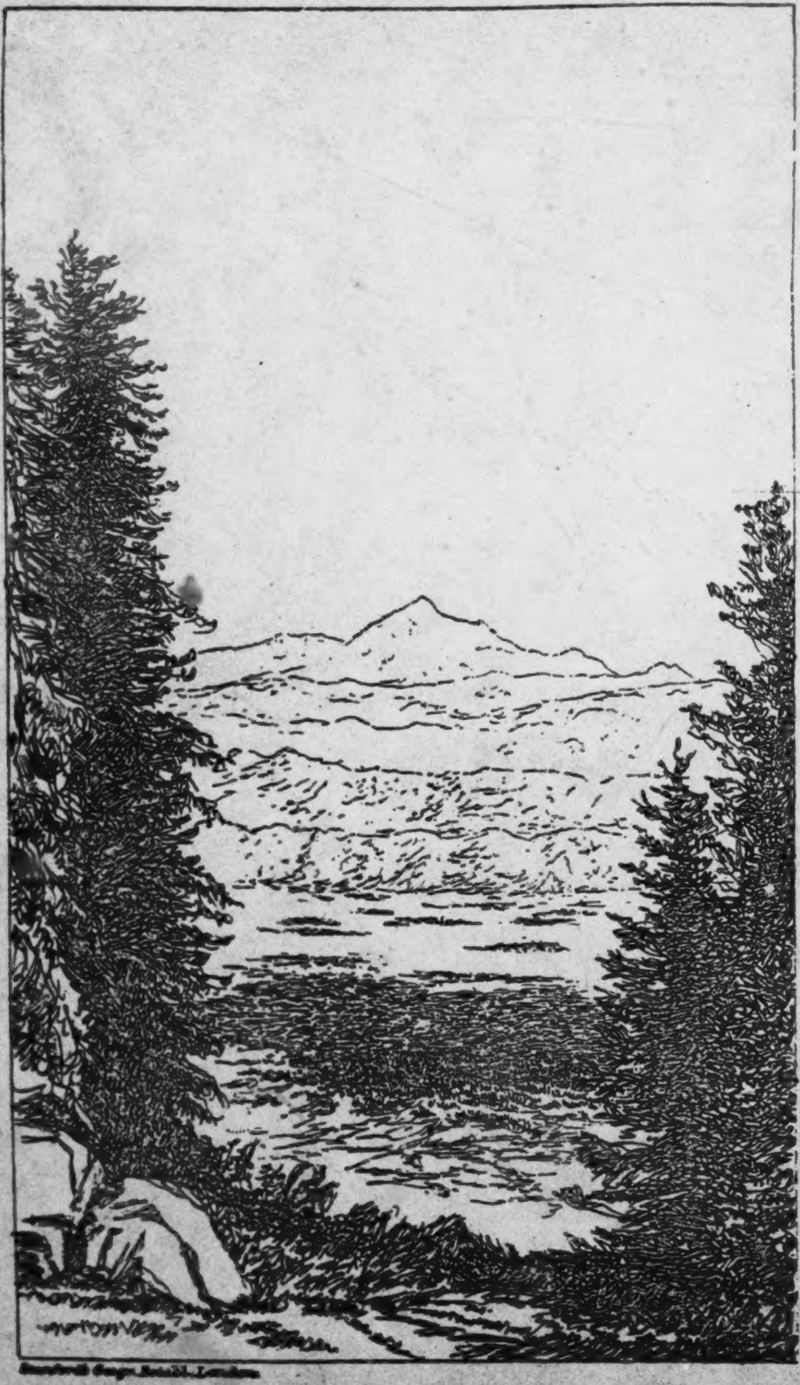

Stanford's Geogr. Estabt. London.

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Kishangangā Valley with Drās. A few miles south of this gap occurs the branching of the mountain mass that goes to make the north boundary of Kashmir; this we will return to, and now only note the spot from which that ridge separates. Again, a few miles farther on, still to the south-east, and we come to where there is a gap in the mountains, which is the lowest passage, between the Indus on the one side and the Chīnāb and Jhelam basins on the other, along the whole length of 300 miles from the eastern sources of the Chīnāb to the head of the Khāgān tributary of the Jhelam. This Pass is called Zojī Lā by the Tibetans, the Ladākhīs; by others it is commonly called the Drās Pass.

The height of this passage through the mountains is 11,300 feet. An important characteristic of it is that there is a great rise to this level from the Kashmir side, and but a very slight fall on the Ladākh side. Coming from Kashmir we rise steeply, in the last mile or two, a height of about 2000 feet to the level of the Pass; we then find ourselves in a narrow valley, the floor of which descends with so gradual an incline that in 20 miles we do not descend more than 1000 feet. The Pass itself—the high-level valley which is reached after the steep ascent—is a level grassy valley not much more than a quarter of a mile in width. The mountains bounding it are rugged and rocky; the peaks immediately seen are 2000 or 3000 feet above the valley, but the ridges, of which these are the ends, continuing back reach to 5000 and 6000 feet above it, or 16,000 and 17,000 feet above the sea. These mountains belong to the very central range and to spurs from it. By this Pass one rises into the high-level country of Ladākh, where the valley-bottoms are at levels from 10,000 feet upwards. Indeed, if we go anywhere in the Upper Indus basin south of the latitude-parallel of this Pass, we shall find no ground, even in the valleys, so low as 10,000 feet.

Continuing along the main chain, we find that the summits get higher and higher; peaks of 18,000 feet, and some, as we go on, that approach 20,000, occur, and the general level of summits is not much below them. Long spurs, too, or branch

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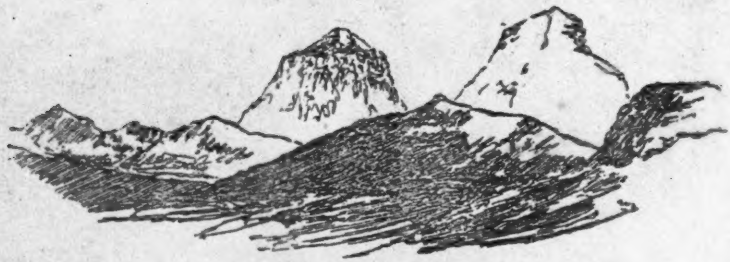
ridges, that jut out, are very lofty. Ten miles east-south-east from the Pass a distinct ridge branches off in a direction somewhat west of south, which is the one that, curving round, forms the eastern and southern boundary of Kashmir, and connects on with the Panjāl Range; this, too, we shall revisit. Then in some miles more (26 or 27 miles direct from the last Pass) we come to an opening which, though not so low as the other, yet, considering the loftiness of the mountains it passes between, is a considerable depression. This is the Bhot Kol Pass; it leads from the head of the Wardwan Valley into the Surū district. It is a glacier pass, but one over which it is possible to take a horse.

From the Drās Pass hither the peaks have been of a height to form glaciers. There is a glacier in every hollow of the ridge. Many of the branch ridges also hold them in their recesses. These glaciers are usually not large; two or three miles long is common; and they do not generally extend very low; one, however, named the Mechuhoi Glacier, the lowest that I know of near here, has its foot at 10,850 feet above the sea; this is close on the valley of the Drās Pass. Looking from near the Bhot Kol Pass to the north-east, at one view a number of these small glaciers can be seen, embedded in the hollows of the mountains, whose narrow rock-ridges curve round and enclose them.

From the last-named Pass eastwards the range continues at a great height; points on it are nearly 20,000 feet high. Lastly, distant from the Pass 12 or 14 miles, there rise two enormous mountains, each of them a few hundred feet over 23,000. These are called Nun and Kun, or together, Nun Kun. They are peaks that are conspicuous from afar, standing as they do a clear 3000 feet above their neighbours. Their aspect varies much as one looks at them from different sides; from Surū we get a side view, which seems to show that they are projecting portions of a rugged escarpment. The annexed sketch gives their form as seen in front, in a distant view caught of them from the boundary of Kashmir.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AY1



NUN KUN, FROM THE MARGAN PASS.

THE MOUNTAINS OF THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY. x

One way of looking at the mountains that make the oval 133 barrier of Kashmir is to consider them as divided into a northern and a southern part by the Sind River that flows from near the Drās Pass into the Vale, and the Jhelam River as it flows out from Bāramūla to Muzafarābād. The line of these two is roughly east and west; it divides the Vale and its mountain-ring into somewhat unequal parts, of which the southern is the greater.

We before marked the spot where the northern mountains branch from the watershed range, near the Zojī Lā or Drās Pass. This mass of mountains extends, without any break through it, for over 100 miles from east to west, with a breadth varying from 12 to 24 miles. On its south side lie successively the Sind Valley, the northern part of the Vale, and the Jhelam Valley; on its north side is the Kishangangā Valley in its whole length. At its beginning the mass is rocky and precipitous in its central ridge, and lofty enough to form small glaciers. Farther west the glaciers cease and the range branches and spreads. Again, one peak in it, called Haramuk, reaches to the snow line. This is a massive mountain, which, from its rising above the general level of the ridges, is conspicuous from a great part of Kashmir; in the hollows about it are several tarns, which probably occupy the sites of former glaciers. Most of the branch ridges from this mountain, and some of those farther east, which form the northern boundary of the Sind Valley, have a steep cliff for their upper portion, with a more gradual slope below, which is clothed with

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either forest or grass. West of the meridian of Haramuk the ridge keeps to a fairly regular height of 12,000 or 13,000 feet for a long distance, until, indeed, it turns round southwards. At the part where I have been along it (between Bandipūr, on the Walar, and Gurez) it is often a narrow ridge, with a slope down on each side of 35° or 40°, running along pretty level somewhat above the limit of the forest; rocks projected along the summits, but made no great cliffs; innumerable spurs jut out north and south, some of which lead down to the valleys, with a moderate, though seldom regular, slope; others end off with a steep fall of some thousands of feet. After the range has turned round south, it gets somewhat higher, rising to over 14,000 feet; then there is a depression, and beyond that it is connected with the Kāj Nāg Range, which, running in a general way east and west, from Bāramūla to Muzafarābād, forms the northern bank of the valley of the Jhelam, after that river leaves the Vale. The Kāj Nāg Range gets gradually higher from Bāramūla towards the centre, where the other line of mountains from the north joins on, being there nearly 14,000 feet. It continues thus high for some miles to the west, but afterwards comes to a level of about 10,000 feet. This, too, has spurs jutting from it, which, when once below the forest limit, bear wood of spruce, and pine, and deodar.

THE MOUNTAINS ON THE EAST.

We must now return to where, on the main chain, the ridge branched off that makes the eastern or south-eastern part of our mountain boundary. This spot, as before stated, is 10 miles east-south-east from the Drās Pass. The mountains that here branch off to the south have at first the form of a high ridge, with a very steep slope on the eastern side. In this neighbourhood there is a peak on it (called Kohenhar) of 17,000 feet; but the height soon diminishes, and then for a long distance the ridge continues in an almost southerly direction at a little over 14,000 feet, with some Passes through it (which connect Kashmir with the Wardwan Valley), between 11,000 and 12,000. The Margan

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

(11,600 feet) is of these the only one which I have traversed; the top of it is a nearly level valley a mile and a half or more long; the hills rise on each side for about 2000 feet. Thus far it resembles the Drās Pass; but here the fall is on both sides, and not only on one. From the top of the steep slope on the Kashmir side I obtained, by good fortune, a view of the southern hills, of such beauty, of such splendour of colour, that it has ever since remained in my mind so distinctly that the image of it, after many years, can be recalled at will. It was almost an end view of the mountains, but our elevation enabled us to see a succession of the long slopes descending one behind the other to the plain of the valley. The evening sun that nearly faced us illumined the light haze which filled the air; still the distant spurs were seen through it, themselves seeming to be transparent; the distance between each was fully shown by the gradations of light, while nearer the hills lost that aerial brightness and were clothed in rich dark purple.

Between this ridge we have been tracing down from the north and the line of the Sind Valley is a great triangular space (having the edge of the Vale for its base) which is occupied by a branching mass of mountains that has its source or junction with our ridge a little above Kohenhar. The most conspicuous mountain of all on these branches is Gwāshbrārī, a peak of 17,800 feet, from which radiate many spurs, and, between them, hollows filled with small glaciers. Connected on the north-west is a bold peaked ridge, with glaciers in the hollows of it on the north side, which we shall see again on nearing Sonāmarg on our next journey. From there for 30 miles westward a ridge continues that forms the southern side of the Sind Valley—rocky heights of 13,000 and 14,000 feet, whose lower slopes to the north are thickly covered with forest. The end of this forms the line of hill behind the Shālamār Garden, while dividing spurs from other branches form successively the half circles that enclose the Dal and the parganas of Vihī and of Trāhal, each ending in a bold hill 3000 or 4000 feet high above the flat.

From the Margan Pass the north and south ridge continues at

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

nearly the same height, and with no greater break in it; it then curves round; as it nears Banihāl there is a depression for some miles to the level of about 9500 feet; beyond this, to the west, we may count that the Panjāl Range has commenced.

THE PANJĀL RANGE.

This has first an east and west direction for 30 miles, then it turns to the north-north-west, and continues for some 40 miles more, after which it dies off towards the valley of the Jhelam River.

The first part I have not myself visited, but from either side one sees several conspicuous peaks that belong to it; these are called on the Survey Map Brahma Sakal; they are steep, rocky, roughly pyramidal, mountains that rise up from out the range to a height of 15,000 feet. By the same map one sees that at the foot of them is a mountain lake more than two miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide; near are two Passes, marked 13,250 feet and 14,120 feet, which numbers show the general high elevation of the mountains.

Near where the bend takes place I have myself crossed the Range, and looked carefully at the form of it. This is where two Passes from the Darhāl Valley (near Rājāori) lead over; also it is near this that the Ratan Ridge branches off from the Panjāl Range. Here an irregular serrated ridge, or a chain of massive rocky peaks, encloses in its turns, and with the aid of branches, amphitheatres, most of which are occupied by tarns. One of these, called Sum Sar,* 12,700 feet above the sea, is in size three-quarters by one-third of a mile; it is almost pear-shaped, tapering off to where the water flows out; on the 12th June it still was frozen, but the ice was beginning to break up; the mountains that encircled it had a precipitous cliff of grey rock about 1500 feet above the lake; below the cliff were taluses of stones and of snow, and at the foot of them lay the water. As far as I could judge (and there was little doubt left in my mind) the lake was a complete rock-basin, the outlet of it was over rock; and from this

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* *Sar* is the word for lake in Sanskrit and in Dogri.

1₁ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

rock-barrier the ground fell steeply for some distance, and afterwards sloped more gently down. The rock, both by the outfall and on the spur to the south of it for 400 feet above, is well ice-moulded and ice-grooved; more distinct evidence of a glacier having occupied the amphitheatre could not be wished for; some scratched stones too are seen in the heaps around. A few miles along, between the central ridge and the valley that leads down to Baramgalla, is a plateau, of which the substance is moraine-matter of the former glaciers. On little hollows of this also are some small lakes—pools that have formed in the inequalities of the moraine. A larger lake, again, called Nīl Sar, abuts against the slopes of the hills, but has its dam made of moraine-stuff. A little farther north there is a Pass through the mountains called the Nandan Sar Pass; the summit of it is a neck-like heap of stones joining two mountains; on the Kashmir side there is a lake—Nandan Sar itself—at nearly as high a level as the neck; this is a mile long and half a mile wide; the barrier of it seems to be either avalanche *débris* or else moraine-matter from a former side-glacier on the north. Beyond, and indeed all around, are amphitheatres enclosed by curving arms of the mountains. The map shows that numbers of these hold tarns, and wherever the tarns occur there are found signs distinct enough of the old glaciers. Indeed this is the secret of the mountain lakes; they are the effect of the action in one way or another of the glaciers that once existed here; those that occupy rock-basins are in the very beds of the old glaciers, which scooped out the rock into the hollow form. To my mind, even where there are no lakes, the amphitheatres themselves are good evidence; for valleys that now hold glaciers very frequently end upwards in an amphitheatre, and, as far as my experience has gone, this form only so occurs, or else in parts where other proofs are found of glaciers having existed.*

Where the Ratan Ridge first branches from the chief one, it

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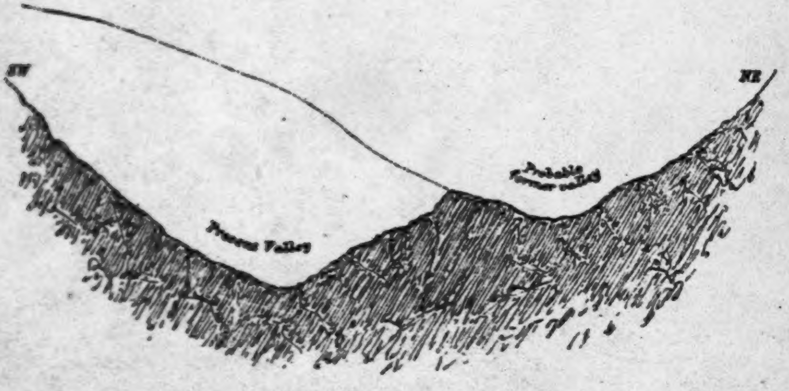
* Now, while discussion is still going on, it may not be necessary to state that Professor A. C. Ramsay was the originator of the theory of the scooping of rock-basins by glaciers; but in case this book should last longer than the controversy, I desire to record it here.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVi

133x Where the Ratan Ridge first branches from the chief one, it consists, in the same way as what it branches from, of rocky ridges 137 and peaks; farther out it becomes half stony, half grassy; farther on still it is a straight ridge, rocky only at top, the slope wooded, while some of the slopes and the more level places near are covered with fine velvety turf, and have scattered all over them innumerable flowers, as primulas, ranunculus, anemone, and potentilla. The hollow between this and the main Panjāl Ridge is the head of the valley that leads down to Pūnch.

133x There is a peculiarity in this valley which, though minute in itself, deserves notice for the history of which I think it is a record. On the north side there is a line of gentle hollows and little plains at high levels, some hundreds of feet above the deeper valley. These hollows are bounded by a little ridge with a steep fall on the farther side. This will be better understood from the woodcut, which represents a section across the valley. It seems to me to show that a change has occurred in the system of drainage; that formerly the southern slope of the valley was where the dotted line is drawn, and that the upper hollow was then the valley bottom; that for some cause, originating higher up towards the head, the deepening of the valley did not occur in the same line as before, but was made to one side.



SECTION ACROSS VALLEY, BETWEEN THE PANJĀL AND RATAN RIDGES.

The next place where I have crossed the Range is at the

Pír Panjál, of the way through which some account has been given. The mountains near it are not quite so lofty as those we have left. Beyond we get to ground as high as any in the Range; especially there is an isolated peak called Tatákutí, 15,524 feet. Again we see by the map that there are tarns in the hollows of the mountains. Beyond this there are some high Passes which lead very directly between Púnch and Sirinagar; then, behind Gulmarg, we find a summit of 12,500 feet, which is nearly the last of the Range. 133x

I have spoken chiefly of the higher parts of the Panjál Mountains. Of its spurs we saw something on the march over the Pír Panjál; towards Kashmir, the hillsides—the slopes of the spurs—are in great part thickly covered with dark pine forest; these spurs ultimately become elongated into long low wooded slopes, and these graduate into the sloping karewas.

From the last-mentioned summit spurs radiate and descend, at the last suddenly, in bold slopes and steep cliffs, for some thousands of feet, to the narrow part of the valley of the Jhelam.

THE JHELAM VALLEY BELOW BÁRÁMÚLA.

We have thus, in describing the mountains, completed the circuit of Kashmir and reached again its outlet valley. We before saw that at Bárámúla all the waters of the Vale entered the gorge. From that place to Muzafarábád, where the Jhelam receives the Kishanganga from the north, and itself turns sharply to the south, the distance is about 80 miles, the fall 2800 feet. The narrow valley is confined by the spurs of two mountain ranges. On the north, as was before explained, is the Káj Nág Range. On the south there is a ridge which starts from the Panjál Range at a spot behind Gulmarg and continues for some 60 miles, along a great part of which length its height is from 9000 feet to 12,000 feet. The easiest road from Púnch to Sirinagar crosses this ridge by the Hájí Pír or Pass. The road from Marí goes over a branch of it at Dunná, while the ridge itself extends, narrowing, to the sharp bend of the Jhelam River, close to Muza- 133x 487

133* farâbâd. There is a road along each side of the Jhelam Valley; 487 that on the right bank leads to Muzafarâbâd and Abbotâbâd; that on the left bank is the one which, leaving the river after some marches, finds its way to Marî. These two are the best of all the roads out of Kashmîr.

133* 563 361 The first 25 miles of the gorge, from Bârâmûla to Uri, is through extremely fine scenery, of wooded mountain-slopes broken by cliff-surfaces, that rise to great heights above the path, while below it the river either flows in narrow rock-passages or roars over ledges and other obstacles. Some of the forest is of deodar, of which much has been felled to be sent down the stream to Jhelam, for use in the Panjâb; the logs of it are seen as one passes, now being carried swiftly down, now being hurled by the [5+2] current against some rocky obstruction. Villages are met with at intervals; after Bârâmûla the houses are no longer of the fashion of Kashmîr, but are flat-topped. People of the Kashmîrî race extend about one day's march down the valley, and after them one comes to the tribes called Kakâ and Bambâ, whom, in the Race Map,§ I have classed with the Chibhâlîs. The villages are upon alluvial plateaus, at a considerable height above the river; I have not traced out the origin of these plateaus—to what extent they have been made by the side streams, and to what extent by the main one. Uri, a large village, situated where the road to Pûnch branches off to the southward, is an example of the kind of situation; it is on a plain several hundred feet above the river, towards which a steep cliff is the boundary, while the side stream flows on another side in a deep narrow channel; behind are the hills, irregularly clothed with pine and deodar.

Below this I am not well acquainted with the valley, but I know that the country a good deal resembles the tract of the Middle Mountains.

§[Lt. category 11b, End Map III -- Analyst]

1a Drew G-3 (1862-1878) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Kashmiri AV4

CHAPTER X.

THE LATER GEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF KASHMIR.

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THE observations of nearly every traveller to Kashmir have tended to show that the Vale was in late geological times completely occupied by a lake. The traditions of the natives—traditions that can be historically traced as having existed for ages—tend in the same direction, and these have usually been considered to corroborate the conclusions drawn from the observed phenomena. Agreeing, as I do, with the conclusion, I cannot count the traditions as perceptibly strengthening it; I have little doubt that they themselves originated in the same physical evidence that later travellers have examined; they do not therefore afford independent support to the theory, but are valuable rather as showing in how early times some races of mankind had learnt to interpret aright the geological records of the history of their dwelling-place.

The existence of a lake over the whole valley of Kashmir occurred at no remote time, speaking by a geological standard, but it was long enough ago to have preceded any of the monuments of man that have yet been discovered.

I shall here be most concerned to describe carefully the facts on which conclusions on this subject must rest; those which I have are not, I fear, enough to make a complete basis for a theory on it; I never had the opportunity systematically to observe for the object of elucidating this point; and at the time when I was able to make some observations I was much less versed in the interpretation of alluvial and lacustrine phenomena than afterward, through travelling in Ladákh, I became. Still, the observations here put down may be trusted as far as they go.

We must remember what was said in Chap. VIII. about the low-level plain of the river-alluvium on the north-eastern side of the

133 valley (itself slightly sloping from south-east to north-west), and the karewas or plateaus, which are mostly on the south-western side, and which slope from south-west to north-east, excepting some quite to the north-east, which are flat-topped.

The substance of the flat of the low-level plain is loam or clay that has been deposited from the river in its overflows; additions to it are still going on, at all events in years of flood. There is no reason for arguing a former permanent lake from this; the alluvium has a direct relation to the river in its present state; it falls with the fall of the river in its course through the Vale. Occupying part of the low-level flat are the present lakes, in which, undoubtedly, the formation of deposits purely lacustrine is going on; these probably it would be difficult, if they were brought to view, to distinguish from some of the alluvium, but there should be shown more of sifting in the lake deposits proper than in the flood-alluvium, more stratification of matters variously composed.

132 There is no good evidence that any depth of lacustrine deposit has been formed round buildings or other works of man, although certain changes as to level of water may have taken place in his time. Thus at Mānas Bal there is a temple partly submerged beneath the water of that lake. I am not clear about the cause of this submergence, nor, indeed, as to the origin of the lake itself, which, though seemingly resting on alluvium only, has a depth of 47 feet, at all events; it may be that the rise of the waters over the base of the temple is due to the supply of water brought by the later-made artificial canals not having been able to drain off to the river, except after a general rise of the lake. Some buried ruins and broken pottery at Avāntipūr (on the Jhelam, above Sirinagar, 15 miles from it by land) have been brought forward to prove that somewhat important physical changes have taken place since the occupation of the valley by civilised man. An examination of these did not at all convince my mind of this. I saw nothing that might not have been produced by disintegration of the substance of the ruined building, deposition, perhaps, of flood-alluvium, and accumulation of rain-wash from the hill-side near.

1s Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir

Kashmiri AV+

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We will now turn to the definite geological evidence of an old lake of large extent.

Looking at the composition of the karewas, we find them to be made up of beds, horizontal or nearly horizontal, of clay and sand. The following is a characteristic section; it was measured at Pīrū, a mile east of Islāmābād, in one of the flat-topped karewas:

	Feet.
Rather coarse drab or brown sand, with some small pebbles	20
Fine soft brown sand	3
Hard, very fine-grained, sand	15
Blue sandy clay	5
Fine soft sand	5
Coarse sand, like the uppermost bed	2

Though no more than this 50 feet could be plainly seen in one section, yet it was clear that there were similar beds all through a thickness of 250 feet.[*]

Some of the coarse sand I have seen hardened to a stone. At other places not far off there is a very fine impalpable buff sand, like the material of the sandy beds in the Wealden formation of Kent and Sussex; this I think was glacier-mud, the product of the grinding of siliceous rocks by glaciers. At other places there is a greater proportion of clay and loam.

On the north-eastern side of the valley, the karewas, which are there flat-topped, are exposed to a depth of 200 or 300 feet, and it is clear that their general composition is the same as what is shown in the above sections. On the south-western side they slope up with a gradual slope towards the mountains, but are seldom cut into by the valleys for a much greater depth than that. We have at present no means of knowing to what depth below the level of the lower parts of the Vale such deposits extend.

At Islāmābād, where the karewa occurs from which the above instance has been taken, there is a hill of the palæozoic limestone separated from the mass of the mountains, or only connected with it by this plateau. This hill shows on its outer face other phenomena connected with the old lake. Behind the town, below the level of most of the beds we have been looking at, there are beds of a conglomerate of rounded pebbles of the lime-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

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133 stone, of all sizes, and upon these is an accumulation of large angular blocks. These beds lie sloping on the sloping face of rock; their angle with the horizon varies from 7° to 15°; there is sand and calcareous mud mixed up with the limestone pebbles.*

There can be no doubt that these pebble-beds were the shingle beach formed at the foot of the limestone cliff, when this hill was part of the shore of the lake. Whether they were formed before the finer deposits—that is before the lake had risen to the higher level—or later, after a good deal of denudation had occurred, and the lake had sunk to this level again, I cannot say, for I saw no section to tell of the relation of the two kinds of deposit. But their existence is conclusive of a lake of such a size that its waves had the power to fashion beaches out of the waste of rocks. The finer deposits again are exactly such as are deposited in the stiller, deeper, and more central water of such a lake; in these beds fresh-water shells have been found.

In considering the whole question of the lake, we must try to come to a conclusion on two separate points: first, the extent to which the lacustrine deposits existed before they were denuded; secondly, the level to which the waters of the lake must have reached.

On the first point we may conclude that the present flat tops of the karewa plateaus are really the original upper surface of the deposit, that their present position shows the levels to which the lacustrine deposits had accumulated. A plane, not indeed an even one, joining the tops of all the remaining plateaus would represent the position and form of the lake bottom at the last. This plane would be nearly flat along the north-east side of the valley; it would slope up with a gradually increasing angle towards the Panjâl Hills. Now the vertical distance of various places of the present surface below this imagined plane will represent the amount of denudation of the lacustrine beds that has occurred since the drainage of the lake—a denudation which has been effected by the gradual eating downwards of the drainage streams. This vertical distance, as has been implied before, is from 200 to

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* These beaches were noticed by both Vigne and Cunningham.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Kashmiri AV4

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~~300 feet;—the~~ level of the plateaus is about that much above the valley of the chief river; but this height is greatest at the Islāmābād end and lessens towards Sirīnagar and below it; that is to say, there has been the greatest amount of denudation in the upper course of the river.* The streams that flow from the Panjāl Range have cut through about the same depth of the lake-beds, but they have made for the most part narrow gulleys only. At the mouth of the Sind Valley are alluvial deposits, which must be looked at in connection with the lake-beds; there is a bank of alluvium 200 feet high and more, composed of sand and gravel; it was probably deposited by the Sind River, when the level of the open vale was growing to be much higher than at present, that is to say, this thickness was being formed as the level of the lake-bed rose.

For the other point, the level of the waters of the lake. They must have been at all events as high as the karewa slopes (those of purely lacustrine origin) on the flanks of the Panjāl Hills. I cannot speak definitely, but I think the lake level at one time could not have been much less than 7000 feet above the sea.

As to the origin of the lake I have no theory to offer. Unfortunately, I had not latterly gone to the gorge of the Jhelam, so as to have had an opportunity of examining it in the light of my later experience of such phenomena as these, but I know that in that gorge are alluvial accumulations of considerable thickness, the mode of formation of which must be considered at the same time with that of the Kashmir Lake. Under these circumstances I shall leave the subject without venturing even an hypothesis.

There is another set of phenomena which, if one understood their whole bearings, would throw light on the later geological history of Kashmir, at all events on the history of times just preceding those in which the beds we have hitherto been describing were deposited. Major Godwin-Austen has described† some strata that occur at Hirpūr; they are beds of conglomerate, sand, and

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* As to the far north-western portion of the valley, I am not well enough acquainted with it to speak.

† 'Quart. Journal Geol. Soc.,' vol. xx., p. 383.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Kashmiri AV4

133 loam; they dip down towards the Vale at an angle of 20° or more. Major Godwin-Austen observed a thickness of several hundred feet, and found in these many species of land and fresh-water shells, with plants and minute fish-scales. I believe that these same beds occur at many places from Hirpūr to Bāramūla, between the old rock of the mountains and the material of the karewas proper. More full and minute observation of them is required than has yet been made before one can reason on what they may prove. They lead us back to an earlier part of history than I intended to speak of; my object in mentioning them is simply to draw attention to their occurrence, in hope that other travellers may be able to work out their meaning.

1r Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

CHAPTER XI.

MARCH FROM KASHMIR TO LEH IN LADĀKH.

UP THE SIND VALLEY TO THE FOOT OF THE PASS: SIX MARCHES—THROUGH THE PASS TO DRĀS: TWO MARCHES—DRĀS TO KARGIL: THREE MARCHES—KARGIL TO KHALSĪ: FOUR MARCHES—KHALSĪ TO LEH: FOUR MARCHES.

133

THE next great tract to explore will be the country of Ladākh. The account of it will occupy three or four chapters. The present chapter, which is preparatory, will treat of the road which joins the two towns Sirīnagar and Leh, the capitals of Kashmir and Ladākh respectively. The journey along this road may be taken in continuation of the march from Jummoo to Sirīnagar, which was described in Chapter VII.

I think there is this advantage in intermixing with the more systematic description of a country that of a particular portion traversed, namely, that we are thus able to describe a sample of the country somewhat minutely, from which sample the details in the larger picture that is to be presented may be filled up; or, in the case of its being the earliest visited part of a new district, we can give what were our own first impressions, which often fix the truth in the mind better than knowledge later got.

Of this march from Kashmir to Leh, part will be through country with the geography of which we have already had to do, while that part which lies beyond the Drās Pass will be entirely new ground for us. This latter is, indeed, exceedingly different from any portion of the country we have hitherto visited; it is a country naturally separated in various respects from Kashmir; not only are its physical characters widely different, but its inhabitants belong to another of the great divisions of the human race, and follow a religion different from either of the two professed by the tribes we have hitherto met with.

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133ˣ 487 It is the great chain of snowy mountains that makes such a physical separation, and has favoured, if not induced, the other differences. The lowest Pass through these mountains naturally determines the route which of all others bears the greatest traffic between the lower countries and the westernmost part of Tibet. This lowest gap in the mountains is the Drās Pass. Our route (through this Pass) from Sirīnagar to Leh is 259 miles in length, a distance which is ordinarily travelled in a march of nineteen days. Speaking generally, it is for these hills not a bad road; it is commonly passed over by laden ponies, though a few places on it are dangerous for them. I shall describe the route in five sections. The details of the stages will be found in Appendix IV.*

UP THE SIND VALLEY TO THE FOOT OF THE PASS: SIX MARCHES.

133ˣ The first march is a short one, in the open Kashmir Valley, to Gāndarbal. From the city the road leads us over a plain which is at a higher level than that of the present river-alluvium; on the left there is a fall of the ground, of something less than 100 feet, down to the level of the flat marshy tract called Anchār. After 10 miles or so we come to the foot of one of the mountain spurs, and, rounding the base of it, reach Gāndarbal.

We are here at the mouth of the valley of the Sind River, where that valley widens to debouch into the open vale. Near above this the waters of the Sind River have divided; they irrigate the rice-fields that occupy the wider space, and below they com-
505 municate with the main river, the Jhelam. By means of these water-channels we could have come to Gāndarbal by boat, and it

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* Although this is the only route from Kashmir into Ladākh, yet other roads lead into it from other portions of the hills or from the Panjāb. Of these some account will be found in Appendix IV. One of them has of late got much into use—that which leads through the British districts of Kullu and Lāhol into the southern part of Ladākh, and at certain times of the year it may deserve preference; but the one by Drās, which will be described in the text, has the advantages of a less ascent, a greater number of months during which it is open, and a more inhabited country that it passes through, advantages which enable it to retain its position as the chief route from the Plains to Ladākh.

may often be convenient to make this first stage from Srínagar 506
by that mode of conveyance, especially as the greater part of it can be got over during the night.

From Gándarbal the road onwards keeps at a higher level, on 138x
an alluvial plateau that lies between the low plain watered by the branching streams and the hill-side. As compared with that watery flat, the plateau rises as one goes on till, in five or six miles from Gándarbal, it has reached a level 300 feet higher. Here and there it is cultivated, but for the most part it is covered with a brushwood jungle, with many half-wild fruit-trees scattered over it. Soon we have to descend the 300 feet from that plateau and cross the river. A few miles more, and we reach the next halting-place Kangan, where we are quite within the Sind Valley, and out of sight of the open vale.

Now, in the next two marches, a distance of 25 miles, we enjoy the finest scenery of its kind in *Kashmír*; this kind does not, indeed, give us wide views across a hill-surrounded plain, but it shows us all the beauties of a valley bounded close by lofty hills of varied surface—richly clothed with forest or covered with thick herbage—broken by cliffs, and crowned with rocky peaks.

The valley-bottom, a mile or two in width, is occupied by plateaus, slopes, and low-level flats, which alternate one with the other. These spaces are in part river-alluvium, and in part belong to the alluvial fans of the side streams, often where more than one have coalesced. The river flows through the low land, frequently dividing so as to make islands of alluvium, on which grow groups of fir-trees. Of the plateaus and the fan-slopes the whole surface is covered with verdure, and it is chiefly upon them that occurs the cultivated ground.

The mountains rise steep behind the terraces and the fans. On 133x
the left bank, for 15 miles without a break, there is a great 137
slope, extending up for thousands of feet, covered with dark forests of silver-fir, spruce, and *Pinus excelsa*, with some deodar; here and there lines of lighter green occur, in the hollows maybe, where the conditions are more favourable to the growth of

133* deciduous trees; along the lower edge, too, a growth of them
137 made a belt of brighter green beneath the dark conifers;—

> "Up-clomb the shadowy pine above the woven copse."

133* For 5000 or 6000 feet up, this forest continues along that whole length of 15 miles; in some parts it reaches to the very summit of the ridge, in others the mountain rises above the tree-limit, and there is then a belt of green pasture above the forest, and above that rocky peaks and beds of melting snow.

On the right bank, the north side of the valley, the aspect of the hills is different. Their southern outlook does not favour the growth of wood. For a great height up, their sides are of steep but grassy slopes, broken by rocks and lines of cliff. Still at every mile they show new forms, as, in going along, one opens the successive ravines, and one's view reaches to the higher parts, to the lofty precipitous rocks of the centre of the ridge.

361 Besides these grand beauties of the mountains there are more homely ones in the valley.[1] The path lies through glades shaded by trees of rich and varied foliage, with flowers of jasmine, honeysuckle, and rose delicately scenting the air; it passes by villages which are surrounded by and almost hidden in groves of thick-leaved walnut-trees. Each village grove cheers one by its homely, pleasant, look, and each wilder glade tempts one to stay and enjoy in its shade the combined beauty and grandeur of the mountain views.

132 The atmosphere of the whole of this valley is distinctly cooler and fresher than that of the Kashmir Vale. On one's reaching Kangan the difference is already discernible; the heats that sometimes oppress one in Sirinagar are there left behind. The stream that flows in the valley is one of much volume and velocity, and its waters are always cold from the snow and glacier-ice that it drains from; the road crosses it several times over wooden bridges; as one stands on these one feels a current of cold air, air that has been dragged down from the higher parts by the water, and is kept cool as it flows by its contact with the stream, to which it is closely confined, for not a yard beyond its banks does the current extend.

[1] [i.e. the Sind [illegible] Analyst]

1s Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

When one continues up the valley the climate becomes more rainy, and at certain times of the year—as July and August—showers fall almost daily. The crops grown are in part *bārānī*—that is, depending on rain—and in part irrigated; the irrigation cuts are drawn chiefly from the side streams; rice, which is the crop most generally grown by such aid, extends as far as the village of Gūnd, about 7000 feet above the sea; higher up the chief cereals are *chīna* (one of the millets) and *tromba*, or buckwheat, which last is a most hardy plant, that ripens its grain with comparatively little sun. Towards the head of this valley it is not excess of cold at any time, but absence of sun, from the prevalence of rain-clouds as harvest-time comes near, that limits the growth of the various kinds of crop. 132 241

At Gagangīr, which is two days' march above Kangan and four from Sirīnagar, the valley has much narrowed. The river flows at the very foot of the wooded mountain-slope of the left bank, and on the right there is but a narrow strip between the stream and the opposing hills. The cultivation of this strip supports a small village; the walnut-trees that surround it are the last we see in this valley; the level of Gagangīr, which is about 7400 feet, may be counted the limit of them here. Here, too, ends the characteristic scenery of the last few marches; beyond we shall come to scenes of a different kind; but before proceeding to them let us turn to take a look back and cast the eye down the valley. One is struck with what I have often noticed in other mountain valleys after travelling some way towards their sources and then turning back. The mountains seem diminished, seem as if they hardly could be the same that towered above us as we passed along the foot of them; it seems, too, as if the opening of the valley into the plain below must be near at hand; it is difficult to think that there are so many miles to be traversed in a valley deep between high mountains. 133x [361]

Beyond Gagangīr a great rocky ridge on the north side approaches its opposite neighbour on the south, and the valley of the river becomes a gorge through which the waters foam, while the path is carried among the large fallen blocks that fill up the

133x space between its right bank and the steep cliff that overhangs it. This position causes the road for some four miles to be extremely rough; it is the worst bit in the whole 250 miles to Leh; it is very difficult for horses—indeed to ride along it requires the cleverest of hill ponies, and for him it would not be without risk. The summits of the heights that overhang our way are not within our sight, but on the opposite bank we see cliff upon cliff, each crowned with firs, and above these the mountain rises to peaks of a great altitude.

After a few miles we pass clear of the gorge and emerge into more open ground. Crossing the river and rising up the farther bank to a level a hundred or two feet above the stream, we come to the plain called Sonāmarg, or "pleasant plain." * This is a narrow grassy flat, extending some two miles between the hill-side and the river-bank; connected with it is a wider tract at the meeting of the side valley from the south-east. This latter is a space of beautiful undulating ground, a succession of dells surrounded by hillocks or mounds, which are sometimes connected more or less into a line, and sometimes isolated. The dells are covered with long thick grass and numerous wild flowers, while the slopes of the hillocks have a growth of silver-fir, with sycamore, birch, and other bright-green trees beautifully intermingled; over the mounds are scattered masses of rock.

This space, which seems to be known to the natives by the name Thājwaz, or else one spot on it bears that name, is bounded on one side by a dark fir-covered hill, and on the other, the south-west side, by the stream of the tributary valley, beyond which there rises a great mass of mountains of bare rock, divided into lofty peaks by three or four hollows, in each of which lies a glacier, a small glacier on a steep slope, broken by transverse crevasses,

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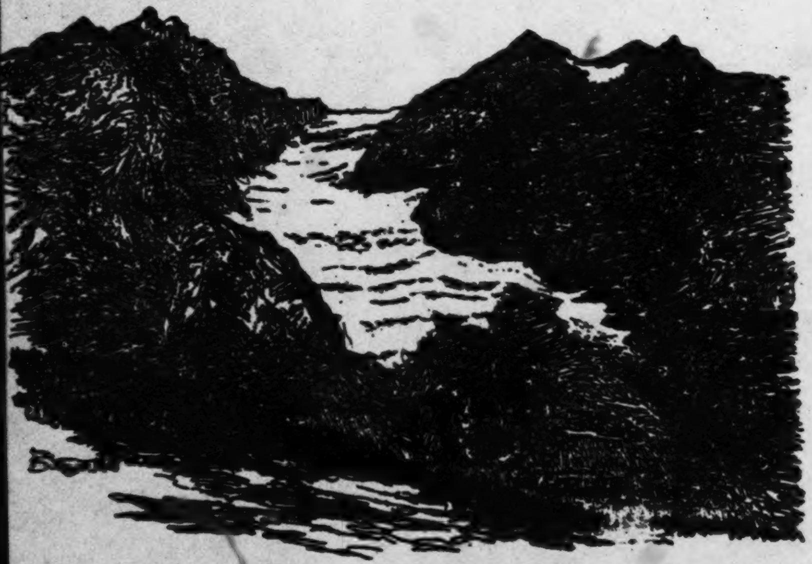
* *Marg* is a Kashmīrī word meaning a high level plain or open valley; *sonā* means "pleasant" in Dogrī; whether this word is to be found separate in the Kashmīrī language I do not know, but it certainly occurs in some other Hindī dialects. An instance of the etymological mistakes into which travellers may be led by their undiscriminating Persianising munshis is seen in 'Moorcroft's Travels' (II., 97), where the name of this place is written Sonamurgh, and it is stated to be so called from the "golden bird," a pheasant, found in its vicinity!

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

and ending off far above the base of the valley. Below the glaciers are stony slopes, which are their terminal moraines, and beneath, wherever the ground is of such a character as to allow of it, is a growth of birch forest. The sketch shows one of these glaciers, lying between cliffs of the rocky mountain-mass and flowing over its own terminal moraine, as seen from a distance of a few miles. 133*



GLACIER NEAR THÁJWAS, BY SONÁMARG.

The description of this undulating tract of ground will have led many of my readers to perceive that it is an old moraine of a former great glacier. As it is not the only evidence of the greater extension of glaciers in this valley in former times, I will now note down the spots where I have found traces of them along the way we have come. They have also been observed by other travellers; before I visited the valley my attention was drawn to them by Major Montgomerie, who was superintending the G. T. Survey in Kashmir.

The lowest spot in the Sind Valley where I have seen glacier-

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between Kangan and Gūnd, where, at a level of about 6500 feet above the sea, is a well-grooved *roche moutonnée*, and higher up the same hill-side the grooving occurs, up to 500 feet above the river. From here onwards up the valley the same thing is seen in many places, as on the right bank opposite to Surphrā, and again about Gūnd.

In the gorge we see none of this, there has been too much later destruction of the rocks.

Then we come to our undulating tract of Thājwaz. It is a space occupying nearly a square mile; the highest mounds may be 150 feet above the old alluvium of the Sonāmarg plain, and 400 or 500 feet above the stream near, a great portion of that thickness probably being moraine matter. It is to be noted that the masses or fragments of rock which protrude from the mounds are of the same substance (a metamorphic, an altered argillaceous, rock) as the mountains on the south—that great rocky mass we spoke of—and not the same as what is found about Sonāmarg, which is limestone. The conclusion is that the glacier that deposited the moraine which now makes our beautiful undulating park-like ground had its source at the head of the side valley, which is five or six miles up. It must for long have had its foot about Thājwaz, and have gone on depositing its moraine for ages, and must at one time have protruded a mile up the valley towards Sonāmarg—round the corner of the hill.

The marks we observed lower down were made when the whole valley from Harī (and perhaps from still lower) upwards to the source of the Sind River (south-east from the Drās Pass) was filled with ice, making a glacier 40 miles in length. This is not much greater than glaciers we shall come to in Baltistān, but it contrasts strongly with the small glaciers remaining at high levels in the hollows of these mountains. Of these small separated glaciers there are still over thirty in the basin of this river.*

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* It is *possible* that this whole length never was occupied by one glacier; that even in the time of extremest cold the glacier ended off at Thājwaz, while the lower marks were made by another which had its sources in the side valleys that come in below the gorge.

The determining cause of the accumulation of so much moraine matter at the particular spot, Thājwaz, no doubt was the narrow gorge below, which made the ice of the side glacier (in an intermediate later time, when the main-valley glacier had retreated as far back as Sonāmarg or farther, and so the two had separated) to accumulate, to abut perhaps against the opposite mountain, and, keeping long at that level, to shed the material it carried, some being borne away down the gorge, while that thrown off on the upper side has remained to this day.* 133x

The village of Sonāmarg, a couple of miles above Thājwaz, has but half a dozen houses; it is with difficulty kept inhabited, for the cloudiness and showery character of its climate combined with the altitude, 8600 feet, make the growth of all crops precarious. The Maharaja's Government gives some advantages to those who will settle here, for the sake of their aid in carrying the post to Ladākh across the Pass; for this is the last inhabited spot in the Sind Valley; no other house is met with until we are beyond the Pass, in the Drās country. 361 [132] [241] [205]

At Sonāmarg we no longer have the homely look of the Kashmir village; here no trees shelter the cottages, the plain is bare, and the fields look unpromising. But the mountains that face the village on the north attract our attention; here beds of greyish-blue limestone stand up perfectly vertical and make precipitous slab-like faces of rock across the higher parts of the spurs. 133x

From Sonāmarg to Bāltal the valley is immediately bounded by hills a few thousand feet high; on the north side they are covered only with grass; on the south they are varied with tracts of forest. In some places the fir wood spreads down to the part traversed by the road; when we get to Bāltal the plain again is bare, but some of the lower hill-slopes are covered with birch wood and firs.

Bāltal is the last halting-place before the Pass. Here the main stream of the Sind River turns off almost at right angles

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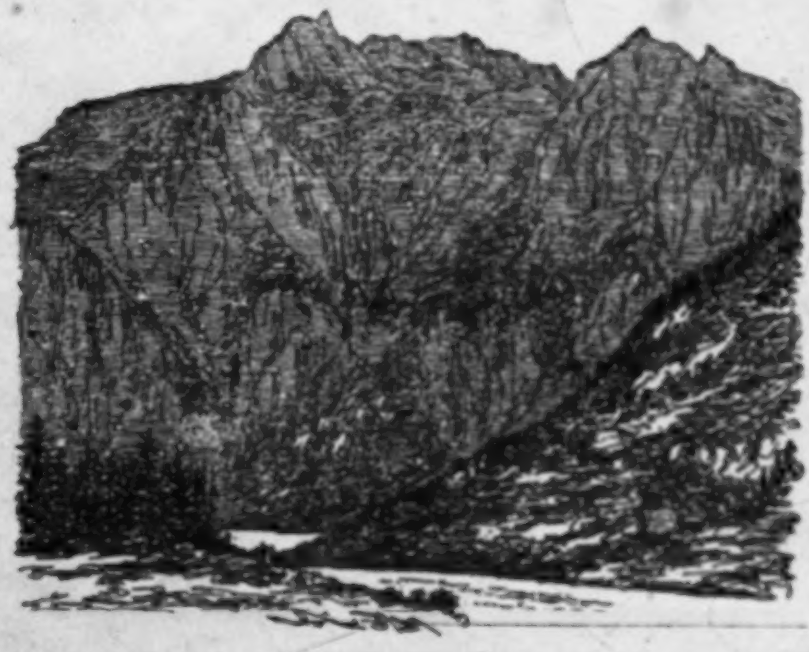
* On the steep side of the mountain on the right bank of the main river (above

K 133x towards the south; a smaller, steep, stream comes down from the north-east, while right in front of us as we come up from Sonâmarg is a great precipitous rocky mountain, which I have tried to represent in the annexed sketch.



VIEW APPROACHING BÂLTAL.

K 788 A road leads up the valley of the main stream to Amar Nâth, a noted place of pilgrimage for Hindûs; the pilgrims, however, approach it from the other side, from the direction of Pailgâm, crossing a Pass to reach it, as the route by this Sind Valley is apt to be made impassable in summer by the rising of the river waters.

THROUGH THE PASS TO DRAS: TWO MARCHES.

WT 133x We follow the valley of the smaller stream that comes down from the north of east; after a short distance we see that it comes out of a narrow steep-sided ravine which has a considerable fall; to follow it up through the ravine would lead us direct to the

133x

Pass; this, however, can only be done in winter, when the gorge is filled with snow, or in the spring, when the water finds its way down beneath the snow-bed, which still is firm enough to support the traveller's steps. About the beginning of June the snow-bed breaks up and the ravine is no longer passable; the path then is taken in a zigzag up the hill-side on the left, and after a rise of more than 2000 feet from Báltal it again meets the stream, above that straitened part of its course. The character of the Pass itself was spoken of in Chapter IX.; we saw how, after having risen such a height, one did not descend on the other side, but that the narrow level valley through the mountain continued with but a gentle fall; indeed the change of slope, where the water ceases to drain to Kashmir and the Jhelam and begins to flow towards the Indus, is hardly perceptible to the eye, and afterwards also the gradient of the valley keeps low. The rise to the summit brought us above the level of fir-trees, but when as we descend we again reach down to that level they do not reappear; bush-like trees of birch grow here and there on the lower part of the slopes; these and the grass that covers both the slopes and the valley-bottom continue for some miles; but as we approach Drás, especially when we come into the more open valley in which that place is situated, we see what a different country is this we have come into from the fertile one we have left behind.

The valley of Drás is an opening among the hills which leaves a space nearly flat with a width of a mile and a half or two miles, and a length of near three; it is not one flat, but consists of alluvial plateaus of different levels.* This space is bounded on the north by low irregular-shaped spurs of hills, whose higher parts are some miles back but can often be seen jutting up in rocky peaks or as a jagged ridge; the surface of these hills is thoroughly bare of vegetation; they show a barren brown expanse of stone and rock—furrowed rock, loosened stone, and talus of

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* For an account of the alluvium of this valley and of the alluvial deposits generally of Ladákh, I must refer the reader to a paper read by me before the Geological Society, and printed in their 'Quarterly Journal,' vol. xxix., part 2.

133x fallen masses. On the south side of the valley there is first a low ridge, and then above that tower great precipices of limestone rock. The Drās River enters the valley by a gorge, flows through it 25 feet below the level of the lowest alluvial terrace, and leaves by a similar narrow rock-passage.

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137 The barrenness of the hill-sides is caused by the absence of moisture in the air and of any but the very slightest fall of rain. The range we passed through, and which in a former chapter was described in some detail, and shown to be generally a very lofty one, intercepts the moisture, whose source is the sea, obliges it to be precipitated on the outer side, and shelters this Ladākh country from the periodical rains, cutting off the supply of moisture to such an extent that the hill-sides are not only bare of trees, but of grass as well, free from forest and without herbage.

133x This is the character of all the country we have now to traverse, not only as far as Leh, but all that we have left to describe; so that when not specially mentioned, it must be remembered and taken for granted that the surface of the mountains is bare rock or loose stone.

132 And not only is the contrast great between the look of the green-clothed, forest-clad hill-sides of Kashmir and the arid, bare, and stony mountains of this Tibetan country, but the feel of the air too is very different; here in Ladākh is a clear light-blue sky and bright sun, with a brisk keen air; it is more a climate of extremes, in that the sun's rays are powerful, being less weakened in traversing the smaller thickness of atmosphere, so powerful as to heat quickly the rocky ground exposed to them, while, from its rarity, the air both receives less heat from the sun's rays, and in the evening allows of a quick radiation from the day-heated ground, so that cold nights suddenly succeed to days that have been felt to be hot by those exposed to the sun. As compared with this Ladākh country the air even of the higher parts of Kashmir is soft and mild.

The valley of the Drās River, though generally bearing out what has just been said as to climate, has not the Tibetan characteristics in the highest degree; the gap of the Pass allows some

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 ~~Kashmir~~
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moisture-bearing air and even cloud-carrying wind to come through; here occur a greater number of slight showers during the summer than in the other valleys of Ladākh; but the difference is slight as compared with the great difference between the two sides of the Pass, and is most chiefly shown in winter, when the snow lies thicker in Drās than it does farther to the east. 132

The passage from Bāltal to Drās, a distance of 30 miles, 487 generally done in two long days, is, in the summer, from June onwards, a not difficult road as things go in this country; it can be passed without difficulty by horses; nor does the first fall of snow (which may happen in the end of October or in November) commonly shut the road for them; but later on, usually by some time in December, the snow has become so thick that for horses to attempt the passage is rash, and only men so hardy and persevering as some of the tribes who live about Drās, or else those who get their aid, as I have done—aid that well deserves acknowledgment and thankfulness—can hope to get over in safety. Thus—although in the winter the Drās people, by watching their opportunity and waiting for some days when necessary, will keep up communication between Kashmir and Ladākh, and even carry merchandise over on their backs—the road is not thoroughly open again, ponies cannot attempt it, till the end of May.

The first village that we come to on the eastern side of the 361 Pass, the highest in the valley, is Matāyan, which is 16 miles short of Drās; the next is Pān Drās,* five or six miles farther on; in the more open valley of Drās itself we find numerous hamlets scattered about.

Here, as in all the countries on this side of the main range, 241 there is nothing grown without irrigation; at Drās, barley, and the variety of it called grim, are the grains mostly cultivated, for these can ripen in the time that the short summer allows. The villages 000

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* Without attempting myself to give a derivation of the word "Pān" in the name of this village, I must protest against the connecting of it with the Persian word *Pāīn*, lower. It will be enough if I point out that Pān Drās is higher up the valley

137 The villages½ are bare of trees; only at one or two places a few willows and poplars are to be seen.

563 The inhabitants are of two, or even it may be said three, distinct races; Matáyan has Kashmírí who have been settled there for some generations; the hamlets of Drás are partly Dárd and partly Baltí; of these people I propose to defer the account till later.

631 We have spoken of Drás as one of the valleys of Ladákh. The bounds of Ladákh may be taken differently, according as we consider it politically or from any other point of view. Drás has not the same inhabitants nor the same religion as the central part of Ladákh, being in these respects more allied to Baltistán; but in the time of the old rulers Drás was part of the kingdom of Ladákh, and we too will reckon it as coming under that name, although latterly, for administrative purposes, it has been put with Baltistán.

Drás to Kargil: Three Marches.

133ˣ The distance from Drás to Kargil is 40 miles; it makes two good marches and a short one. The road continues down the same valley, over stony ground, along the foot of great rocky [561] mountains. Few villages are passed, and even those one goes near are not always visible from the path, for some are situated hundreds of feet above, on plateaus, the remains of denuded alluvial fans.

I have used this word "fan" before, and I shall in the future so often have to repeat it, applying it to a certain form of alluvial deposit, that it will be well here to explain the exact meaning attached to it.

When a side-stream debouches from a narrow gorge into a wide valley it is apt to deposit the material it carries down (washed from the mountains behind) in a fan-like form at the mouth of the ravine. This fan is part of a low cone, having its apex at the point of debouchment; the slope of it, which may be a few degrees, is very regular along each radius; the spread of it may vary from a few hundred yards to a few miles; the thickness of the

½ [On the eastern side of the Dras Pass--Analyst]

1; Drew G-3 (1865-1875) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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deposit, the height of the apex above the plain or the main-valley bottom, is often many hundred feet. 136

The fans frequently have become denuded, that is to say, cut up; their remains are sloping plateaus (with a slight curvature of surface) attached to the hill-sides in front of the ravines; these plateaus are commonly divided into halves by a gulley, through which the side-stream now flows at a low level, and they may end in a cliff towards the main river. The importance of these fans (whether they be whole or denuded ones) with respect to the habitation of the country consists in this, that it is chiefly, though not universally, upon them that cultivated ground occurs, the water of the side-streams being led over them for irrigation.*

To return to our route. Below Tashgám we come into a granite country; the mountains rise on both sides to a great height; not always are they seen thus lofty from the valley, but from any vantage ground above we look on to serrated ridges of 17,000 and 18,000 feet, the whole vertical height from that level down to the river, which is at little more than 9000, being of bare, irregular, [311] broken cliffs and their débris. The sketch on the next page shows a view up a side-valley that penetrates into the mountain mass to one of the lofty ridges; its whole sides are naked, but a narrow strip of watered and cultivated ground lies in the bottom.

The mountains, though at the first glance they show no trace 137 of herbage, yet do bear a little; this is sought out by the small herds of goats that are driven to the more favourable places. Along part of this road two or three kinds of bush occurred pretty plentifully; one is the pencil cedar (*Juniperus excelsa*), which sometimes grows low and sometimes taller and tree-like; another is a bush called by the people "umbú" (a *Myricaria*); then there were currant bushes and numbers of red-rose trees, each tree being magnificently furnished with flowers, this was in the middle of June; all these were on the lower slopes among dry stones, flourishing where no grass would grow.

The Dras River goes on north-north-westward to join the Indus; 138

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* For details about the formation and denudation of fans in Ladákh I must again refer to the paper before mentioned, in the Quarterly Journal Geological Society.

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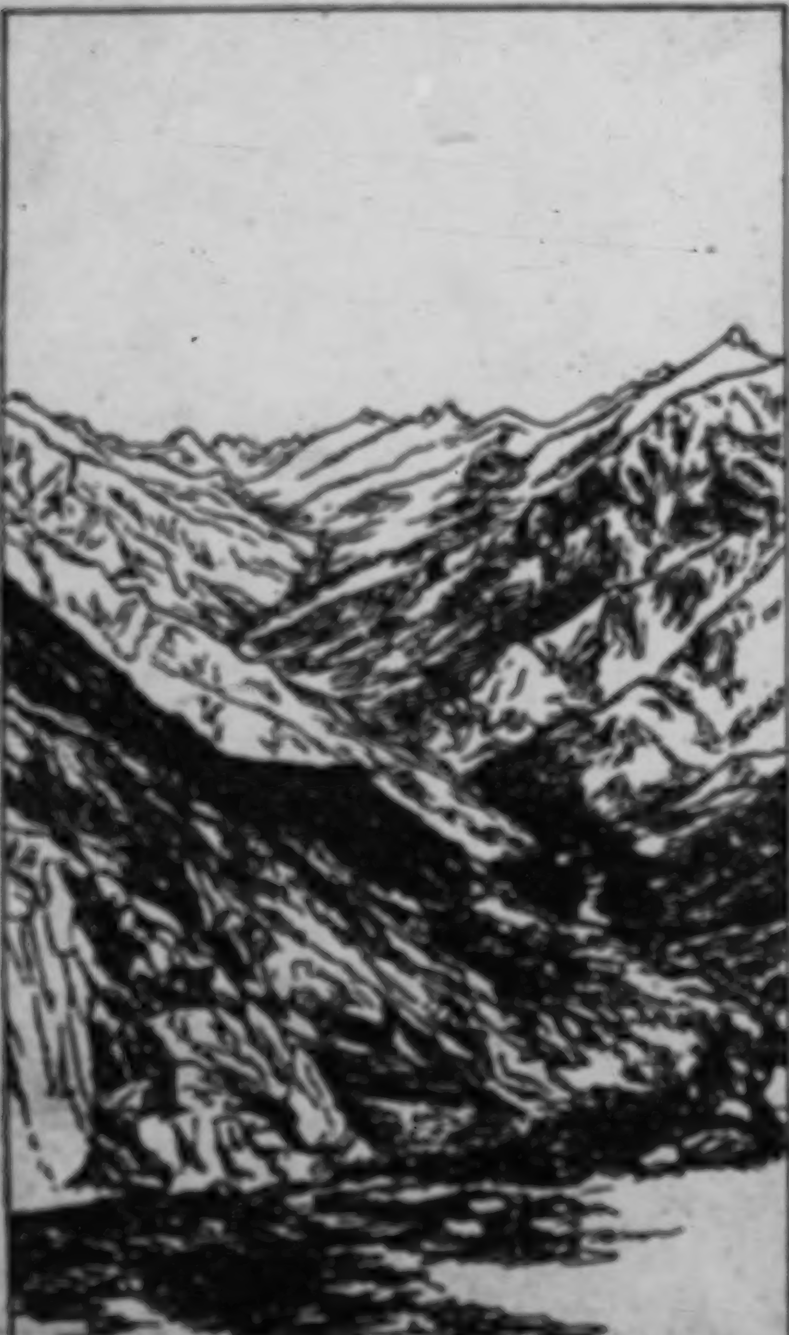

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we do not in our route to Leh follow it so far, but turn round a 133
corner to the right, and take to the valley of the Surû River (one of about equal volume with that from Drâs), passing here round a rock that the road has very imperfectly been cut in, so that in places the roadway has had to be constructed of poles lodged in projections of the cliff; these are loosely covered with slabs. In a few miles after this we come to the collection of villages which bear the name of Kargil.

At Kargil is another of the wider openings between the hills; up to this spot the granitic hills had continued—bare, rocky, and lofty; but now on the east there appear lower hills of a softer material, alternating beds of clay and sandstone. Between the Pâskim stream and the Surû River is an alluvial expanse of some square miles, a succession of terraces of alluvial gravel. These [3/2]
plains are uncultivated; hitherto the work necessary for bringing the water of the Pâskim stream on to the lower wide terrace, though once or twice commenced, has not been successfully accomplished; but narrow strips not very high above the two streams are watered by small canals led from them.

The villages here are about 8900 feet above the sea; partly 361
from this somewhat less altitude as compared with Drâs, and partly [132]
from the place being less in the way of the comparatively moist
air that steals into this country through the Drâs Pass, there is 241
both less snow in winter and a greater force of sun and warmth in summer to help on vegetation. Here wheat flourishes as well as barley; but the great difference to be observed was the growth of many fruit-trees (chiefly mulberry and apricot), as well as willows and poplars, along the watercourses that are led over the terraced fields. Such villages as we now see are narrow strips of ground, artificially banked and levelled into still narrower terrace-fields, and backed by great rocks that with a favourable aspect reflect the heat and act almost like the walls of our fruit-gardens. They are richly carpeted with heavy-eared crops and crowded with fruit-trees, the bright greenness of whose leaves delights the eye of the traveller, who for many miles has wearied under the sameness of gazing at nothing but rock and loosened stones, and the shade

361 241 of whose boughs, as, after the glare that one is exposed to on a summer day's march among these bare mountains, one lies by the stream that ripples beneath them, is itself a reward for the exposure and toil.

KARGIL TO KHALSI: FOUR MARCHES.

138x It will take us four marches to reach the valley of the Indus; for though at Kargil we are only 12 or 13 miles away from that river, yet the more favourable course is to avoid it for a few days' journey still, to keep in the valleys of certain tributary streams whose direction lies well in the line of our road. The ground we shall go through is occupied by the ramifications of a great range of mountains that lies between the main chain on the south-west and the Indus River on the north-east. This range is irregular both in course and height; from some directions it is to be traversed only by very high Passes, but, as we are going, we shall cross two ridges that belong to it by comparatively low gaps quite easy to surmount.

133x From Kargil we first go over the stony alluvial plain, which is bare of vegetation, and then, after five miles, descend to the village of Pāskim, a large village watered by cuts from the stream [512] called Wakha; these watercourses are bordered by many willows and some tall poplar-trees. Nearly a thousand feet above the village, on the edge of a cliff, are some remains of a fort that used to be held by a Rajah tributary to Ladākh; an account of the taking of this place by the Dogrās is given in General Cunningham's book. The valley now narrows, and for 12 miles the road takes us up between dark rocky hills whose near slopes, those within sight, are not lofty. The halting-place is Shargol, 20 miles from Kargil. A more even division of the distance would have been to make Pāskim the stage instead of Kargil, but this latter is the more usual rest-place, as it is now the head-quarters of the district, and besides it is often convenient to make marches of different lengths, for a quite short one will give the camp a long leisure for rest, or for repairs, or other business.

000 Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monas-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monas- 792
tery*; it is a small monastery, with but a few Lāmās, attached to 361
the one at Mulbek farther on. We thus see that we are reaching 563
the country of the Buddhists; the people of Shargol are nearly all of that faith, though for some way farther there is a mixture of Muhammadan Baltis.

In the next march we pass Mulbek (also called Mulbe) and see 133x
the monastery, one of some size, and by the road-side a large idol 792
carved in the rock, and then we rise to the easy Pass called 361
Nāmika Lā,† 13,000 feet, a depression in soft (shaly) rock between mountains of limestone. A very easy descent brings us down to a stream that flows direct to the Indus; turning to the right we follow the valley of this stream upwards, and in a few miles we come to Kharbū, a Bhot‡ village, which makes another stage.

Thence we continue up the same valley: the mountains on the 133y
south of us are high mountains of limestone, which rock makes the chief part of the very lofty ridge beyond. Keeping on towards the east, we rise to a Pass of very similar character to the last, called Fotū Lā; it is 13,400 feet high; the ground is smooth, being composed of shale, but close by, on the south, are the rocky limestone hills; a gentle slope for 2000 feet down a valley that is comparatively open, brings us to Lāmāyurū.

At Lāmāyurū we are well among the Buddhists or Bhots. Here [792]
is a large monastery built on the summit of cliffs which are partly rocky and partly of alluvial matter; some portions of it are very curiously built on timbers placed across chasms, or joining ridges or pinnacles of the hardened alluvial gravel. The cultivated ground is a narrow strip lying for some length above the sloping valley-bottom. As we continue down, we join the valley of a large 471
stream that flows from Wānla; this is extremely narrow; the path 133x
has with difficulty been made along the slope of the hill that rises immediately from the stream; there are cliffs to be passed that have necessitated wooden galleries for the road to go on; this has, however, been constructed with a good deal of skill, and by the

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* The word for monastery in the Ladākhī language is Gonpa.

† In the Ladākhī language *Lā* means Pass.

‡ The word *Bhot* means Buddhist, or perhaps, more particularly, Buddhist Tibetan. The Ladākhīs are called Bhot both by themselves and their neighbours.

491 433+ plan of crossing the stream three times, by wooden bridges, we pass the difficulties and find our way to the valley of the Indus itself, and, after another mile or two and after crossing the river, to the village and halting-place of Khalsi.

KHALSI TO LEH: FOUR MARCHES.

491 712 361 241 The Indus is spanned by a wooden bridge where rocks narrow it up to a width of 60 or 70 feet only. The bridge is commanded by a small fort on the higher bank; the path from the bridge, indeed, is led along the covered way half round the fort. The village of Khalsi is on a plateau about 250 feet above the river; there is here a long strip of cultivated land watered from a side-stream; crops and fruit-trees grow on it well, and even luxuriantly; walnuts and apricots ripen, though the height above the sea is something over 10,000 feet.

139+ [361] [241] From this place upwards, to near Leh, the Indus Valley has one character. The river flows either between rocks or against alluvial cliffs, according to whether the mountain spurs reach the water or strips of alluvium-terrace intervene. The hills that are seen are not very lofty; all are bare and extremely dry. The only green visible is on those spots where the streams from the mountains on the north-east are brought on to the alluvial plateaus and enable the ground to be tilled; there villages have been formed, and we see the verdure of corn-fields and of orchards, or rather of the lines of fruit-trees that have been planted along the watercourses that skirt the little fields.

487 For the next three days' journey there are two routes that may be taken; they unite again one march short of Leh. The first is along the valley, keeping as near to the river as the ground will allow; the other is a higher route along a series of plateaus behind the former; it is this latter that we choose; the valley itself will be again spoken of in a later chapter.

135+ 361 After continuing for a few miles in the immediate Indus Valley, we turn up a ravine to the left, and, rising some 1500 feet, we get on to a high plain between an outer, low, range of hills and the

1c Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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inner high one. This plain is interrupted by cross valleys that, 133
originating in the higher range, pass through the lower one down 361
to the Indus; the plain thus becomes divided up into wide necks of land. In the first cross valley were several villages, one of them, Timisgām, ending the first stage from Khalsī.

The next day's journey began by the route leading us up a branch of that valley, past some patches of cultivated ground, supporting each its own hamlet, into a narrow dry gulley between rounded hill-surfaces, up which we rose until we came out upon another such neck as we were on the day before. Again there crosses at right angles to the road a ravine which we have to go down into and up again by a zigzag path that gives us several hundred feet of fall and rise. Then a gradual descent brings us to
Himis Shukpā, a noted place. This place is named after a grove 137
of a hundred or two large shukpā, or pencil-cedar, trees which there 778
grow about a stony mound. The girth of several of these trees is six or seven feet, and some that have irregular trunks measure 10 feet and more; they taper quickly upwards, reaching to a height of about 40 feet; it is a holy grove protected by the gods; disease and misfortune are said to overtake those who commit
sacrilege against it. At Himis Shukpā are remains of a fort or 712
tower, which was built by the Sokpos who invaded Ladākh towards 175
the end of the seventeenth century; I was told that they built such towers in many places, and that this was the most westerly of them; its walls are of a kind of gravel or concrete moulded.

From Himis Shukpā we go up over another neck of gravelly 792
ground, and down to another ravine; the waters of this support 361
the village called Yangthang, or "New Plain." This was settled five-and-twenty years ago by a Lāmā, who, by his wisdom and good management, got the main watercourse made, and, having established cultivation, fixed a monastery in the valley, in which there are now seventy Lāmās. The land, which, by grant, is free of Government dues, is cultivated by labourers who receive their food and clothing from the monastery. Two more plateaus, separated by a ravine, making five in this march, had to be crossed before Tartitse, which we made the halting-place, was reached.

133 The next day a few miles of sloping plain, similar to what we had crossed so much of, brought us to Bāzgo.

It must be understood that in these marches from Khalsī we were all along edging the lofty granite range that for such a long distance divides the valley of the Indus from that of its great tributary the Shāyok. For the greater part of the way spurs of it only were visible—rugged and bare, brown and yellow, hills, whose surface was much-disjointed rock; but sometimes the eye reached up the valleys to the lofty central ridge, still of the same character, or else, perhaps, touched with the white of some recent snowfall.

361 Bāzgo is a large village; as one looks down on it from the edge of the plateau it has a picturesque and strange look on account of the position of some of its buildings, as of the monastery, on the towering rock.

[487] 133 361 The two routes that had separated near Khalsī have again met here at Bāzgo. From that place the one road traverses a stony plain not very much above the level of the Indus. Nimū is passed, a large village at the inner edge of this plain. Again there intervenes a low line of hills between the Indus and the great range; but here there is no road at all by the river side, so steep is the cliff; we have therefore once more to leave the near neighbourhood of the river and go over more stony plateaus between the outer, low, line of hill and the high mountains. A rise of about 1200 feet up a narrow ravine, cut in the alluvial deposits, brought us to the plateau level, and we then found ourselves in the same desolate kind of country we had passed through before coming to Bāzgo. There was the stony plain, made up of granite detritus, and bounded by rocky mountains; on neither, for miles, was anything green visible; the near mountains—spurs jagged by weathering—were of many shades and tints of brown, the variations occurring sometimes in veins, sometimes in masses, and sometimes being due to a talus of blocks fallen from one particular coloured cliff; in the higher parts the hills were more of one sober brown colour, and of more regular lines of ridge.

Up one of the stony ravines is the village of Umla; but it cannot be seen from the road. On our way we pass Thārū, a collection of eight or ten houses, with corresponding cultivation; then we cross the last of the plateaus, from which descending we reach a little garden planted by the roadside for the shelter of travellers, which is close to the village of Phayāng. Thence a few miles by the side of the river brought us to Pitak, the last village before Leh. 133x, 361 [485]

All the cultivated spots hitherto met with in Ladākh were watered from side-streams—streams coming almost immediately from the mountains with a more or less steep fall. But at Pitak the land is irrigated from the Indus itself. For we are here at the beginning of a part of the Indus Valley, where the bottom is wide and is occupied by a flat of alluvium, over which the waters of the main stream can be brought. 312 133x

At Pitak there is an isolated rock a few hundred feet high, on which all the older buildings are situated. The monastery is on the summit at one end, and there is a fortification—of two towers connected by a double wall—that must have helped to make the rock a strong position. Formerly all the houses were, for protection's sake, built thus high up; this was very commonly the case throughout Ladākh, only in the last generation or so have the people taken generally to building in the plain. 361 792 712

We are now but five miles from Leh, the capital; it is indeed within sight from the summit of the rock; let us from here take a general view of the geographical position of that town.

The river is 10,500 feet above the sea; it is flowing with a gentle current in a flat, the surface of which is in great part of pebbles only, but here and there it is of such a fine alluvial soil that the people have been able to bring it under cultivation. On the south-west side this low flat is bordered by a stretch of sloping gravelly ground, consisting of a number of coalesced fans that have been deposited by streams having their origin in the mountains on the south—mountains which rise up to 20,000 feet. On the north-east of the river there continues the same great granite ridge, at the foot of which we have been passing; the summit of it is about 12 miles from the Indus, as the crow flies. 133x

133* The line of ridge is from 18,000 to 19,000 feet high. The Passes through it are 17,000 and 18,000 feet.

361 133* A valley, coming down from this great central ridge, bounded close by rocky branch-ridges, at the distance of four miles from the river widens, the spurs of the hills both becoming lower and retreating aside, insomuch that there occurs an open space of the form nearly of an equilateral triangle, the side of it five miles in length. The town of Leh is at the apex of this triangle, where the valley begins to widen. Rocky hill-spurs form the sides, the river Indus the base, Pitak being at one end of the base.

This triangular space is not a level; it has a steady, gentle slope up from the river. Advancing from Pitak we rise, in the five or six miles, about 1000 feet, the altitude of the town of Leh being 11,500 feet. [311] The lower part of the slope (of which the whole consists of a gravelly alluvial deposit) is dry and stony, but as we go on we come within the tract that the side-stream has been able to supply with irrigating water, and find a space of several hundred acres covered with crops.

361 Here, by the farther edge of this cultivated space, on one of the branch spurs from the hills and spreading on to the plain in front of it, is built the town of Leh. The most conspicuous object in it is the palace of the former rulers, an edifice boldly built up to the height of eight or ten stories from the shoulder of the spur; a slight in-leaning of the massive walls gives it a great look of strength. [782] Higher up, on the same rocky ridge, are the monastery and the towers of an old fortification. [712] Below, in front of the palace, houses cover the slope. On the flat beneath is the newer part of the town. Entering from the direction of Kashmir we pass through a small gateway and find ourselves in a long, wide, and straight bazaar, the houses regularly built and uniformly whitewashed. This has been erected since the Dográs took the country, and is now the place that is most frequented. At the farther end of this bazaar one passes into the old part of the town, among houses separated by narrow winding passages. As one rises on to the slope of the hill one meets with a few houses of a

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
West Tibetans AJ4

higher class; these were built by the Kahlons, or ministers of the former sovereigns, and now for the most part belong to their representatives. 361

Outside the city[1] are several gardens, or what are here so called; in truth they are plantations of willow and of poplar. These plantations are extremely useful, both for their grateful [313] shade—which is the first thing a traveller will look for in these parts in summer time—and as a reserve of building-timber, a thing in Ladákh extremely scarce. On the east of the town [311] the mountains are near and there is no cultivation; but to the west, the whole width of the valley, about three-quarters of a mile, is of cultivated land, descending in terraces, with small hamlets scattered over it.

[1] [i.e. Leh -- Analyst]

CHAPTER XII.

LADĀKH: THE INHABITANTS.

LADĀKHĪS — CHĀMPĀS — COLONIES IN LADĀKH — MODE OF LIVELIHOOD — POSITION OF THE WOMEN — CERTAIN CUSTOMS — MONASTERIES AND LĀMĀS.

144 OF the four races of men who inhabit the country on the north-east of the main chain of mountains—the country which drains into the Indus—whose names are Chāmpā, Ladākhī, Baltī, and Dārd, the first three belong to the Tibetan race. People of this Tibetan race extend over an enormous extent of high ground at the back of the Himalayas, from the borders of China proper to the territories we are dealing with. We are here, in Ladākh and Baltistān, at the most north-westerly spots occupied by them.

101
131
563 The first of the three subdivisions of Tibetans—the Chāmpās—are those who lead a nomadic life on the upland valleys, places which, being too elevated for cultivation to bring a living, are fit only for pastoral uses. The second, the Ladākhīs, are those Tibetans who have settled in the valley, and in the side valleys, of the Indus; who have formed villages and have occupied nearly all the ground fit for cultivation; and who still retain the Buddhist faith which is held by the Tibetans to the south-east and east. Thirdly, the Baltīs are that branch of the Tibetan race, who, at one time identical with the Ladākhīs, spread farther down the Indus Valley and then became converted to the Muhammadan faith.* Deferring our say about the Baltīs until we come to describe the region they inhabit, we will in this chapter look at the characteristics of the other two branches, the inhabitants of Ladākh both settled and wandering, and will tell something as to their mode of life.

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* The geographical distribution of these races is clearly expressed on the Race Map.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI ~~Kashmir~~
W. Tibetans AJ4

LADÂKHIS.

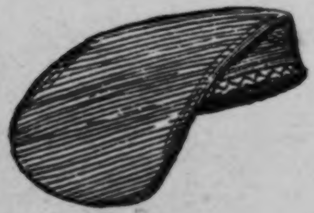
The Ladâkhis have the Turanian cast of feature—that which we are apt to call Chinese, from our having become most familiar with it through the Chinese division of the Turanian family. They have it not perhaps in its greatest intensity, but still unmistakably. The cheek-bones are high; from them downwards the face rapidly narrows; the chin is small and usually retreats. The most persistent peculiarity is that of the eyes, of which the outer corners are drawn out and the upper eyelids are overhung by a fold of the skin above. The eyes are brown in colour. The nose is pressed, so to say, into the face; and it is often, but not always, depressed at the bridge. The mouth is large and inexpressive; the lips project, but are not thick. The hair, which is black, is cut quite close in front and at the sides of the head; behind, it is collected into a plait or pigtail, which reaches about to the small of the back. Moustaches are always or nearly always present, but they are small, and the beard is very scant. 142 [302]

In stature the Ladâkhis are short, several inches below the English middle height. Cunningham gives nearly 5 feet 2 inches as the height of the men and 4 feet 9½ inches as that of the women. Both sexes are broad-made and strong. There is no doubt that they are an ugly race; their best friends cannot deny it. As to the women, the best that can be said of their looks is that some of the younger ones are "not so bad looking."

One is glad, on coming to the subject of their character, to find more to be praised. The Ladâkhis are cheerful, willing, and good-tempered; they are very ready for a laugh; they are not quarrelsome, unless it be when excited by their intoxicating drink, *chang*, and if over that they do get to wrangling or fighting, no bad blood remains afterwards. They are by no means ingenious; simplicity and clumsiness are characteristics of them. There could hardly be two national characters more opposed than those of the Ladâkhis and the Kashmiris; these latter, quick, versatile, and plausible; the others slow, inert, 181

181 and much given to truth-telling. The Ladākhīs, however, have by no means poor understandings; they are not muddle-headed, but will learn to understand clearly if given a fair time and opportunity. Major Godwin-Austen has with truth remarked that in one respect the Ladākhī writers far excel the munshīs, or writers, of India—that is, in the understanding of a map.

291 Their dress is simple; it is all woollen, of a coarse and thick, but not very closely-woven, home-made cloth, of a natural drab colour. The men wear a *choga*, or wide and long coat, folded over double in front, and confined at the waist by a woollen kamarband, or scarf. They wear nothing beneath this; with boots and cap, and may be an extra wrapper, their attire is complete. As to cap, there is an old and a new fashion. The old sort of cap, still a great deal worn, but chiefly in those parts that are out of the way of traffic from foreign countries, is of the peculiar form shown in the cut. The part that falls over, as far as I could make out, does no good to the wearer. The Kashmīrīs have an absurd story about these caps, that their origin was from the time when a force of Mughal soldiers from Kashmir, under Ibrāhīm Khān, came to help the Ladākh ruler against the Sokpo invaders. When this force was retiring, one of the troopers dropped his horse's *tobrā*, or nose-bag, which a Ladākhī, picking it up, wore for a cap; and the fashion was so much admired that it became general. The other sorts of head-dress are a jaunty skull-cap, which is the newer fashion, and a comfortable lamb-skin cap, with large ear-flaps, which in summer are stuck up behind in a curious way, but in winter they make the best possible protection against the severe cold. To the Ladākhī his boots are a matter of great importance. The stony ground, and in winter the biting snow, require precautions. A piece of thick leather makes the sole, and is moulded round for the sides of the feet as well; a felt or a cloth top is joined on to



LADĀKHĪ CAP.

this, to reach above the ankle; the leg is further protected by felt gaiters, secured by a tape wound many times round. This *chaussure* is good against cold, and is not bad for rock-climbing where the ground is dry. 291

The women wear a gown, the skirt somewhat gathered into plaits, of vertical strips of woollen cloth, generally blue and red alternately but sometimes patterned, sewn together. Over the shoulders is worn a kind of shawl, of sheepskin with the wool inside. For head-dress they have only a strip of cloth, ornamented with shells or with rough turquoises, from the forehead back over the middle of the head, and lappets of cloth edged with fur over the ears, but under the hair. They wear the same sort of shoes as the men. The dress of neither men nor women varies with the season of the year.

The only division of the Ladākhīs—the only caste division—is that the blacksmiths and the musicians belong to castes which are considered low; the blacksmith caste, I believe, being thought the lowest of all. These low castes are called *Bem*; with none of them will the ordinary Ladākhī intermarry. 564

The priesthood of Lāmās does not make a caste; the office is not hereditary. 793

CHÂMPÂS.

The Chāmpās inhabit the higher country—the valley of the Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat-bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places. 131

They are not very different from the Ladākhīs. Their different occupation would be sure to produce some changes; or rather, it should be said, probably, that the settled life of the inhabitants of the villages had changed these last from what their ancestors were, who lived the nomad life, and who now are represented by the Chāmpās. For it is likely that the course of events was this—that of the Tibetans, spreading north-westward, some reached a country they were able to settle in and to cultivate, while some remained in the higher parts, and kept to their pastoral ways. The difference in the face that struck me was that the Chāmpās have rather a projecting chin, while the 563 142 181

142 Ladākhis, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most
hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives
in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they
still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they
collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal,
their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in
what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[221] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at
a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they
move with them whither the advancing season promises better
pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given
when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhis, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lambskin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhis do not intermarry. The
563 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these
Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly
more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are
not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-
east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADAKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They
are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what
road they first came from their own country I know not, but now
they reach the districts of Zānskār and Rupshu from, strange to
say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their
language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be
understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a
very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India
in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

& Tibetans Ajt

i.e. Professional beggars who come from Tibet to Ladakh in the summer. Analyst[ ]

a poor country as the higher parts of Ladákh for the exercise of their calling; but the Bhots, though poor, are charitable. These Khambas, too, give themselves a religious air, as do most beggars in the East, and that may help them. But in truth, in their ways, they are more like to the gipsies than to devotees. They have their wives and children with them, and these all come round in succession to beg, as if independent of each other. They live in the smallest of tents; these are only just high enough for one to seat oneself on the floor beneath them. The tent and their other traps are carried on the backs of a few of the load-carrying goats which they always possess. The Maharaja's authorities have tried to persuade some of these Khamba to take to agriculture, and a bit of land has been given for this object by the Pāngkong Lake. I saw one family there, who had commenced to till, and had left off their inveterate habit of begging; but they were still in tents, and had not begun to build a house. 565 [667]

The next colonisers to be mentioned are *Baltis*. This race of Baltis will be more fully spoken of in the chapter which treats of their own country, Baltistán; here I will only name their settlements in Ladákh. In the first place, there are Baltis inhabiting the valleys of Drás and Surū, and the tract about Pāskim, which is called Purik. These are not geographically separated from the main body of their countrymen in Baltistán, which district borders on Drás; but they have some slight differences. Then there is an isolated colony of Baltis right in the middle of the Bhot country, only a few miles from Leh. The largest tract of cultivated land in Ladákh is in great part held by them; this is at a place called Chushot, on the left bank of the Indus, from five to ten miles from Leh. These immigrant Baltis came four or five generations back, some from Purik and some from Skárdū. 563 167

Dárds are found in Drás and in several places along the valley of the Drás River, and again in a few villages in the valley of the Indus, being there interpolated between the Baltīs and the Ladákhīs. It is at these last places that some Buddhist Dárds occur; these make small and very much isolated communities.

563 167 There are some ethnological facts connected with them, which are of great interest; these will be given in one of the chapters on Dárdistán (Chap. xviii.).

563 In the town of Leh are a good many families of *half-castes*, born of Bhot women, the fathers being merchants of different races who have frequented the market at that place. There has for long been a commercial connection between Leh and Kashmir, and families of Kashmir merchants have settled in Leh. There is now, and probably there has been for generations, a hybrid class, brought into being by the intermarriage of these Kashmírí with women of the country, who have been and are ready to turn Muhammadan—or to any other religion—in order to marry. Again, the Turkí merchants, from the direction of Yárkand, are responsible for another set of half-castes. 567 A third class has sprung into existence since the conquest of Ladákh by the Dográs, from the connection of Dográ sepoys with Ladákhí women. These are, or were, called *Ghulámzádas*, that is to say, "slave-born."* The theory was that, being born out of wedlock, they belonged to Government; this theory was so far carried into practice that they used to receive their daily bread from Government, and to give, unwillingly, their labour in return, in such work as wool-cleaning.† They were, indeed, bondmen, unable to leave their country or to get their living in it in their own way. Some years ago an attempt was made to get them to settle on a bit of land lately enclosed, and to follow agriculture; but their want of skill, as well as want of capital, made this to fail. When I was at Leh, in 1871, I was enabled, by orders from the Maharaja, to set them free to go where they pleased. They had diminished to quite a small number; they were all ready to sacrifice the Government daily ration for the sake of liberty. Before manumitting them I ascertained that there was a prospect for each of them of a living to be got, and I hope that by this time they are absorbed in the general population.

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* The two former half-caste breeds are called "Arghun."

† A great deal of hand labour of a light sort is required in picking the pashm or underwool of the shawl-goats free from hair before it is sent down to Kashmir.

The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three 563
cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmīri half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid.

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhis are engaged in agriculture; the 463
number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population
of Ladākh are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry 565
tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is 241
from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the 651
incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves
a fair living. The sons of a family neither divide the [428]
heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on. The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing

565 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of
241 by employing labourers.
651

The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the
241 greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhīs mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim,
[438] wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhīs themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

[231] Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

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492 * The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhīs earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

The universal food of the people is barley-meal, made from 262
grim; it is either made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into 264
a sort of dough and eaten with butter-milk if that can be got. They generally have three meals; one an hour or two after sunrise, of the barley-broth; one at mid-day, of the dough; a third after sunset, of the broth again. In this way they consume some two pounds' weight of meal a day. To the broth they put any addition they can get; sometimes it is vegetable, sometimes meat, and sometimes tea.

Unlike the natives of India, the Ladákhis are not particular as to their feeding. They obey few restrictions as to what to eat or how to eat it, or as to the method of slaughtering. One way they have of killing an animal for food is to tie up the mouth and let it 265
be suffocated. Another practice of theirs (I am not sure that it is common) is to drain the blood of the animal into their broth and warm all up together.

The drink of the Ladákhis is *chang*, a light beer made without 273
hops.* They have no good vessels to keep it in, so it usually is sour by the time it is drunk. As I have drunk it, it tasted like a cross between home-brewed beer and farmhouse cider; it is not a bad beverage on a warm day, but these people will enjoy it in the depth of a severe winter. There is also a spirit sometimes made—a whisky, but this is proscribed by law. Through the Maharaja's territories generally the making and the drinking of intoxicating liquors is forbidden †; at one time an order was made that in accordance with this rule the drinking of chang should be put down; but on the representations of the Ladákhis that it had been the beverage of their nation from time immemorial, and that it would be impossible to endure the cold of their climate without it, they were allowed the malt-liquor; the restriction as to the spirit however remains.

Tea is another favourite drink 272
in this country, but the poor people—that is nearly all the population—seldom are able to afford it; it is made in a churn, with butter added.

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* For the better brews a plant brought from Baltistán is used in the same way and with somewhat the same effects as are hops in our beer.

† Christians are specially exempted from the operation of this law.

482
147 With such food and drink as has been described the Ladákhis are one of the hardiest of races. As coolie, for carrying loads, they are admirable—not only the men but the women too. I have had women employed to carry my baggage, according to the custom of the country, who have done twenty-three or twenty-four miles with sixty pounds on their back, and have come in at the end singing cheerfully. Against cold, too, they are very strong. Not that they equal in this respect the Chámpás, who live at still greater heights, and can hardly bear to be as low down as 11,000 feet. Still the people of Central Ladákh and of Zánskár are very hardy in this respect also; on a frosty night, with nothing but the clothes they go in, they will coil themselves up and sleep comfortably on the bare stony ground.

513
515 All have a rooted objection to washing. I was told that there was a custom of bathing once a year, but I could never get any satisfactory corroboration of the report. Their clothes, worn next them, are never washed, but are affectionately kept around them until they fall to pieces.

372 Of the wants rife in a barren country like Ladákh, there are two which (perhaps without, or at all events in addition to, other difficulties) seem to make impossible either any great addition to the population or increase of their comforts. These are want of fuel and want of timber. For fuel the dung of cattle is carefully stored. This is supplemented in some parts by a bush which they pull from the hills that they call *burtse* (Eurotia). This plant is indeed a great resource for travellers in out-of-the-way parts; it is a small low-growing bush, the woody underground stem of which makes a good fuel. Then, in the high valleys, there is a plant like our furze, called *dáma*. On some hill-sides there is the pencil-cedar, a strong-burning wood; and lastly, in certain ravines, there is willow growing wild. All these, however, from their distance, require much labour to collect; they are seldom used by the Ladákhis in their own houses, but are chiefly got by them for travellers and for the town consumption.

313 The timber-trees are willow and poplar. These are planted either along the watercourses between

the fields, or now and then in separate plantations. But the 313
growth is not enough to supply all that is wanted. When the
new bazaar at Leh was built, a great old plantation belonging
to the chief monastery was felled for the purpose, nothing
approaching to which is now to be seen in the country. The
difficulty in the way of plantations seems to be that there is
required for them positions advantageous in point of soil and
water which are already occupied by crops; one can hardly increase
the growth of timber without diminishing the breadth of
land tilled, and of that there is none too much.

The houses are built of sun-dried bricks or of stone. They are 342
flat-roofed, of two or three stories, but these all very low. Except
in the very poorest houses there is always a reception room kept [576]
neat and clean, the rest not having this character. When a
visitor comes they carpet this room with felts, and do all they
can to make him and his attendants comfortable. The houses
are all whitewashed, the aspect of them—perhaps among groups
of trees, or else standing out in relief from the sombre rock on
which they may be built, rising one behind the other on the face
of it—with their verandah-rooms or with balconies projecting, is
often bright and pleasant. The houses of people of the higher
ranks have an oratory for the practice of the Buddhist religious
ceremonies. The palace at Leh is probably the finest 344
building in the country, though some of the monasteries may
approach it. This palace is curiously contrived. The arrangement
of the rooms is very irregular; they are not in continuous
stories, but are at all sorts of levels, connected by narrow and low
passages. There are two or three large reception rooms, some of
them with an opening to the sky in the centre, this plan allowing
of a large fire burning in winter on the floor of the room. The [341]
roofs of these large rooms were supported by columns with the
wide-extending head or capital which is so marked a feature in [963]
Indian architecture; the columns, and indeed most of the woodwork,
were gaily coloured, and on the walls were painted sacred
pictures.

Position of the Women.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladákh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Ládakhí women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than
161 in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry,
[565] plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people,
quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy
in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself
expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry
is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a
barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as
indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in
Ladákh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that
could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's re-
sources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation
of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical
isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the
younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their
[598] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—
farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about
the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she
becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain
in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held
in common. The children recognise all as father, speaking of
their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers
thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

believe there is no limit at all, but of as many as this I have known instances. 595 161

In addition to this form of polyandry, which, as I have shown, stands on economical grounds, there is, strange to say, liberty for the woman to choose yet another husband from a different family, a stranger. I have known cases where there were two—and, if my recollection does not deceive me, three—brothers, husbands to a woman, yet she took a fourth husband from outside.

The effect of all this in keeping down the population of the country is very great. Not only are fewer families founded than would be otherwise, but the families are smaller. In spite of the [311] restricted area of cultivation, which it would not be easy to [439] extend, though possible in a few cases, and in spite of there being no importation of grain—except of a small quantity of rice, which is an expensive luxury—the population of Ladákh, though fairly well filled up, is not redundant. Each person has his own position in connection with the land, and it would be impossible to take many away without throwing some of it out of cultivation.

It seems to me that such a balance is preserved in this way:—The system of polyandry probably would have the effect, if it were fully carried out, of absolutely lessening the population. When it does positively act in that way, when from that cause some holdings of land are, so to say, going begging, then more of simple marriages take place. An heiress of a few acres, say, gets a single husband whom she brings home; or an only son has a wife all to himself. Then the natural increase of population recommences, and the balance is redressed.

I could get no satisfactory answer to the inquiry I made of [589] many—what becomes of the surplus of women which must, one would think, be caused by the custom? I did not learn that there were many old maids, and the number of nuns is less than the number of young men that have been drafted off to become monks. It is possible that polyandry alters the proportion of sexes in the children born—lessens the number of females; but this is hypothetical; I could not get statistics to throw light on the subject.

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562
695 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

Certain Customs.

596
428 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764
177 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindû custom of burning. But whereas the Hindûs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

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It would hardly be looked for that of these Bhots a considerable number should be able to read and write; but it is the case that a far larger proportion than among their neighbours—the Kashmiris for instance, to say nothing of the Baltis and the Dárds—have these accomplishments. A predisposing cause to this doubtless is the length of time, during the winter, when agricultural work is stopped and occasion for indoor pursuits arises. Probably the practice of one son out of each family commonly being set apart to become a Lámá has distinctly aided the progress of this elementary education. In almost every village there are some who can write freely and accurately. 212 872

There are certain traits of manners in a people that a traveller is very likely to miss altogether, that one only occasionally—when some unusual event brings them to view—has an opportunity of observing. Such an event was my own coming to Leh in 1871. I had visited the place before when examining into the mineral resources of the country; but that year I came to take up the Governorship of Ladákh, to which the Maharaja had appointed me. Thus I was able to observe the way in which these people receive those to whom they wish to do honour. People of all classes turned out at every inhabited place we came near. The villagers collect at the entrance of the village, with the musicians in attendance playing on flageolet and tom-tom. The women in their brightest petticoats and gayest ornaments are drawn up in line, each holding a vessel containing either barley-meal, or milk, or chang, or some other thing to eat or to drink. But these offerings are not intended to be taken as provision; they are not as the *dális* in India, where a very substantial amount of eatables is often given; here they are tokens merely. Lastly, some of the women carry earthen vessels in which burn chips of pencil-cedar, whose perfume is counted holy and pure. As one comes up, all place their vessels on the ground, and make profound and not undignified bows. At each village in succession that we passed through for some six days' march was this repeated. At one part of the journey we passed at a distance of a mile or two from a large monastery. A deputation of Lámás came down to the road 576 [537]

576 to receive me. Besides these, a band of eight red-gowned monks stood on a rocky spur above and gave a loud welcome with their [534] music. Two played on flageolets; two bore cymbals; other two had drums mounted on standards and held up on high, where long curved *iron* drum-sticks reached to beat them; and the last pair played on long horns, which, too heavy to be held in hand, rested their curved ends on the ground. With this power of sound the eight made wild music among the mountains; the horns droned in a way melancholy and touching, but this strain was relieved by the clashing of the cymbals and the bold sound of the drums, while, through all, the flageolets brought out a more definite melody. At Leh itself all the population came out either to meet us or to see the crowd that met us. The hundreds of Ladākhīs —for numbers that are reckoned by hundreds make an unusual concourse in these thinly-peopled parts—the men of the numerous other races that collect at Leh, the eagerness of all to see me, and their respectful salutations of welcome, made, with the scene of the strange-looking town, with its edging of green gardens and cornfields, surrounded close by rocky hills, with lofty mountains in the farther view around, in the brightness and freshness of summer morn, a scene which I recall with pleasure—with pleasure more unmixed than that which a like assemblage gave me on the later day when with regret I said farewell to Leh, to the Ladākhīs I had for a time ruled over, and to the men I had worked with—a lowering winter's day that not in vain threatened snow—as they accompanied me for some miles down the road on my first march towards home.

MONASTERIES AND LAMAS.

792 361 In nearly every village, in some parts of Ladākh in every village, is a monastery of greater or less importance; it sometimes holds but one or two Lāmās or monks, sometimes it is the home of hundreds. The monasteries are the most conspicuous buildings in the country; they are always somewhat apart from the houses of the village; they are often situated in high places difficult of access—on a spur of the mountain or on an isolated

rock, or they may lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty 792
cliff. At the entrance of a monastery are fixed prayer- 361
cylinders; sometimes a courtyard is fitted with them on all sides.
These are cylinders with a vertical axis, turning on a pivot; [788]
they are furnished inside with a paper on which holy names are
written; the making of these revolve is reckoned an act of devotion.
In the case of the larger, heavy, cylinders, it is helped by
rings being attached, which enable the devotee to give a good
impetus to his prayer.* Past these one enters into the [776]
image-room; this is generally a fine lofty square chamber, the
centre-space of which is supported by columns of wood. Here are
kept the images to be adored; images of some of their gods, or
of Buddha, or of apotheosised Lámás. These are sometimes in
metal, gilt, sometimes in clay gaudily painted. Often the artist
has been successful in giving an expression to the face that well
suits the character represented, as for instance the ineffable calm
—a calm that, were it less unmoved, would almost express contempt
for everything around—on the countenance of Buddha, or
Sâkya Thubba as he is called, the founder of the religion, whose
devotion was continual contemplation of, and whose ideal was absorption
in, the divinity. The room is furnished with
numerous instruments of worship; with bells and lamps, and
sceptres and other emblems, with bags of grain and with bowls
of butter—these last sustaining a wick which constantly burns.
It is hung with banners finely worked in curious devices, and
often the walls are adorned with paintings. The Lámás periodi- [782]
cally assemble in the image-room to worship with prayers and 562
sacrifices, as of grain, and with music. The people occasionally 778
pass in and bow, and mutter a prayer before some of the images.
No women, I understood, not even nuns attached to the institution,
enter the image-room; they stand and worship at the doorway.
This is the more strange as the Lámás are not at all

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* These prayer-cylinders are sometimes kept in continual motion by water-power. In a monastery in Nubrâ I saw a cylinder, 4 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height, which was made to revolve by a stream of water flowing beneath the floor of the room against floats attached to a continuation of its upright axle.

562 jealous of strangers entering any part of the building, which 778 point of liberality surprises one after meeting with so much exclusiveness in this respect as one does from the different religionists of India.

792 In any large family one of the boys was sure to become a Lāmā. First, from an early age, the boy is made a pupil at one of the monasteries; from there he goes to Lhāsa to finish his [178] studies and to be ordained. Latterly boys have not taken so freely to the profession; it seems as if the life of mixed labour, study, meditation, and idleness has less charms for the young than it used to have; or, may be, employment in secular walks is more easy to get. When I was in Ladākh the chief Lāmās [647] were fearing that the supply would fail. In a monastery there are two head Lāmās; one the leader in spiritual matters, the other the manager of its temporal affairs. I had a great deal to do with the *chagzot*, as this latter dignitary is called, of several of the larger monasteries. I found them to be men of genial and amiable disposition, of refined and dignified manners. Some of the *chagzot* had good business powers; to certain of them was entrusted the administration of a small district around their monasteries; the duties of this office most of them performed in such a way as both to satisfy the authorities above them and to keep the people in good heart. The dress of the Lāmās is the woollen gown or *choga*, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belong to; the red sect much predominates in Ladākh. They shave their heads, and most of them go without a covering; those of higher rank wear hats of various designs; some have very wide-brimmed red hats [778] made of stiffened felt. Lāmās very commonly carry in their hands a small prayer-cylinder, constructed so as to turn on its handle by the force given to a bullet attached to it by a little chain; the turning of this is equivalent for them to saying one's prayers or telling one's beads.

Some of the monasteries are endowed, some, I think, get help from Lhāsa, but the greater part depend on the alms given them by the villagers. At harvest time the Lāmās receive from the

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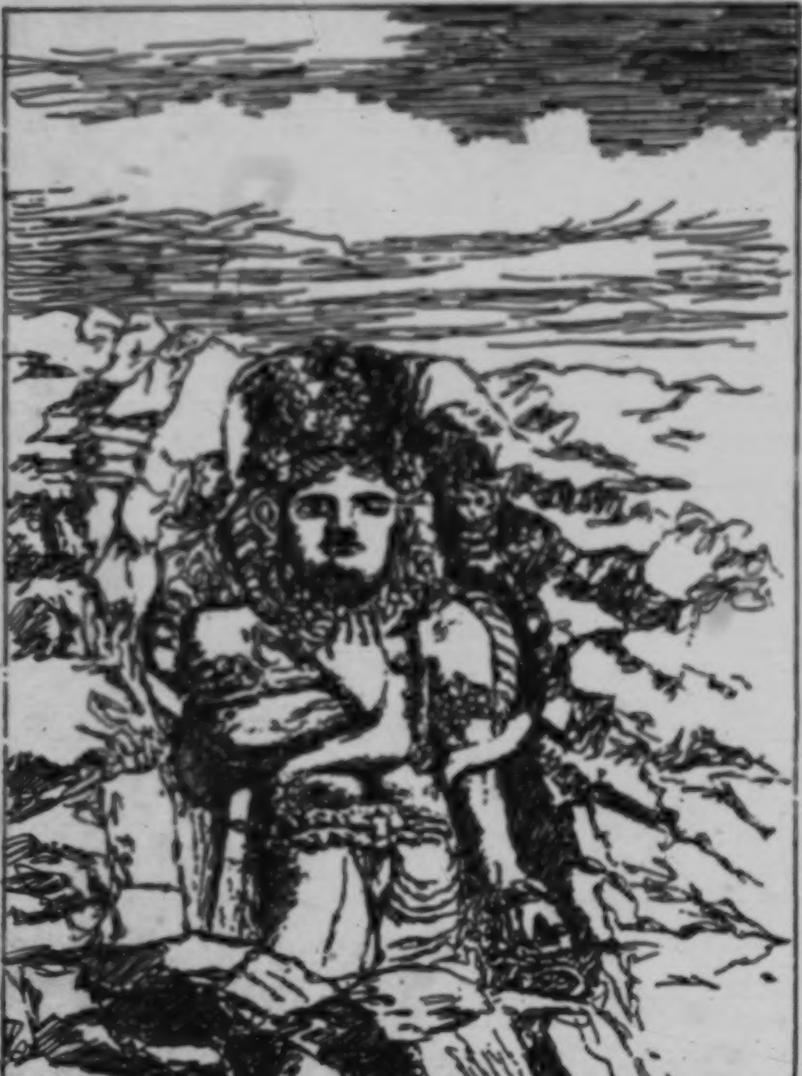

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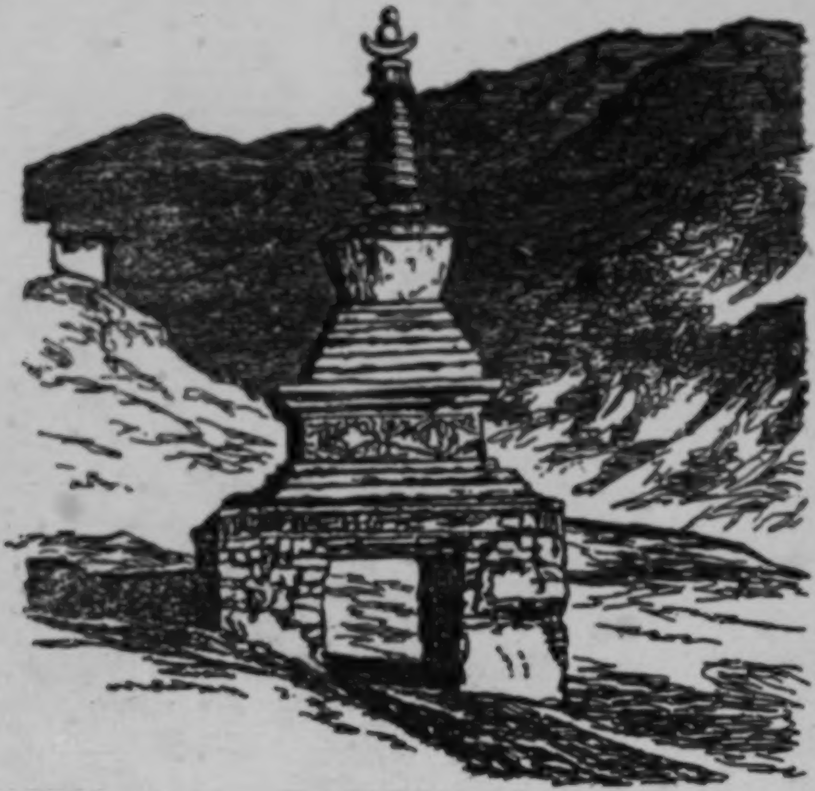
FIGURE OF CHAMBA, CUT IN THE ROCK; NEAR KÁRTSE.

792 peasantry a goodly, though unfixed, portion of their produce. The monks, in their turn, are always both free in their hospitality to travellers and ready to identify themselves in interests with the villagers.

778 346 Besides the monasteries, one is everywhere in Ladākh meeting



CHORTEN, LĀMAYŪRŪ.

with signs of the people's thought for their religion. In a few places are to be seen colossal figures carved in the rock, that represent some god. The sketch, p. 257, is of one of these, over 25 feet high, which stands for Chamba; this is to be seen in a valley near Sānkho, above Kargil; it is deeply cut in a schistose rock. But much more general are the long and thick built-up stone-heaps or walls, covered with thousands of flat stones bearing a holy inscription. These (which are called Māni) one sees at every village, and often also by the roadside where there is no habitation or other sign of man. The path divides and goes on both sides the wall, that the passenger may, going by, always keep it on his right. Then by the larger villages, or in the neighbourhood of the more influential monasteries, one is sure to find some edifices allied in character to the one shown in the drawing on the preceding page. They are carefully constructed of brick, plastered over, and painted. This drawing represents what is called a *kágani*; it is placed at the entrance to villages and to houses, the way being led beneath it. Others, resembling this in the upper part, have a monumental purpose; these are called Churten. Another custom, whether connected or not with that of raising such edifices as these, or whether of earlier origin, I cannot say, is to build a cairn at the summit of every mountain pass, and crown it with the horns of the wild sheep, ibex, and other animals, a large collection of which often adorns the heap, while a few boughs rise from the centre, to which a flag is sometimes fastened, with, may be, a holy word or text imprinted on it.

CHAPTER XIII.

CENTRAL LADĀKH, NUBRĀ, AND ZĀNSKĀR.

MOUNTAIN CHAINS OF LADĀKH—CENTRAL LADĀKH—ROAD FROM LEH TO NUBRĀ—NUBRĀ—ZĀNSKĀR.

133 FROM the preceding chapters the reader will have obtained both a general idea of the aspect that Ladākh presents, and an acquaintance with its inhabitants. In the present and the next two chapters, most parts of the country will be visited, and such details of them observed by me as seem worth telling will be described. But previously, I desire to give a short sketch of the mountain ranges of Ladākh and the run of the valleys; after which, it may be hoped, what is said of any particular district will fall into its proper place, and not produce confusion in the reader's mind.

MOUNTAIN CHAINS OF LADĀKH.

In obtaining the general view which we wish for, a careful examination of both the General Map and the Snow Map[1/A] will materially help; in the latter, attention should especially be paid to the figures that mark the altitude of certain points in the valleys.

Commencing with the north-east part of the map, we see, first, the high table-land of the Kuenlun Plains and Lingzhithang—these two separated by a range of hills—the whole being surrounded by mountains. The plains are 16,000 and 17,000 feet high; the mountain chains around them reach to 20,000 and 21,000 feet; those which make the northern boundary are the Eastern Kuenlun Mountains.*

West of the high plateaus is a space occupied by a great range of mountains, which is called both "Mustágh" and "Kárákoram," or sometimes perhaps is called by both names, according to whether its western or its eastern portion is spoken of. This is what intervenes between the line of the Sháyok Valley and the upper part of the valley of the Yárkand River. It consists of great mountain ridges, and of valleys which are never more than two miles in width. In the eastern part the summits are of the same level as those last spoken of—20,000 and 21,000 feet; farther west they rise still higher; in the ridge that separates the Upper Sháyok (as it comes down from the north) from the Nubrá River, are great peaks 25,000 feet high, rising out of a ridge of 20,000 or 21,000 feet; and among the mountains that lie to the north-west of this are several summits of 25,000 and some even of 26,000 feet. In this range originate many and great glaciers. As to the valley-levels; the Snow Map will show the position of the 15,000 feet level in the Chángchenmo Valley, and of that of 14,000 feet by Pángkong. From these heights the descent along the Sháyok is not recorded till we come to Nubrá, where 10,000 feet is the altitude of the valley-bottom; thence there is a gradual fall to 9000 and 8000 feet, a little below which the Sháyok River meets the Indus.

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* Mr. Hayward made the distinction between Eastern and Western Kuenlun. The valley of the Kārākāsh River (below Shādūla) divides the two.

[1/A] [cf. category 116, End Maps II and VII--Analyst]

Next is the space between the Sháyok and Indus valleys. The Indus Valley itself will be seen by the figures on the Snow Map to have a fall closely corresponding to that of the other. Between the two is a great ridge of mountains, which for convenience I will call the Leh Range. Of the summit of this, 19,000 and 20,000 feet is commonly the height, and the line is but little broken through; only down to 17,000 feet do gaps here and there exist.

Then comes the wide tract between the Indus Valley and the main watershed-range. Here is a mass of mountains whose ramifications are most complicated. As to height, we find the conspicuous summits varying from 20,000 down to 18,000 feet. In the south-eastern part are flat valleys at 15,000 feet; to the north-west there are a few wide openings at 10,000 or 11,000 feet, but on the whole the valleys are narrow; they fall, with various degrees of slope, to the level of the Indus.

133 Last is the watershed range itself. This makes another region of glaciers. Its summits for a long distance seem to average 20,000 and 21,000 feet, and the Passes through it are at very high levels. As we trace it north-westward we come to the Nun Kun Peaks, at which, coming from the other direction, the account of the range in Chapter IX. ended off.

We now enter on the more particular description of successive districts.

Central Ladákh.

By this name is denoted about 100 miles in length of the Indus Valley, from the borders of Baltistán up to 30 miles or so beyond Leh. I have followed the valley upwards from the village of Sanácha, a place within Baltistán, from which, nevertheless, we will begin the description.*

In this part the bottom of the Indus Valley is a narrow rock-bound gorge. The river flows in it with an eddied but not uneven surface; its depth must be great to allow the body of water to pass along such a narrow channel, for I found that the width was
[492] 361 133 in one place 65 feet and in another but 46 feet. The walls of this gorge are nearly vertical; above them rise other steep but more broken cliffs; above these the ground retires, but there are greater heights behind. All this is of granitic rock. Over this rocky ground the path is a difficult one; a laden horse cannot go along it, and with difficulty can an unladen pony be led. It is the same on both sides of the river. This difficulty of the road isolates the villages of this part of the valley, cuts them off greatly from intercourse, and it prevents the traffic between Ladákh and Baltistán from taking this route, which at first one would think to be its natural one. This, as it is the lowest, is also the warmest part of Ladákh. The level of the river is about 9000 feet, but even at this height the valley in summer time is hot. The unclouded sun heats the bare rocks that slope to meet its rays; the traveller, as he goes along the rugged way, exposes one side of him to the sun's direct rays and the other to a strong radiation

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* Sanácha is on the left bank of the Indus; it bears N.E. by E. from Kargil.

I. Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV: Kashmir & Tibetans AJf

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from the ground, while the pent-up air itself becomes hot and 361 gives no relief. But after a toilsome drag for some miles over this 132y waste of heated rocks, he reaches one of the little villages that are made at the mouths of side ravines, if haply there can be found a few acres of flat ground for cultivation. These villages are to the traveller a most welcome and lovely sight; a space covered with crops of a brilliant green overshadowed by luxuriant fruit-trees in the midst of the barest rocks gives a relief equally to the eye, the mind, and the body of the wayfarer.

Garkon is the one of these villages most curious in its situation. It consists of very narrow strips or ledges of flat watered ground, between separate stages of a great river-cliff, so that on one side there is a precipitous fall of ground while on the other vertical cliffs overhanging the narrow fields, which, receiving their radiated heat, quickly ripen the crops; even at night the place does not lose its heat. [312] Water is led over the fields from a ravine that comes from the high mountains. [241] Apple-trees, apricot, mulberry, and the vine are cultivated, in company with the cereals, on the narrow space, and flourish well with the combination of moisture and warmth. In going from Garkon to the next village, called *Dáh*, we have passed from Baltistán into Ladákh. The Baltis were in former times apt to make raids upon their [721] more peaceable neighbours. Dáh, as the frontier village, protected itself by the agglomeration of its houses together to form a sort of fort; on two sides protection is given by a steep cliff, on two by a wall, with a good tower to guard the entrance to the enclosure. [221] Now that all are under one government, and perfect peace has ensued, the dwellings are scattered; but still in winter time the people from the outlying houses and hamlets join to live within the enclosure, for warmth and for mirth's sake. Within its walls the ground is almost all roofed over, hardly any space is left for alleys, passages from one house to another are led beneath the rooms of a third; the whole is a strange crowding together of hovels. In this part side valleys of various degrees of importance reach down to the Indus; some are mere rocky ravines, others hold hamlets and villages. I visited the *Hanú*

133* 361 Valley. At the mouth of it the Hanû stream comes out of a narrow, deep, impassable gorge; one turns this by rising over the shoulder of one of the mountains whose spurs compose its walls; passing up the valley, still between bare mountains, we come to a strip of cultivated ground; then we come to another narrow rocky part, and then again to where a strip of cultivation occupies the bottom of the valley; this space between the mountains becomes wider, and the level is occupied by the village of Yogma Hanû or Lower Hanû. On the way, fruit-trees and willows and a few poplars had been passed, but at the higher level now reached hardly any trees were growing. Goma Hanû, or Upper Hanû, lies a few miles above; beyond that the road leads to a Pass over the Indus and Shâyok watershed to the tract called Chorbat. [487] It will be seen from the Political Map* that this is the way of the route from Skârdû to Ladâkh, the difficulty of the valley-road, in the parts we have lately come from, thus deflecting the traffic to go over a Pass of 16,700 feet. The Chorbat Pass is the boundary of Baltistân in this direction; by this road also used to come Baltî raiders, as the remains of a fort at Yogma Hanû prove, which the people of the valley had put up against them.

133* But we must return to the Indus Valley. One or two incidents of physical geography respecting this part of it may here be described. The lowest part, the bottom, of the valley has been spoken of as a narrow gorge. The gorge, not all along, but in places, is 600 feet deep; that is to say that the bottom part of the section of the Indus Valley is, for that height, specially narrow and steep; it seems as if, in the gradual cutting of the valley, this deepest part had been worked down under somewhat different conditions from the rest. I connect with this the narrowness of many of the side ravines where they join the main valley; the same causal difference (as, it may be, in the rate of downward denudation) affected the side valleys as well as the main valley. Thus the valley of the stream that comes down from Tsirmô, at the last, before reaching the Indus, closes to a narrow chasm with vertical walls of granite; this is quite impassable by man. We saw also

*[Cf. category 116, End Map VI -- Analyst]

that other side ravines had the same character at their mouths— 133x
that is, where they are on the same level as this gorge of the main river that they unite with. Again, in Rondū, below Skārdū, I have observed the same combined phenomena, the bottom of the Indus Valley, for a depth of some 600 feet, being narrow and steep-walled, and the side ravines having a similar character as they near the valley of the large river. Some other things connected with the doings of the river caught my eye. It can be imagined that a narrow channel, bounded by rocks rising to high mountains, must be exposed to chances of damming by falling débris, that is to say by the taluses, or even perhaps by the fans, made by the waste of the substance of the mountains. It seems to me most likely that such damming of a voluminous river should occur when sudden large falls of rock—such as would deserve the name landslips—happen; the material would be less likely to be carried away bit by bit by the force of the stream. Such sudden falls as I speak of would make taluses, or steep-sloping heaps, rather than the less-inclined fans. Looking now for evidence of such things having actually occurred, what do we see? Opposite Garkon there was a small recent talus, which I was told had dammed back the river for a time. Again, there is more than one place where the disposition of débris is as shown in the first diagram on the next page, where a continuation of the line of its slope (and in its formation the slope of the material must have so continued) would end against the opposite mountain at a vertical height of about 400 feet above the river. In these cases I do not see how the thickness of the débris could have accumulated without damming the river back and forming a kind of lake above and a rapid below. The next diagram is somewhat more complicated. It shows what occurs two miles above Garkon. There is a rock (marked C on the cut) bounding the river; the summit of it is 400 or 500 feet above the water; we can see that it formerly was separated from both the mountain sides, being now connected with one side by nothing but a mass of débris which has filled up the space. It seems to me that the space at B, equally with that marked A,

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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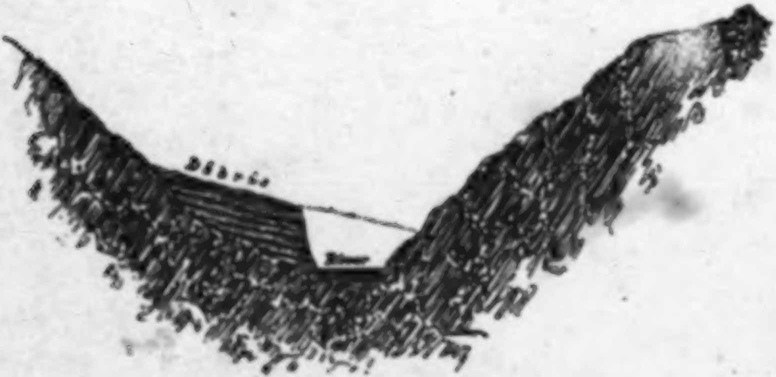
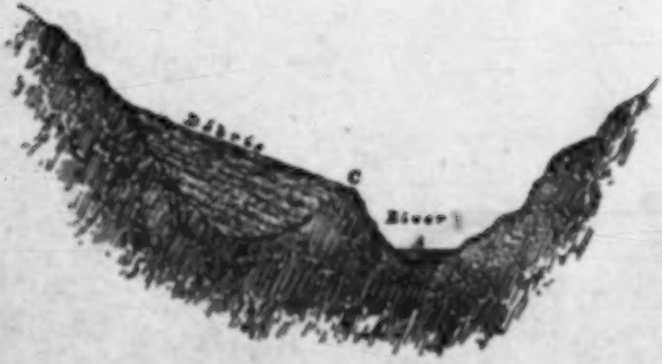
must have been worn by the river. My theory is that B was excavated by the river before ever the hollow at A was made; next came the talus, filling up that then river-bed and damming



SECTION ACROSS THE INDUS VALLEY.



SECTION ACROSS THE INDUS VALLEY NEAR GARKON.

back the river; and lastly occurred the re-excavation of the channel, not exactly at the same place, but *out of a fresh part of the rock*, that is to say, at the spot A, rather than through the loose débris. There are many instances of alluvial and lacustrine deposits at intervals, which I shall not here describe, as the

W. Tibetans AJ4

ubject of them wants to be treated in a technical way; a notice 133^x
t these I hope to communicate to the Geological Society.

Of the inhabitants of the villages from Sanācha to Hanū I 563
ave purposely refrained from saying anything here. They have haracteristics indeed of the greatest interest, but I keep back the escription of these in order to bring it into connection with that f the other Dārds, for to the Dārd race the people here belong. The reader should look for the ethnological peculiarities of this ract in Chapter XVIII., under the heading "Buddhist Dārds."[1] From the next village, Achīnathang, upwards, the people are horough Ladākhis in race and language.

At Achīnathang the Indus Valley begins to be rather less con- 364
ined; the road along it is such that one can ride. Achīnathang 133^x
tself is a neat and pretty village, on a plateau of river-alluvium 00 feet above the water. Near this place, in the pebbly alluvium ormerly deposited by the river, at a height of 120 feet above it, re to be seen shallow pits, from which Baltī gold-washers had dug arth which they carried down to the water side to wash for gold. Every few miles, on each side of the river, are seen little tracts of ultivated ground. One was a continuous strip on a narrow lateau, a mile in length and but fifty yards wide. Sometimes, as t Skirbichan, is a wider expanse. Each tract has on it a collecion of houses in proportion to the area, at the rate of a house o three or four acres. These white houses, half hidden by he foliage, and the spread of green fields, contrasting with the are surrounding country, make each little village a charming ight. In this part the Ladākhis are well grown; they [142]
re taller than those of the neighbourhood of Leh. This I onnect with the somewhat milder climate and the consequently ess severe life experienced.

Besides the villages which we see along the Indus Valley there re several in the side valleys which join from both right and left. At the mouth of these valleys one sees but a narrow opening; rom this they often stretch up for miles, and contain cultivated and and several hamlets. Of these the higher ones endure a [132]
istinctly more severe climate than do the villages of the main VALLEY.

[1] [illegible]

361, 133 valley. Above the cultivation the ravines lead up into rocky wastes in the heart of the hills; those on the right bank lead to the watershed of the Leh Range; sometimes they lead to a more or less frequented Pass, as did the Hanū Valley, sometimes to a rocky ridge that man never reaches, for the reason that there is nothing to draw him, sometimes to ground so precipitous and impracticable that mortal foot cannot tread it.

Next above the part of the Indus we have been speaking of we come to a village mentioned two chapters back, Khalsī, the place where the road from Kashmir reaches the Indus Valley. But the route we followed in the march did not altogether keep to the valley, which now therefore remains to be spoken of. Along the valley is a succession of villages, but not a quick succession; two on a day's march are as many as one meets. Nurla and Sāspūl are the most important of those we pass; they both are near the river. Of the hills that here bound the valley, those on the right bank are not lofty; as was explained in Chapter IX., a range of secondary height intervenes before the great granite mountains are reached. On the left bank the prominent mountains are 2000 feet or so high above the valley; these are but the ends of spurs from a range that rises 6000 or 7000 feet higher, namely, to 18,000 or 19,000 feet above the sea.

Above Sāspūl the river in places flows where the road cannot follow it, in narrow inaccessible gorges. The Zānskār River, of great volume, here joins the Indus. As we approach Pitak we rise to the more open part of the valley.

132 I have described what kind of travelling it is to traverse the valley below Khalsī in summer time—toiling on foot along rough stony tracks or up rocky slopes under a powerful sun. This present part I have gone over both in summer and in winter; and, in spite of a severity of cold in the air far greater than I have ever experienced in England, I have been more comfortable on the winter journey. It was in January; the snow was falling lightly, keeping, as it fell, dry and powdery; the river was frozen in more than one place, so that we could cross, and choose which bank to go along, while near Nurla we were able to ride for a mile

or two on the ice over the Indus itself. Thus by ice and snow 132
the way was made smoother; lambskin coats and caps and felt [485]
stockings kept out the cold, and the best houses of the villages afforded at every stage a shelter that in that season was welcome and comfortable.

133 Nearing Leh, we find that the ranges of mountains, on opposite sides of the valley, rise to about equal height, and for a considerable distance seem equal and parallel. But each has a character of its own. The one on the south-west rises, in a direct distance of nine miles, to a ridge which is commonly 19,000 feet high; just in front of the town of Leh is a peak of 20,000 feet, which retains perpetual snow; indeed there are on the range some fields of snow with small glaciers leading down from them; the lower limit of perpetual snow here is 18,500 feet. This ridge is indented by ravines in regular succession that open to the Indus Valley; the spurs between the ravines rise, at the last, where they near the main valley, to greater heights than they have in the parts near the ridge; so there is a second line of eminences, overlooking the Indus flat; these (which are composed of strata of shale and sandstone, dipping inwards), when viewed from certain spots, appear to form a continuous ridge; but in truth they are separated from each other by the ravines, and are each joined by a neck to the range behind; looked at from the flat these heights are seen to rise along a well-marked straight line. The alternating ravines have narrow openings from which project alluvial fans, which, meeting, form a sloping stony tract between the hills and the flatter alluvium of the main river. From the foot of these mountains, across the valley, to the nearest beginning of the opposite hills, is from two to three miles. These others are of a form different. The summit line indeed of this ridge also, as has been pointed out, is 19,000 or 20,000 feet in altitude; snow and small glaciers are found at the highest parts, but on the whole the ridge has a rocky surface. The difference of form lies in the character of the spurs. Sharp-ridged spurs descend from the central ridge to the Indus Valley; though possessing some irreg[illegible]rity of outline they decline without any great interruption, and project in long

133x narrow ridges of granite, which lessen both in height and in width
from far back, leaving between them space for alluvial deposits—
sloping stony tracts—of the sort which I have called "confined
fans." In colour this range contrasts with the opposite one, being
of far less sombre tints; drab and yellow and light brown are the
colours shown by this granite, of which sometimes the jointed rock
itself, and sometimes the loosened material disintegrated from it,
is shown; on both ranges the bare surface, untouched by
281 vegetation, is exposed. At places the river itself, at places the flat
133x alluvium, ends the stony ground and touches the last points of the
spurs; these are in some cases crowned with the white buildings
of a monastery; at Tagnā (or Staknā) are two isolated rocks, on
the summit of one of which is built a monastery; between the two,
in a rather narrow passage, flows the Indus.

The alluvial flat is of clayey soil, irrigated by watercourses
from the Indus itself. South of Leh it is occupied by the village
of Chushot, which, being near half a mile wide and some miles
long, is the largest cultivated tract in Ladākh; it has over 200
houses, not concentrated into a village, but scattered over the
plain singly, or in twos and threes, at intervals of a hundred
yards or so. Chushot has not the picturesqueness of the villages
which we have looked at lower down the valley; here
[311] fruit-trees do not grow, on account of the severity of the wind that
blows along the length of the flat; still we see some poplars and
small willows, and it is probable that plantations arranged in
[563] belts—one protecting the other—would flourish. The people of
Chushot are Baltīs, Bhots, and Arghauns, the first predominating. As we go up the valley the cultivation of the alluvi
flat ends, and the surface of it is of rounded pebbles. Farther on,
a little above Tagnā, the river is bounded by high banks of alluvial
matter, mostly belonging to fans that have been formed from the
sides. Here, too, the fall begins to be greater, and the valley,
narrowing, gets again the character it possessed lower down by
Sāspūl and Khalsī. Besides the cultivation on the flat
there are some villages in the tributary valleys on both sides, as
Stok, Shān, Sabū, and Chimre; these are watered by the side-

streams. In one of these tributary valleys is situated Himis monastery, the most noted one in Ladākh, which has 200 Lāmās. The monastery is a large mass of buildings placed just beneath a cliff at a bend of the narrow ravine, and in that way well sheltered. The wide window spaces and open galleries, and the decorations of drapery and waving flags make it look quite gay. Close by is a grove of large spreading poplars, which must be of the oldest trees in the country. 361 133 [792]

The last point I have been to in this section of the Indus Valley is Upshī, a small village at the mouth of the Gyā ravine. At that place we will count Central Ladākh to end. Above it is a narrow portion of the valley, which is called *Rong*, where the river flows between rocks, along which it is difficult to find a practicable path; still, there also villages occur in the side valleys, and a small population finds cultivable just enough of land to get a subsistence from. [311]

ROAD FROM LEH TO NUBRĀ.

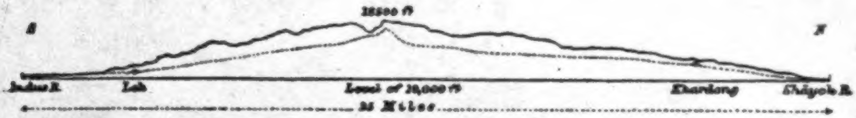
In going from Central Ladākh to Nubrā (which lies along the banks of the Shāyok River and of a tributary to it) we must of necessity cross the Leh Range by one of two or three Passes. From Leh a direct road leads up along the stream whose waters irrigate the lands about that town. The Pass to make for is the Khardong Pass, which is 17,500 feet high; there is, therefore, an ascent to be made of 6000 feet. Not easily can this be done in one day; a half-way halt is almost always made, either at the last hamlet or farther up in the uninhabited part of the valley. The path is in places difficult for laden ponies; they are generally relieved of their loads and are replaced for the Pass by yāks. The way leads for some miles up the bottom of the valley, rising at an angle of 5°; then it continues in a branch valley of steeper gradient, till it reaches the watershed, which at this spot is a narrow rocky ridge. 487 133

A better idea of the form of the mountain range we are now going over than can be given in words will be got from the

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

487
133x
annexed section of it, made through a spot a little to the west of the road. The broken line represents where the path itself goes.

On the north of the Pass the road crosses a bed of ice which lies on the slope, and leads down a steep descent of some 1600 feet, to a small lake enclosed by a stony barrier which looked as if it might have been formed by avalanches. Thence an easy but long descent leads us for many miles down a valley between spurs from the main ridge. Several more little lakes are passed at different levels, which all seem to have been caused by either fans or avalanches damming the waters; there are, too, old moraine-mounds spread over a large space of ground. As we still descend we come to some grazing-grounds in the valley-bottom; then to some outlying hamlets, and then to a large village which is named Khardong. This place is on the remaining part of an alluvial plateau that has been much denuded. It is bounded in one direction by cliffs several hundred feet high, composed of alluvial matter. The onward path leads down to the stream at the foot of these cliffs, and continues along the bottom, where — rare sight for Ladākh — is a strip of brushwood jungle. From this narrow passage we debouch into the larger valley of the Shāyok River. Crossing that river by a ford (if the season be favourable) we then keep along its right bank for the length of a day's march, till we reach the centre of the district of Nubrā.



SECTION THROUGH THE LEH RANGE, ON A TRUE SCALE.

NUBRA.

133x
This district consists of the valley of the Nubrā River—which flows from the north-north-west—and of a portion of the valley of the Shāyok River, with which it unites. There are the wide

alluvial flats of the two rivers and the lofty mountains bounding 133^{x} them, with ravines, seldom habitable, that lead down from the heart of those mountains.*

At the junction of the rivers the valley of the Shāyok is some four miles wide; that of the Nubrā River is from two to three. The flat is in part sandy and shingly, in part occupied by jungle- [132] patches of a low growth of tamarisk and myricaria, or umbū. The line at the edge of the plain is sharply drawn; the mountains rise from it suddenly in rocky masses, and they rise to a great height. Sometimes one sees only the ends of spurs, but even these may tower above one with 7000 or 8000 feet of bare rock; sometimes the eye reaches to lofty yet massive peaks, may be rocky, may be snow-capped, of much greater height, with great spurs and buttresses coming forward from beneath them. The stupendous size and the suddenness of the mountains give a character of grandeur to the scenery of this district.

On looking at the two valleys which make the habitable 361 part of it I find a cheerfulness in the general aspect of Nubrā 133^{x} beyond that of the rest of Ladākh. This perhaps may be put down to the fact of the valley being so open that the eye reaches from village to village, and is able at the same time to overlook several green expanses of low jungle and of pasture. But it must not be thought that the cultivation bears any large proportion to the whole area. The villages occur each at the mouth of a ravine on the undenuded fan that projects from it; still it is only a small part of the surface of the fan that is tilled; much of the ground is impracticable for the plough on account of the masses of rock that have been strewn over the surface by the stream-floods. The space occupied by the village is green and pretty. Groups of fruit-trees and many poplars and willows

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* The following names are given to different parts of Nubrā: *Gyen* is that part of the Shāyok Valley which lies above the junction of the Shāyok and Nubrā rivers so far as habitation extends. *Shāmā* is the part of the Shāyok Valley from the junction downward to the boundary of Baltistān. *Tsurkā* is the valley of the Nubrā River below Panimik, on the right bank. *Furkā* is the valley of the Nubrā River below Panimik, on the left bank. *Yarmā* is the valley of the Nubrā River above Panimik.

361 flourish, and there are generally some one or two buildings of a
133* better character than the ordinary peasant's cottage—as a monastery and a village headman's house—which brighten up the
place. A character of the villages here—which those of
the rest of Ladākh have not—is the enclosure of the fields with
dry thorn hedges; these are necessary for a protection for them
from the ponies of the travellers who pass through this country on
[246] their way to Yārkand. Another peculiarity is that a large number
of the fields are laid in for grass; the letting of the pasture to
the travelling merchants being a profitable business.

132 For equal altitudes the climate of Nubrā is nearly the same
231 as that of Central Ladākh, except that probably the winter snowfall is, as regards the valley, somewhat less. Between each fall
of snow so much of it disappears by evaporation and by the wind
drifting it, that, throughout the winter, the cattle, sheep, and
goats are able to graze in the low pasture grounds, only at night
[246] are they taken in under cover. Some of the villages have mountain pastures, to which the flocks are driven in summer time;
but the climate is so dry that these afford but very scanty
241 pasturage. The vegetable products are nearly the same
as in Central Ladākh. The naked barley is the most general
crop; wheat is grown in nearly all the villages, but not in large
quantities, as the people themselves do not consume it. There
is a little fruit—apples, walnuts, and apricots; of apricots the
sweeter sort ripen only in the Shāyok Valley below the junction
of the rivers; in this part also melon and water-melon ripen.
Unmārū, a village which has a southern aspect, is the best place
563 for fruit in Nubrā. The people of Nubrā, under the
142 head of Ladākhī, have been described in the last chapter. There
is this difference in them when compared with those of the near
neighbourhood of Leh, that they are taller and thinner. The
difference seems to be due to local circumstances. I could not
trace it to any admixture of other blood. The characteristics
of high cheek-bones and elongated eye are found in almost all.
The customs of the Nubrā people, as far as I know, differ in
no respect from those of the people of Central Ladākh.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
w. Tibetans AJ4

I will now take the reader to a few places in Nubrā, in each of which something will be found that is worthy of note. At the village of *Chamshan* I got evidence of a flood, not a great one, the action of which illustrates the way in which some of the substance of the fans accumulates. The fans in Nubrā are uncommonly perfect in form, that is, complete, undenuded. Chamshan is on a fan in front of a ravine that leads up to some of the highest mountains, which feed glaciers that occupy the head of the ravine. I have not gone up this side valley· I was told that it contained three lakes; whether these are confined by the glacier or by masses of débris I do not know. In May or June of the year 1866 one of these lakes forced its barrier, and a flood came down the ravine and over part of the fan. The flood lasted three or four days (while the lake was emptying). It came over some ten acres of cultivated land, which it spoilt by depositing on it a layer of coarse rather sharp sand. All villages on fans are subject to such floods as this *if no deep channel has been cut by the waters for themselves*; that is to say, there cannot be complete safety from such rushes of water and sediment, unless, since the accumulation of the fan, the stream has become a denuding one, and has worn down a channel for itself, from the mouth of the ravine, so deep that no possible flood can bring the waters over the bank. 133* 361

Charāsa, on the right bank of the Nubrā River, is about the most conspicuous village in the district. At one time it was also the most important, for here lived the hereditary rulers of Nubrā, who ruled under the Gyalpo or Raja of Ladākh.[*] The houses of Charāsa are built on an isolated steep-faced rock, which stands up away from the mountain side; it is some 200 yards long and 150 feet high. All the upper part of it is covered with white buildings; the loftiest of them is the monastery; they were formerly defended by a wall — of which parts still remain — running along the rock at varying levels, and flanked by towers. With the 000

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[*] To reach Charāsa one fords the Nubrā River, which there flows in numerous channels. At the end of September 2½ feet was the greatest depth found in them. A little later we forded the Shāyok itself and found there the same maximum depth.

221 361 [792] With the exception of the Lāmās, the people of the village[1] live on the rock in winter only; for summer they have other dwellings scattered about by their fields, but for warmth in winter they crowd to their old fortress. Here the buildings are crowded so close together, the space occupied is so completely roofed over—pathways and all—that when filled with human beings and with cattle it must indeed be warm.

133x A great part of the rock on which Charāsa is built * is rounded, smoothed, and even polished. It is a *roche moutonnée*. On the smoothed surface there are in several places very distinct grooves or scratches which most clearly denote the movement over it of a glacier. The grooves are to be seen close down to the level of the alluvium and up for more than 100 feet above it. The very summit cannot be examined on account of the buildings; but I have no doubt that the ice of the glacier completely covered it and extended to an enormous thickness above, and at the same time occupied the whole width of the valley, a width, which both here and for some distance up, is about 2½ miles. There is a slight difference in the direction of the scratches on the two sides of the rock. On the east side they are exactly with the run of the valley, namely, about north-north-west while on the west they run north and south; this shows that the stream of the ice of the glacier separated, and part of it deviated a little, on coming to the obstruction of the rock.

This is by no means the only instance of ice-marks in the valley. A projecting rock about two miles above Charāsa is very distinctly polished and striated. Two rocks projecting out of the fan by the village of Kūrī have the form that denotes ice-moulding; and behind that village we see the same phenomenon extending for 700 feet up the hill-side. On the left bank, at Panimik, are low isolated hills, about 200 feet high, surrounded by the alluvium; they are of a dark metamorphosed slate; everywhere, except at the broken and weathered parts, are they ice-moulded and striated. In one of these little hills is

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* The rock is a hardened, altered, shale, graduating into a crystalline rock, which also I take to be metamorphic.

[1] [i.e., Charāsa, on the Nubra River.--ANALYST]

1z Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

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133

a hollow occupied by a lake some 150 yards across; this hollow is rock-bound on three sides, while the fourth is of débris, which doubtless is moraine-stuff. Other instances could be given to prove that ice had once filled the valley for a length of at the least the 70 miles from Charāsa up to the watershed, and for the whole breadth of 2½ miles at the lower end.

It now remains to inquire to what depth was it thus filled; what was the thickness of the ice of the glacier?

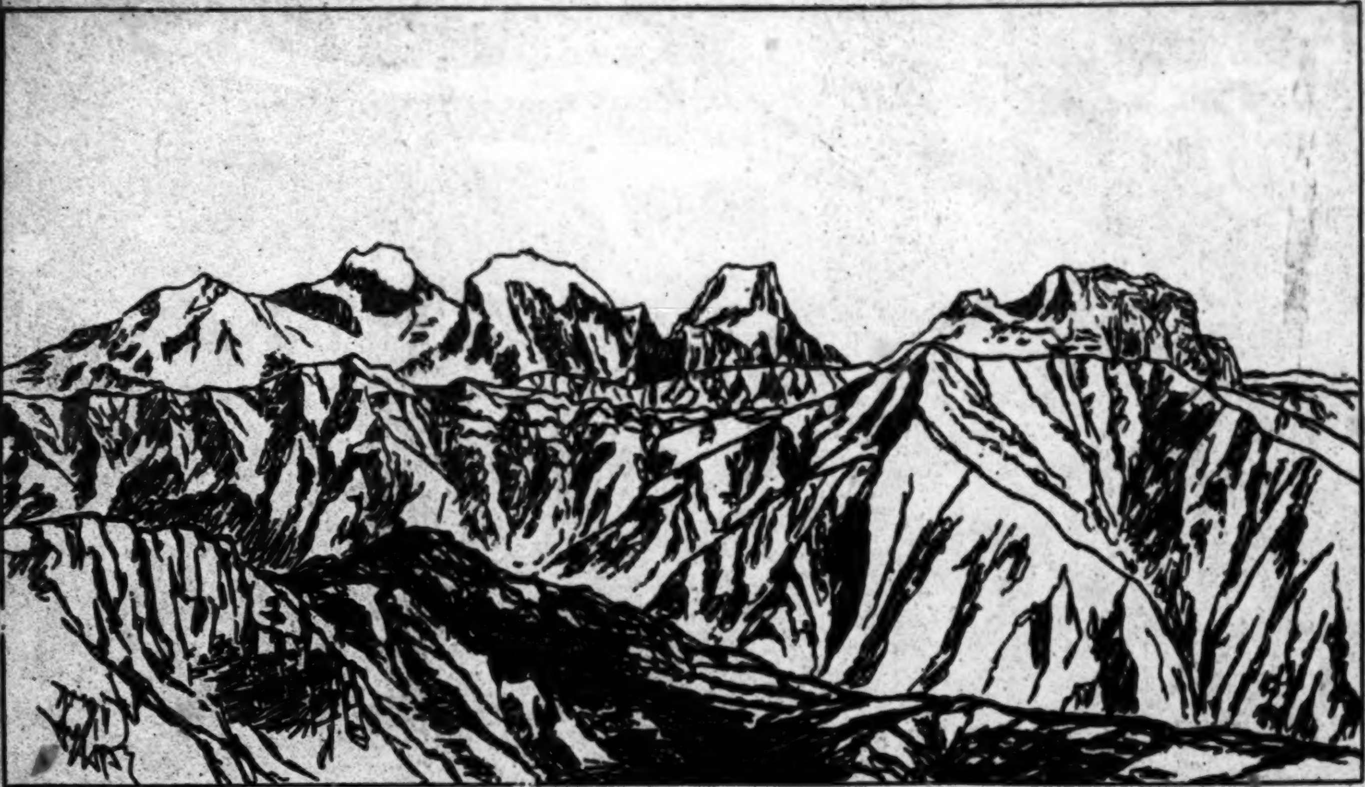
We have seen that there are marks of ice-moulding up to 700 feet above the valley-bottom. It is possible that with further examination those marks could be traced still farther up the hill-sides. But we are not left to depend on this conjecture; there is other evidence of the ice having reached much higher up. Behind Charāsa is an even hill-side, unbroken by ravines; up this a zigzag path leads for a height of 4000 feet above the valley. At that altitude (14,000 feet above the sea) the top of the ridge is reached. It should be said that the ridge here—and as far up the valley as the village of Ayī, 14 miles distant—is of altered shale or slate and of a crystalline rock which I count to be the result of further metamorphism; these rocks are of a dark colour. The mountains on the opposite side of the valley are of granite, of a light yellow or drab colour looked at generally; only at their very base a metamorphic rock occurs. Thus the composition of the two lines of mountain is very different. Above Ayī I have not traced the division of the two formations, but it is possible that there granite occurs on the right bank as well; the argument that is now to be developed will stand whether it does so or not. At the very summit of that ridge behind Charāsa I found blocks of the light-coloured granite and gneiss covering the surface; many of them had a diameter of eight or ten feet; they extend along the ridge for a mile and a half or two miles, at levels up to 14,500 feet. Where, farther to the north-west, the ridge rises above that height, it is free from boulders, and shows nothing but the dark metamorphic slate. The boulders must have come either from the opposite moun-

133x tains, or, more probably, from the mountains on this side, more than 14 miles up. This transportation can only be accounted for by supposing that the glacier filled the valley to a depth of 4000 or 4500 feet—to have reached indeed up to the summit of the ridge at this comparatively low part of it, and there to have shed moraine matter; the position of this, on the very top, preserved it from subsequent removal by atmospheric influences.

It will be understood that with this enormous thickness the glacier could not have ended off at Charāsa; it must have reached to the Shāyok Valley, and there probably joined with other ice masses, and it may have extended far away down.

From every point on the ascent of this ridge, but especially from the summit, I obtained commanding views of the plain beneath and of the mountains opposite; these views gave so much more complete an idea of the form of the ground than could be got from below that it is worth while to dwell a little on what is seen from that height. We look down on the river flowing in an extraordinary number of channels, meeting and separating again so as to divide the bed into hundreds of curve-bounded pointed islands in form like the lights in a flamboyant window; a spread of brushwood jungle—in great part of red-berried Hippophae (which the natives call Tsarmā)—shows where the wandering stream has for some years not reached to. Beyond this alluvial flat of the Nubrā River are the fans at the mouth of each ravine; the completeness of the fan-shape of their outline is beautifully shown in this almost bird's-eye view. Looking to the opposite mountains we see the peaks of the central ridge between the Nubrā and Upper Shāyok valleys, mountains which are not visible from below. There is a sharp serrated ridge of a height of about 20,000 feet. From out of this rise peaks which the trigonometrical surveyors have found to be from 24,600 to 25,180 feet high; they are grand masses of rock standing up bold and clear. Each mountain is an irregular mass 5000 feet higher than the lofty continuous ridge. Snow clothes their summits and lies in thick beds on some of their slopes, while other parts are rocky precipices too steep for it to

1s Drew G-3 (1869-1879) 1875 AV1 Kashmir & Tibetans A/x



Stanford's Geogr. Estab. London.

HIGH PEAKS EAST OF NUBRĀ. THE MIDDLE RIDGE IS 20,000 FEET, THE PEAKS ARE 24,000 AND 25,000 FEET.

/38x

W. Tibetans AJ4

133x remain on. The sketch gives the outline of the peak-masses with some exactness. It does not reach to the foot of the mountains in the valley, as the eye does from some points of view; when it does so there is in sight, in a distance of 18 miles, a vertical height of 15,000 feet. Farther along to the south-east other peaks rise for a thousand or two feet above the general level of the ridge, which seems to continue at 20,000 feet, till it ends suddenly at the corner where the Shāyok makes the great bend. So much for the central ridge. The secondary ridges branch off from it with a height corresponding to its general level. Their edge is serrated, but not deeply so. They continue for many miles without any sudden fall to perhaps an average distance of three miles short of the edge of the valley, where in height they may be 18,000 feet. At these points they make the peaks which are seen when one is in the valley. From them there is a great and sudden fall down to the valley, the slope of which is about 35°; this is remarkably regular for all the distance—of nearly 50 miles—that is within sight, with the exception that the ravines (some that reach to the central ridge and some that go but a few miles back) cut up the sloping face into triangular masses of which the base is from mouth to mouth of two ravines, while the apex is at the end of the intermediate branch ridge. The general colour of the mountains below the snow (and it is only the peaks, rising higher than the ridges, that are snowy) is a light greyish brown, from the hue of the granite they are mostly composed of A darker streak along the foot marks the position of the altered shale. The surface of the mountains is usually not so precipitous as to form great continuous cliffs, but is worn all over into numerous minor ramifying gulleys and ravines, whose sides are rugged slopes of rock.

ZANSKAR.

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Zānskār is a district of Ladākh which lies south-west of Leh, towards the Watershed Range; its extent nearly coincides with that of the basin of the large river, tributary to the Indus, which is called after the name of the country. Zānskār is closely united

to the rest of Ladākh both by physical characters and by the 133x
close relationship in race, speech, religion, and character that 563
exists between the people of the two countries. Till forty years 631
ago, Zānskār was equally connected with Central Ladākh by political ties, being governed by a Raja, who was dependent on the Gyalpo at Leh; but now it belongs (as can be seen from the Political Map) not to the Ladākh Governorship, but to the district of Udampūr, in the Outer Hills, having been attached to this for, so to say, accidental reasons.

From all sides the approach to Zānskār, placed, as it is, in a 133x
maze of mountains, is of considerable difficulty. To the south- 487
west of it the wide Snowy Range makes a barrier, to cross which must be a laborious and may be a dangerous business. From the north-west and the south-east, indeed, roads lead in from Surū and from Rupshu respectively, to traverse which is less difficult, but these lead over long uninhabited tracts. That way which first one would look to for communication with Leh — by the valley of the Zānskār River—is quite impassable, except when the winter's frost makes a road over the waters of the river. Instead of this, in summer time, the traveller from Leh has to make a long detour by Lāmāyūrū; he has to traverse fifteen stages, in which several Passes have to be surmounted, before Zānskār is reached.

By far the greater part of the area of Zānskār is occupied by 133x
the ridges and the ravines of mountains, either of the Snowy 311
Watershed Range, or of the more complicated mass lying between that and Central Ladākh. The inhabited region is nearly all included in the valleys of two streams and of the river they make by their union. These two streams come, one from the north-west, the other from south-east; uniting, they together flow away to the north-east. At their junction is a wide open space, which is the central part of Zānskār; it includes in itself the most important places. This space is a triangle, with a base of seven miles, and a perpendicular of five; on the three sides it is bounded by bare mountains. But a very small proportion of this plain is cultivated; the most of it is an expanse of stony ground; the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A J4

133* 3 // rivers flow through it somewhat below the general level; where water from side valleys has been brought on to the alluvial terraces and fans, there only is land under cultivation. On the north and east are bare brown mountains 6000 and 7000 feet above the valleys; their surface is in part of irregular cliffs, in part of slopes of loose stones, either simply weathered off and remaining in the same place, or else fallen and formed into taluses. Some of these mountains are wonderfully clear examples of aerial denudation; their naked sides are scarred and cut in lines which mark either temporary watercourses, or the path of falling snow and rock, while below lie the heaps and the outspread fans, which are the next stages of the débris in its seaward course. Great and striking objects as are these mountains, the range on the south-west shows over them a great preponderance of height; it has a deeply-cut serrated ridge, a line of sharp peaks rising well above the limit of perpetual snow.

133x In the open triangular space are many remains of former extended glaciers. In front of the mouth of the ravine, coming from the south-west, where is marked on the large map Sanī R., is an irregular moundy expanse made of stones, some angular, some rounded. Just south-west of Padam is another old moraine, which seems at one time to have reached across the stream a little above that place. The mound, also, on which Padam itself is built is due to a similar cause. But one cannot be sure how much of these old moraines were deposited by glaciers from the side ravines, or whether there was one large glacier filling all the long valley from the south-east. The position of Padam, the chief place, now but a village—but perhaps in former days when a Raja ruled there deserving of a higher name—is very curious. As said above, it is built on a mound of moraine matter. The mound is about 80 feet high; it is of loose, heaped-up blocks of gneiss, blocks which look as if they had stayed just as they fell from the glacier—the interstices vacant, the whole mass seeming as if it might give way. On the very summit of this heap was the palace of the Rajas, of which some walls are still standing; houses are built on the masses of stone all over the

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face of the mound. The place is dilapidated; ruin and decay are shown both in the substance of the hill—the waste of mountains—and in the human habitations that were built on it. Such instances of moraines could be multiplied. Not far from Padam is a conspicuous group of very large erratic blocks. Just south-west of Thonde, nine miles from Padam, where the valley is about a mile and a half wide, there stretches right across it—except for the channel that the river flows in—an irregular moundy tract of stones and sand. This is clearly a moraine; its width, measured in the direction of the run of the valley, is half a mile; it contains pieces of gneiss, which must have come from the mountains south-west of Padam. /133

The climate of Zānskār is severe. The spring, summer, and autumn together last little more than five months, after which snow falls, and at once winter closes in, confining the people and the cattle within doors for the space of half the year. A much greater depth of snow falls here than in Central Ladākh. In the spring it causes avalanches from the mountains to such an extent that in the Nunak Valley the people cannot till a month has passed get about from village to village for fear of them. To clear the snow from the fields in time for the sowing requires special contrivance. During summer and autumn the people collect earth and store it in their houses in considerable quantities. In the spring, when they deem the time of snow-fall to be over, and the snow in the fields is partly melted and has begun to cake with the sun's rays, they spread the earth, which absorbs warmth from the sun, and melts the snow in contact with it. Sometimes snow falls afresh, and the labour is lost and has to be repeated. In 1869 there were three or four layers of earth and snow thus accumulated before the work was done. The villages of Zānskār are not so comfortable nor so picturesque in look as those we have seen in other parts of Ladākh. Trees are extremely rare; the continuance of snow and the force of the wind are much against their growth; there are a few plantations of poplars grown for the sake of timber, and lately the authorities have increased their number, but the trees produce nothing more than slender poles. 132 361 313

181 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters
197 which were described under the head "Ladákhis." They have,
indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than
the rest of the Ladákhis. The Zánskáris are the old-fashioned
ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their
honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic
difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zánskár
recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as
162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number
651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages,
which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500
houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l*., but in 1869
439 it was reduced to 200*l*. There is a trade, small in
amount, but still important to the Zánskáris, which is carried on
by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt,
and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought
by the last-mentioned route goes to Pádar and Pángi (by very
difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged
for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the
salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Sarú, whence comes in exchange pattú (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it
seems that the Zánskár people export of their own productions
only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as
exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by
acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its
value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must
[651] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Láhol,
whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys,
435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash
437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax.
Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs.
of salt exchange in Zánskár for 1 lb. of butter; in Pángi 3 lbs. or
4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zánskár the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt
exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

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CHAPTER XIV.

LADÂKH: THE HIGHER VALLEYS.

RUPSHU—RUPSHU AS INHABITED—RARITY OF THE AIR—SALT LAKE VALLEY—TSOMORÎRÎ—TSO KYÂGHAR—INDUS VALLEY—PÂNGKONG LAKE—CHÂNGCHENMO.

WE now come to that lofty part of Ladâkh where the lowest ground touched is as much as 13,500 feet above the sea, where there are long flat valleys at 15,000 feet, while the mountains that include these keep to the same height of 20,000 and 21,000 feet, which we have seen to be so general over a great part of the country. 133ˣ

RUPSHU.

The first that shall be described of these high tracts is that called Rupshu or Rukshu. It is a district at the south-east end of Ladâkh, lying between the Watershed Range and the Indus. From the side of Leh it is approached by leaving the Indus at Upshi and following up the narrow ravine which there joins in from the south. In this, for many miles, the road continues [492 gradually rising; it is a good road for this country, having now been made fit for the passage of camels in case the owners of any from Yârkand should bring them this way towards the Panjâb. The ravine is narrow; it is immediately bounded by no lofty mountains, but by bare slopes of earth and rock, composed of shale and sandstone. After 13 or 14 miles we come to Gyâ, the last 311 village in this direction, a place elevated 13,500 feet above the 241 sea; it is a village of some forty houses, with a proportionately wide area of cultivation; both at Gyâ and at an outlying hamlet, which is some 300 feet higher still, naked barley ripens and nothing else; peas are grown, but only for green food. It is one of the most, but not quite the most, elevated of all the villages in the country. At this place we leave houses behind, for at the next inhabited parts we shall come to, tents are the only dwellings.

133† 487 But to reach those parts we have to cross the Toglung Pass, of 17,500 feet elevation, which we approach by continuing up the same valley for some 14 miles more; it gradually increases in slope, but even at the end is not steep; a smooth neck of ground makes the Pass, and the hills near are themselves rounded. From the summit we obtain a view which gives us some insight into Rupshu. There is a pretty steep slope beneath us of near 1500 feet, and then a flat valley extending long to the south-east and widening, thus showing us far off, 18 miles distant, the blue waters of one of the lakes which we shall visit—the Salt Lake. The flat bottom of the valley is bounded by smooth naked hills. It is such valleys as this, varying from a mile to (rarely) six miles in width, and enclosed by mountains rising sometimes 2000 feet and sometimes as much as 5000 feet above them, that make what are called the uplands, or sometimes the table-lands, of Rupshu.

Before detailing the many interesting phenomena in physical geography which are presented to us in the various portions of this district, we will look at those circumstances which affect the peopling of it; which cause it in a certain degree to be fit as a dwelling-place for man, yet limit narrowly the number of people it can support.

Rupshu as inhabited.

132 138† With an elevation of 14,000 and 15,000 feet for the valleys, the climate is necessarily extremely severe in point of temperature; it is at the same time of an extreme dryness. The character of the summer climate of Rupshu is warmth of sun and constant coolness of the air. At midday the sun's rays are exceedingly powerful; on the decline one experiences cold, which is intensified by the biting wind that commonly springs up in the afternoon. At night, even in the height of summer, except when the sky may be overcast, water freezes; in the beginning of August I have seen ice caking the pools. The snow limit is about 20,000 feet; this great height of it is due to the dryness of the air, to the small amount of snowfall of each year, an amount so small that below that level it all becomes melted during summer. Mountains that

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rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in 132
the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy 7 133
area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and
the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is
extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or
along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a
thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks [241]
and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation [231]
is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent;
it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square 161
miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have 101
been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as 221
the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, 621
the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average.

The tents are of a black 342
hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one OF THESE LIVES A WHOLE FAMILY.

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* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhis do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter food. 595

† *Khīma-push.*

high; in one of these lives a whole family. The sheep
231 and goats are very numerous. At evening time one sees the
236 flocks and the herds coming down the hill-side and collecting at
[492] the encampment by hundreds, and even thousands. The sheep is
of a large kind;[1] it is here made use of for carrying loads; the
salt from the lake is carried out of and grain is brought into the
country on the backs of sheep; a small pack or double bag is
made to hang over the back, filled to an average weight of 24 lbs.;
the stronger animals will be loaded up to 32 lbs. The larger of
the two kinds of goat kept here is made use of in just the same
[438] way. The more general is the shawl-wool goat, a small long-haired
species; the kids of this sort are beautiful little animals.
The wool that goes to make the soft fabrics of Kashmir is an undergrowth
at the root of the long hair of these smaller goats. It
comes in winter time, not only to the goats but to the yāks, dogs,
and other animals, domestic and wild both, as a protection against
the severe cold. At the beginning of summer the wool grows out
or loosens; it is then combed out from the goats and sent to Leh,
where it is picked free from hairs and either worked up or sent on
to Kashmir. It must not be supposed that the greater part of the
shawl-wool used in Kashmir comes from Rupshu; the greater
quantity and that of better quality comes either from the Chinese
districts beyond the boundary of Ladākh, or from the Amīr of
231 Kāshgar's country. The horned cattle are all of the
492 yāk species. In Rupshu, as far as I know, there is neither the
cow nor any of the hybrids of yāk and cow. The yāk is a half-wild,
not easily tractable, beast; his numbers are not very large
in Rupshu; there may be 400 or 500 head. The yāk's duty is
that of a load carrier. The Rupshu people do not carry loads on
their backs like the Ladākhis, they depend entirely on their
cattle, on their sheep and goats for merchandise that is easily
divisible, on their yāks for that of larger bulk. In this
439 way the Rupshu people are great carriers. Between Central
492 Ladākh on the one hand and Gār in Chinese Tibet or Lāhol in
the British country on the other, they are kept well employed in
helping forward merchants' goods. For this service they get good

[1] [i.e. in Rupshu -- Analyst]

payment; sometimes it is in cash sometimes in grain; with one or 439 two slight exceptions, all the farinaceous food they consume is 492 imported, Kulū and Lāhol supplying the greater part of it.

The intermediate position of Rupshu is such that many travel- 439 ling merchants come through the country. The tea-merchants of Lhāsa—a shrewd and eager set of men—yearly come this way with their venture of brick tea for Leh; their merchandise is carried free by the Rupshu people, according to an old arrangement between the authorities of Lhāsa and of Leh, but for their riding and light baggage they have with them a number of fine mules of rare pace. From Kunāwar in the Sutlej Valley come the Kunūs, a people of mixed Tibetan and Indian breed; from Lāhol and Kulū come others of pure and of mixed Tibetan blood; these have in many cases their own sheep to carry their merchandise. Of late years there has been a greater through traffic from the Panjāb to Leh, and even Yārkand, by the road that goes through Rupshu. Panjābī, Pathān, and Yārkandī merchants have all passed this way, which, indeed, as far as the road is concerned, is now the best by far between Eastern Turkistān and the Panjāb. The objection to the route is that the Pass over the Snowy Range may close before the circumstances of the trade allow the merchant to get away from Leh for the downward journey.

Although, then, Rupshu possesses so inhospitable a climate, though it is at one and the same time both parched and bleak, though its hills are barren and its valleys desolate, yet a busy life exists at times in certain portions of it. After travelling for some days without seeing a trace of man, one may come on an encampment of traders with some hundreds of sheep to carry their merchandise, their loads carefully piled up and protected by white tent-cloths; or one may meet on the road the merchants on their ponies, jingling with bells, accompanying their heavy-laden and somewhat unmanageable flock.

For people who are natives of temperate climes, the air of 147 Rupshu in summer, though somewhat trying, is not too severe when the constitution is strong and the system in good order. The extreme cold of winter also could probably be endured if one

147 had the appliances one is used to where it is much less intense. But the Chāmpās weather it in their tents. The hardiness of these people, the way in which they enjoy rather than endure their climate, is an instance somewhat remarkable of the power of adaptation that the human race possesses. These men consider Leh as a place that should only be approached in winter, and Kashmir as a country hot and unhealthy, much in the same way as we, on better grounds, look on the Gold Coast.

RARITY OF THE AIR.

133* 147 There is one characteristic of Rupshu that is always making itself felt by those who use to dwell at lower altitudes. This is the rarity of the air.

In the valleys water boils at about the temperature of 187°, which corresponds to a barometer-height of 17·8 inches; hence the amount of air—and of oxygen—taken into the lungs with an ordinary inhalation is only $\frac{7}{12}$ths of what would enter them were one at the level of the sea. How this is compensated in the case of the Chāmpās I do not know for certain; I think, for one thing, that there is less waste of tissue in their bodies, as compared with those living in lower and warmer regions; they do not use such an amount of muscular exertion as the people of some of the neighbouring countries; walking it is true they are good at, but they are not always practising it, and loads they will not carry. The tending of flocks and herds is not an occupation that brings the muscles into powerful use. Still this will not account for all; there must be some compensating habit which enables them to take in a large volume of the thin air; probably they have an unconscious way of inhaling deeply.

147 With us the system tries in the simplest and most direct way to make up its wonted supply of oxygen; the breathing becomes both quicker and more powerful, that is to say there is an effort to increase both the number of inhalations and the volume of each. The intensity of this effect increases with every rise when once above the altitude where one's ordinary breathing—or an increase in it which is not enough to produce a consciousness

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of change—suffices. At the greater heights, besides the feeling of oppression and shortness of breath, there comes on a headache and feeling of sickness such as one often has at the beginning of fever or sea-sickness, but this is not accompanied by either increased heat or cold of the body. With some, at the higher levels, vomiting comes on, but serious results do not seem to follow, and relief is felt almost at once on descending to a lower level.*

The height at which these effects are observed varies much, and it is not always easy to trace the cause of the irregularities. A great deal depends on habit of body; a man in good condition will hold out much higher than one who is unused to exercise. One first notices it when using some more than ordinary exertion, as when running or when walking up hill; in this way, for people who live below 6000 feet, the effects generally come on between 11,000 and 12,000 feet. At 14,000 and 15,000 feet one is liable, at times, to have an attack, as it were, of shortness of breath even when in repose. When I first visited Rupshu (15,000 feet), this came upon me when lying down at night and lasted for half an hour or so; but after a week I got over that liability, and never afterwards, when at rest, felt a want of breath, even when the camp was 2000 or 3000 feet higher still. Again, I have known a native of the Panjāb—one it is true little used to physical exertion—have a like attack at 11,000 feet. But though one may get so far used to the rarity of the air as not to feel it thus, yet any but the most ordinary exertion will surely remind one of it. At 15,000 feet the least slope upward in the path will make one as much out of breath as if one were, at a lower altitude, pressing up a steep mountain side. Talking when walking, even on a level, soon brings its own conclusion from want of breath. And when one comes to the greater heights—for here every thousand feet distinctly tells—ascending a slope becomes a painful labour. I have crossed a pass at 19,500 feet (one that lower down would have been an easy walk) where, on the ascent, at every fifty or

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* This is only true if the organs are thoroughly sound; the rarity is very likely to find out any defect in either the lungs or the heart.

147 sixty steps, one was absolutely obliged to halt and pant to recover breath; then, however, I felt neither headache nor other bad effect; the usage of a month or two at high levels had done something to harden one to the circumstances.

The natives whose lot occasionally leads them into the highlands, very commonly attribute these results ^ of rarefied air to some plant, which, for the purposes of their argument, they invest with the power of poisoning the air. Some of the herbs at high elevations give out a smell when rubbed; and these are brought in to account for the sickness. The much-abused onion, which grows wild in some parts at a good height up, often has these things laid to it. Of course an easy answer to this hypothesis is that the effect is greatest at those heights whence all these plants, and even all vegetation, are absent.

The Salt Lake Valley.

133 We will now begin to examine in detail various portions of Rupshu and some of the physical phenomena which it presents, commencing with the Salt Lake Valley. This is the widest opening in the whole of Rupshu; the length, in a direction north-north-west and south-south-east, is 13 miles, and along a considerable part of that length the valley is five miles wide; the level of it is 14,900 feet. It is a flat surrounded by hills, occupied partly by land and partly by water. The original outlet—an opening between the hills on the north-west—is now filled up to some 70 feet above the plain, so that there is no passage for the waters that collect in the valley, which, therefore, with its enclosing hills, forms a separate drainage-basin. The hills are for the most part low in comparison with the mountains we have met with, all are bare of visible vegetation; as a rule they are not rugged, but have smooth surfaces of loosened stones. The surface of the plain is varied; in parts there is sand and gravel; in other parts an expanse of white clay; this again is sometimes caked with a thin covering, still whiter, of salts, various in composition; lastly, a not inconsiderable portion is occupied by two lakes—about a square mile by the one of them

^ [See Cat. 116, pp. 290-291.—Analyst]

which has fresh water, and seven square miles by the Salt Lake.*

The history of all lake-basins and of the deposits in them is a subject of so much interest to geologists and geographers, that a statement of the facts that bear upon the origin of this one is sure to interest some readers. I shall therefore in this place not withhold the details of the results of such an examination of this valley as I was able to make.

What first catches the eye of any observer is the *margin-marks* at various levels above the present plain and lake, which show to what height the waters formerly filled this basin. These are sometimes lines of shingle upon, and sometimes indentations in, the hill-side. The indentations are either in the superficial débris or in the rock, where the waters had eaten their way in and formed not quite a cliff, but the beginning of one—a notch so to say. Looking from a distance one can sometimes count ten or twelve lines, of one sort or another, at different levels; they are most distinctly shown on the surface of some of the southern bounding hills; but all round, at intervals, they can be traced, the highest seeming to be the most continuous. Cunningham gives the height of these above the present lake-level as 150 feet; some of the marks, however, are at a considerably greater height than that. The second time I visited this plain I measured, as carefully as I could by levelling with a clinometer, their height at the spur of gneiss at the head of the small lake. Here the highest mark was very distinct; it is an indentation worn in the mountain-side, and it can be traced by the eye (which catches it at some distance even where a near look will hardly detect a mark at a particular spot) nearly all round, but it is here and there broken by taluses of more recent formation. This highest mark I found to be 320 feet above the fresh-water lake, which is three or four feet above the salt lake; this measurement cannot be more than a few feet from the truth. To this height, then, at all events, the basin once was filled with water.

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* The fresh lake is called Panbuk, the salt lake Tso-kar.

The lake of that time must have had an area of something between 60 and 70 square miles, reckoning to the beginning of the narrow outlet. We shall presently come to this outlet or gorge to look at it closely, but here it may be said that the level of the bottom of it, of the highest part of the bottom, though above the present level of the lakes, and above that of the great expanse of flat, *is not so high as the margin-marks*. We do not therefore find the cause of the lake, as it was, in the gorge at that spot.

We now will look at the deposits left by the lake when it was of greater extent than at present—deposits which lie between the level of the highest margin and the present level of the water. At the south-east corner of the plain a narrow valley leads down to it from Folokonka Pass, a Pass which is more than 1200 feet above the plain. Between the mouth of that narrow valley and the fresh-water lake, there is a deposit of sand and pebbly gravel ridged in beautiful curves continuous for miles; these concentric ridges of fine shingle are mostly low and flat, not steep like the shingle-fulls of a sea beach on a tidal coast; this shingle is found thus for 100 feet and more above the plain; it was a littoral deposit of the lake, and it seems to have been ridged at these intervals on the receding of the waters. Some of the material of this deposit was very likely supplied by a stream from Folokonka Pass, so that in part it may be of the nature of a delta deposit; but it was both acted on by the deeper wave-movements of the waters of the lake and modified by the surface-movements at the time of their receding. The composition of the central part of the plain is various. In some parts it is sandy and even shingly; in others it is of a whitish laminated clay. To the east of the northern end of the fresh lake is an expanse of this clay. Between the fresh lake and the salt lake is a plain some four miles across of sand and shingle with flat thin stones of mica-schist scattered over it, some of them as much as a foot across; this plain has very slight undulations. On the north of the salt lake, again, is a plain or plateau of white clay about 20 feet above the level

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of that lake; at the edge we see a section to that depth in a little cliff; it shows laminated whitish clay, with layers in it of a flattened tape-like water-plant; there are also strata of yellow clay and of fine sand; below is coarse sand with pebbles, mostly flat, varying in size up to that of a shilling; the coarser beds are false-bedded; in the cases I observed the false bedding was from north to south; in some of the clay there were shells of *Lymnea auricularia*, and Cunningham mentions a *cyclas*. Beyond, to the north of this dry clay plain, the flat again becomes sandy, with small stones strewn over it; this shingly plain slopes upwards towards the gorge; near the beginning of this gorge or outlet I see a section exposing 20 feet in thickness of sandy beds of various degrees of fineness, from an ordinary sand down to an extremely fine, slightly micaceous, sand. Thus we see that by the southern and northern edges of the old lake, and for some distance in, are sandy and shingly deposits; while at other places, including the centre of the area, is laminated clay, with some fine sand. These latter were deposited where, from depth, or from distance from the shore, or from the absence of currents, the waters were most still. The coarser sand and the shingle were more marginal or else were accumulated in shallower water.

For the sake of trying to understand the geological causes of the lake, we will, before looking more closely at the wider space, follow the outlet and examine the phenomena shown along that comparatively narrow valley. In this there are similar lacustrine beds of laminated clay, with the same *lymnea;* and here these deposits are at a level about 100 feet higher than the present Salt Lake; but above them the margin-marks still are visible, in continuation of those we measured. So that here we are where there was a narrow continuation of the great lake; the dam which caused it must be looked for farther on. But in going on we find a complication of the question to be solved. While the valley continues, about level, to the north-west, another valley, also level, opens on the south (which is that in which Rukchin and Kyangchu are situated), and since each of these has an outlet to the general drainage of the country, we find that we shall have to discover the position of *two* dams in order to account for our ancient lake. After travelling along the valley that leads to the north-west, as far as three miles beyond the opening of the new one, we come to where two low-sloped fans from opposite sides have met; the height of the rise or neck made by their meeting would, as near as I could judge without levelling, account for the whole depth of the lake. Still we will look somewhat beyond them. The flat valley continues with a width of about a mile, turning southwards to Zarrā; here, at the joining in of a small valley from the north-west, is a great high bank of stony ground, which I consider to be an old moraine, though it is more regular and level-topped than most moraines; it juts out from that side ravine and comes across the valley, except that a narrow channel exists between the end of it and the mountain on the south-east. This embankment of loose stones must altogether have supported a glacier that came down the side ravine from the north-west, since, when traced back, it is found to take up the whole width of that ravine. This glacier and moraine very likely had to do with the damming of the lake, in conjunction with the two fans before described; that is to say one or other, at various times, was the cause of the damming in this direction according to their respective heights. For up to this very moraine extends the lacustrine clay in the hitherto level valley-flat. The lake therefore, once, or sometimes, extended an arm to the moraine and glacier dam, and sometimes was intercepted by the fans. Thus far we have dealt with one only of the outlet valleys. Let us now turn to that which led out to the south, to Rukchin and beyond. We see the margin-marks extending into it, not much above the valley-bottom; this is almost a complete level; some of the drainage-water it receives flows towards the Salt Lake, but becomes absorbed before reaching it, while some flows south-westward, and loses itself in a periodically-forming lake seven or eight miles from Rukchin, which lake is made by the meeting of two side fans. So here, too, is a damming, though perhaps not one that would account for all the depth of the old lake. The truth is that

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without careful levelling one cannot ascertain the exact spot to which in this direction the lake may have extended, but we cannot here be far from its extremity, as will now be seen. Going on southwards we continue on a similar flat plain, and then come suddenly to the edge of a steep cliff, which ends it off and forms the side of a ravine. This cliff shows the composition of the ground below to be, for several hundred feet in depth, beds of rounded pebbles. From here for this valley, and from Zarrā in the case of the other, the two are in connection with the drainage of the Zānskār River. I have elsewhere* tried to prove that such accumulations as these last were made during some part of the glacial period, by the rivers themselves, on account of there being a greater supply of material disintegrated from the mountains than could be carried off by the water. Starting from this we can understand how that the two valleys, of Rukchin and Zarrā, were first gradually filled with alluvial gravel. I have little doubt that there was at one time a neck separating the areas drained by these two valleys; we cannot tell exactly where it was, nor can we tell near enough to say into which of the two valleys the area of the Salt Lake at first drained; it is now obliterated, covered in, by the alluvial and the lacustrine deposits. Then, at some stage of this filling in, the damming must have occurred either by the meeting of fans, or by the glacier and moraine, or by both. Until the time when the level of the plain had been raised as high as the neck, a dam in *one* of the two valleys might have produced a lake; as the filling up went on there came a time when the waters flowed over where the neck itself had been; then, for the lacustrine beds to have extended into both outlet valleys, and covered the neck, required the *two* dams, and this extension is evidenced by the margin-marks being found along both valleys.

Now returning to the Salt plain we will look more than we did before at the present state of it. Originally belonging, as we have seen, to the basin of the Zānskār River, it is now a completely separated drainage-basin. Its waters not only do not

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* In the Quarterly Journal Geological Society, for August, 1873.

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visibly flow out but do not even filter out through the sands and gravel. On the contrary, it is likely that some from outside oozes through to the plain, for a spring of water comes out of the lacustrine sands near the mouth. A few other springs are to be found in the area; these, with the surface-drainage of the yearly snow and of occasional rain, constitute the supply to the lakes. The fresh-water lake is partly, or chiefly, supplied from springs; its waters, though commonly called fresh, are slightly brackish, but only very slightly, not so much so but that they can be drunk by cattle and by men; I think this brackishness to be due not to evaporation but to the original impurity of the water. The greatest depth I could find in this lake was 10½ feet in the very middle. Its water flows into and makes the chief supply of the Salt Lake.

The shrinking of the lake from the height and area to which we have shown that it formerly reached was, or may have been, due to two causes. First, it is probable that on the waters reaching the maximum height and overflowing their dams they began to wear away those dams and so to lower their own level. To what extent this action went on we cannot be sure, only it cannot have brought down the level lower than to 60 or 70 feet above the present Salt Lake, because the ground at the gorge is as high as that now. The further lowering, and the consequent great diminution of water-area within the wide valley, can be due only to a change of climate, a change to one drier and probably warmer than before. Such a change would have acted in two ways—it diminished the supply of water to the lake and increased evaporation from it. The consequence is that the lake shrinks into the lowest hollows of the basin, reducing the evaporating surface, until, by this reduction, a balance between supply and loss is attained. This balance is at present held by the waters, which once extended (without counting in the outlet valleys) over 60 or 70 square miles, having diminished their area to about eight square miles, so that the humidity of the climate must have been reduced to *one-eighth* of what it was formerly; that is to say, one-eighth of what it was when the lake first became a lake without effluence; how much diminution of humidity occurred before

that it is impossible to say.* Another natural result has 133x
followed. The salts held in solution—which occur more or less in every source of water from the earth, and, as we saw by the supply of water not pure to the fresh-water lake, are here present in quantity—have become concentrated, and a Salt Lake is the result. The salts in this lake are indeed very much concentrated, and are ever being deposited from their solution. Some details about this must now be given.

The Salt Lake is shallow; at the eastern end I have heard 317
that there is about 30 feet of water, in other parts I have not 133x
found more than six feet, while over a great space towards the western end there was but one foot of water; at that part the water was of a dirty yellow-brown colour; at the bottom of it was a quarter-inch cake of some alkaline salt, probably chiefly carbonate of soda; of this cake some was in a half-crystallized state, which was flexible like leather. There is an inlet in the northern shore of the lake, or rather there is a series of small lagoons separated from the main water by a bank of shingle and clay. Here the water, drying, deposits common salt, not indeed pure, but nearly enough so for it to be used for food. The salt is removed from this place by the Chāmpās, and fresh salt forms; the deposit is best and most plentiful when a good dry season succeeds the snow-melting. I saw four such pools separated from the lake and from each other. The water must ooze into them either from underneath or through the bar. As far as I know it is only in this part that common salt is deposited; the different salts in solution are thrown down in different parts, according to the degree of concentration; this last must depend on the shallowness and on currents; these again may be caused by the wind,

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* I have here used the phrase "diminution, or reduction of humidity" rather vaguely. It does not follow that the reduction of precipitation between the above-defined epoch and the present time was as much as to one-eighth. One may suppose the precipitation to be *one-fourth* of what it was, and evaporation (area for area) to be twice what it was; this would account for the lake being one-eighth its former size. Or if the rate of evaporation has increased in the *same proportion* as precipitation has diminished, then $\frac{1}{\sqrt{8}}$, or nearly one-third, is the proportion. In general terms, however, it may be said that the climate is eight times as dry as before.

317 133 which is apt to be regular at certain times of the day. The salt thus obtained has an admixture of magnesian salts; it is bitter to the taste, and is not liked by those who have been used to the pure salt of the Salt Range of the Panjāb; it is indeed apt to [439] produce an itchiness on the skin. Still it is consumed all over Ladākh, and is carried as far as Kashmir. Over part of the plain, especially when it is composed of white clay, there is an efflorescence of some saline compound. Most generally it is carbonate of soda, which is called by the Rupshu people *pātsa*. Again, one sometimes sees a layer, over an area of a few square yards, of a hard colourless translucent substance, which seems to be a mixture of sulphate of magnesia with a compound of soda; of 133 this the native name is *gurm*. There are certain curious inequalities in parts of the plain which should be mentioned and if possible accounted for. That part which lies on the north of the Salt Lake, as before said, is of white clay; the level of it is from 10 to 20 feet above the lake; on this plain we see many hollows, commonly from 10 to 40 yards across, and 10 to 15 feet deep, with, usually, gently-sloping sides; at the bottom is generally a crust or deposit of some salt, as of the *gurm*. One of these hollows was as much as 180 yards across; in this there was a little water. A somewhat different phenomenon is seen on the east of the fresh lake; there is a plain of similar white clay, from which rise small mounds of the same material to the height of about four feet; they seem to be bulgings up of the clay, for the laminæ curve over from the centre of each. Of these two phenomena I have not a clear explanation to offer, but I think there must be connected with them a certain sloping of the layers of the lacustrine deposit which I observed at two or three places. Towards the gorge the beds of fine sand before described are slightly waved, and dip on the whole to the north-north-east, at an angle of 8°. At the place where the salt is scraped up a cliff section shows the beds to be waving and sloping. These things are not due to any deep-seated ground-movements such as produce the dip of strata in general, but must be caused by some local settling, brought about perhaps by a dissolving out of salt that had been deposited.

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However these deceptive dips were caused, no doubt the explanation of them must apply to the surface inequalities as well.

TSOMORIRI.

Rupshu includes not only tracts which are drained to the Indus, and lake-tracts whose drainage originally connected itself with the Indus, but also portions of the basin of the Sutlej River, whose arms thus reach to the back of some of the Himalayan ranges. Rupshu is indeed a space where the valleys of certain tributary streams of the Indus and Sutlej, near their sources, have become so filled with alluvial and lacustrine deposits that their levels approach in places to that of the watershed between the two rivers. This watershed is altogether irregular in its course; it follows now a ridge and now a low neck, varying much in altitude as well as in direction. I crossed it by a way that leads from the wide valley of Rukchin towards the south end of the lake called Tsomoriri. That high-level Rukchin Valley is, as before was said, ended off by a ravine; this cuts down for 500 feet between the plateau of alluvial beds on the north and the limestone mountains on the south. Following up the ravine from that lower level, the base of it very gradually rose, and at the head of it was a low neck of rather soft shale, which lay between the limestone rock on the south-west and the shaly or the schistose rock of the mountains on the north-east. This neck, which may be 15,600 feet high, is a point on the Indus and Sutlej watershed. Beyond it a valley leads down to the south-east, through which flows the stream called the Phirsa; the mountains round are from 3000 to 5000 feet above the valley. More than 30 miles down, this valley (which had become narrowed) opens into a wider one, running north and south, which is that of which part is occupied by Tsomoriri. At the debouchment there is a wide, rather sloping, plain,—the fan made by the Phirsa stream; this is bounded, at a distance of three or four miles from the mouth of the gorge, by the low ridge, of smooth rounded form and brown earthy surface, which there makes the eastern side of the larger valley. The mountains here are much varied; soon on the north of that low ridge they rise, first with undulations and then in bolder slopes, to heights of perpetual snow. Between these eastern hills and nearly equally lofty ones on the west lies the blue lake.

Tsomoriri (the name contains in itself the Tibetan word for lake, *tso*) is a fine mountain-bounded expanse of water; it extends 15 miles in length, and from three to nearly five miles in breadth, at a height of 14,900 feet above the sea. At a little distance from the shores the water is clear and blue; it is slightly brackish, enough so to be unwholesome for man to drink of, but not for horses and yāks. In winter time it freezes, and cattle can pass over it. The saltness is caused by its being a lake without effluence; several streams flow into it, but there is no outlet; the water supplied is evaporated from the wide surface of the lake. Here the balance of inflow and evaporation is maintained by the lake occupying the whole of the flat of the valley, to the very hill-sides—unlike the last lake-basin we examined, where the area of water had dwindled to a hollow in that flat.

The first thing one considers in coming to a lake is the *cause of the confinement of its waters.* In this instance the observer need not for long be at a loss to account for the formation of the basin. Col. H. Strachey has well described[*] how the Phirsa stream, debouching into the wide valley which is the southern continuation of the hollow occupied by the lake, has spread out a large fan-shaped delta across the breadth of that valley, and how the Phirsa waters wander over that deposit, sometimes finding their way to the lake and sometimes to the Pāra River. Col. Strachey does not himself draw the conclusion (though probably it was present in his mind) that the formation of this alluvial fan by the Phirsa stream was the cause of the lake being formed. I myself am convinced that it is the true and sufficient cause. The fan which, like others that have been described, is part of a low cone, has a slope in all directions from its apex of about 1½° and a radius of about two miles, so that there is a fall of 250 or 300 feet from the apex or centre to the circumference; the material of the fan is a gravel of shale and limestone[†]. If we go from

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[*] Journal Royal Geographical Society, vol. xxiii.

[†] Mr. W. Theobald, jun., in 'Notes of a Trip to Simla,' printed in the Journal of

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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the debouchure along a radius nearly due east across the valley, /33x
we reach to where the fan abuts against a spur of the opposite low ridge. Now that portion of the water of the Phirsa which comes down north of this spot flows into the lake; any which should come down to the south of it would flow into the Pāra River and so join the Sutlej. At the time I was there no stream was flowing from the Phirsa Valley mouth to the Pāra, but there were water channels leading in that direction, which I could see would be filled on the rise of the waters in spring-time, and indeed there was water coming out of the gravel lower down—Phirsa water—which was finding its way to the Pāra. Col. Strachey states that the Phirsa sends its waters in the two directions, sometimes at once and sometimes alternately in different years; no doubt the action is very varying, a very slight change in the disposition of the gravel brought down by the stream, near the mouth, would make all the difference in the destination of the water.*

The sufficiency of the explanation I have given of the origin of this lake, as it is and was, must depend on whether it satisfies the conditions, first, of its depth, secondly, of the height to which formerly it may have risen. The fan will be enough to account for a lake of moderate depth, but if it be like the deep Alpine lakes other causes must be looked for. Col. Strachey had no means of ascertaining the depth of Tsomoriri, but he infers (of this and other lakes) that "with reference to the general formation of the valleys in which they are embedded, it may be conjectured to range within 200 to 300 feet." I was at the pains to take an india-rubber boat to Tsomoriri, for the purpose of sounding it, and my observations curiously coincide with the estimate which

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the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. xxxi., 1862, p. 480), explains the formation of Tsomoriri in this very way.

* General A. Cunningham ('Ladak,' p. 139) is strangely confused in his account of this part. One would be led to think from it that a ridge of 700 feet separates the lake from the bed of the Pāra River. In truth the only separation is the fan above described. But again, General Cunningham says that the ridge is apparently not more than 150 feet above the river at Narbū Sumdo. Now the valley-bottom at Narbū Sumdo is below the level of the lake; how, therefore, the said ridge could be 700 feet above the lake I am at a loss to see, as indeed I am to know what General Cunningham could have meant. In another description (Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xvii.) he puts in a line of mountains running east and west on the south of Tsomoriri; no such mountains exist.

Col. Strachey founded on inference alone. The results of the soundings I will give in some detail.

From Kyangdum (south-west corner of lake), course 25° north of east, towards first promontory on eastern shore:

	Depth in Feet.
At 100 yards from shore	36
At 200 ,, ,,	75
At 1⅝ miles ,, (middle of the lake)	198
At 2½ ,, ,, (three-quarters of the way across)	242
In the bay between the two promontories on the eastern side	248

Around the little island (which is perhaps half a mile from the western shore):

Half-way between the island and the western shore	98
70 yards north of the island	22
¾ mile north of the island	178

From Karzok, course east:

At 20 yards from shore	12
At 40 ,, ,,	21
At 100 ,, ,,	93
At 200 ,, ,,	105
At ¼ mile ,,	122
At ½ ,, ,,	139
At 1¼ ,, ,,	166
At 1½ ,, ,, (this was the middle of the lake)	180

Thus the depth (at all events in the southern part) was most, not in the middle, but towards the eastern shore, and the greatest depth found was 248 feet. We have, then, no reason to think that the basin of this lake is other than an ordinary valley dammed by the alluvial fan of a side stream, for the thickness to which such fans are known to accumulate will account for all the depth observed.

Next we must consider the evidence, if there be any, of a former greater height of the water, and the relation of that to the fan considered as a dam. The greater part of the shore of the lake is edged with shingle; it is a shingle of, for the most part, flattish, not thoroughly rounded, stones. Such shingle also, at higher levels, I found in several places. Landing in the bay at the eastern side—a deep inlet, bounded by promontories of

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unded hills of a light-brown earthy surface—I observed that in /33ˣ
s sheltered place had been formed and preserved shingle-ridges levels which clearly told of the water having once been higher; ere were several ridges, at different heights, the highest of them st have been formed when the lake was 36 feet above its prent level. Again, if we go from Kyangdum (at the south-st corner) along the western side of the lake to Karzok, we shall s over shingle which lies in sweeping curves at different levels to 40 feet above the water. Just south of Karzok is a bay with ingle-banks curving round it; here I measured the height of the ghest ridges, and found them to be in one case 34 feet and in other 44 feet above the water. The still-level of the water need t have been so much as this last by a little, because waves throw shingle a few feet higher; there would not, however, be so much ference from that cause in a land-locked lake like this as where g waves roll in from the sea. We may take 40 feet above the sent as the level to which the lake once reached. Now to the height of the dam. I think that it would take a rise of newhere between 50 and 100 feet to carry the waters over it, the point where, as was described, the fan abuts against the stern hills. The fan therefore accounts for all we know of lake.

The question remains, what change of climate does the vering of the lake from that 40 feet higher level evince? In the recession, the area of the lake necesily contracted; not, however, to a great extent; probably the traction has not been more than one-fifth, the area of the sent lake being about four-fifths of that which was occupied the lake at its maximum. The supply of water being lessened, d the rate of evaporation being increased, an area of evaporan lessened by one-fifth is enough to balance the supply from eams and springs. This, then, is the measure of the increase dryness from the time when the lake was first cut off from any tflow. But, as pointed out in the case of the Salt Lake, any ount of change in this direction may have occurred *before* the s became an isolated drainage-basin. It may be remarked that

133 on a large evaporating area being formed the water may begin in some degree to get saline even before the outflow has ceased; wherever there is less outflow than inflow there must be concentration of salts, and there will be less outflow than inflow for any lake of large area even if it have an outlet.

A few facts must be given about the lacustrine deposits that have been formed and are now forming. At the south end of the lake there is a flat plain about 20 feet above the water level; this lies between the shore of the lake and the Phirsa fan, extending for about two miles; the surface is clayey, and sections show interstratifications of finely laminated brown clay and very fine sand; the laminæ are sometimes curved about on a small scale, making as it were pot-holes in the clay filled with sand. This is clearly a lacustrine deposit: it was made when the lake was about at its highest. There are traces of the same deposit along the eastern bank of the lake, for a mile and a half or so north of the north-east corner of it. To a great extent the material must have been supplied by the branching streams of the Phirsa River; but some of it may have been derived from the waste of the lake-side rocks by wave-action. This supply of material to form lacustrine beds *close to the outlet*, brought down by the stream that formed the fan that makes the dam, is a circumstance that I have never seen noticed in any account of a lake, but it is one that must often have occurred. Where the Karzok stream comes down is a very similar deposit. A flat 15 feet above the water extends out for half a mile from the hills; it is composed of beds of clay and sand, some of the latter very fine, and on the surface a fine shingle is strewn; this was the subaqueous delta of the Karzok stream, formed when the lake was higher than now; it ends off in a low cliff to the lake. At the north end of the lake, where another stream comes in, is a flat partly of shingle partly of sand; the sand from it has been blown up into small hillocks.

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136 The island is about half a mile from the shore, near midway in the length of the western side; it may be 100 yards from corner to corner in one direction and 60 yards in another; it is of gneiss rock, rising only nine or ten feet above the water; the soundings

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before given show that there is about 100 feet of water between 133
the island and the near shore. This little place, being ordinarily 136
undisturbed by man, is a great resort of the gull, which in Ladákhí is called *Chapharutse*; the surface was nearly all covered with its droppings, and there were hundreds of the young about; most of those must have been hatched near the beginning of July. Having heard that it was a matter of interest with some ornithologists to learn about the nidification of the wild goose,* I was on the look out for information concerning it, and I found that this island is one of the places where it lays its eggs. I was told by the Chámpás that they find the eggs there just before the ice breaks up—say the beginning of May, after that they have no means of reaching the island; I myself found there a broken egg, but at the time I was on the island (the last week in July) the young had all been hatched. A few days later I followed the same inquiry in the valley of the Salt Lake, and on an earthy island in the fresh-water lake called Panluk I found a nest where the mother was sitting with some goslings and two eggs, one just breaking with the chick; the other egg I measured and found to be 3¼ inches by 2½, and very nearly elliptical in form. The nest was a slight hollow, lined with, first, a few bits of a soft herb, then with feathers; I was told that these goose eggs are found also at the edge of the Salt Lake itself.

For man and his followings the banks of Tsomoriri are inhospitable. The bare rocky or earthy mountains and the stony plains afford little pasture for the flocks. Still the traveller finds patches of grazing ground just near enough for one to go from one to another in a day's march. Karzok, which is the head-
quarters of Rupshu, is situated near the shore of the lake. Here [522]
is a house and a monastery. The house belongs to the chief man
of the district and of the tribe. The monastery is for about thirty- [192]
five Lámás; the building of this under the difficult circumstances of the place, whither every bit of wood had to be carried from far,
and the keeping up of it, is creditable to the Rupshu people. There 221
are, besides, eight or ten small houses—mere hovels—where some 361
old and sick remain when the camp has gone to the Indus Valley.

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* The barred-goose; in Ladákhí, ngangpa.

361 The summer encampment is not close to Karzok, but it is made two
221 or three miles up the side valley; at that distance up the ravine widens out, and on a stony expanse, through which a stream flowed watering a narrow green strip, were about fifty black tents of the Chámpás, and a few white ones of merchants from Kulū, who had come to trade with them; this was the encampment of that half of the Rupshu tribe which keeps to the south-eastern pastures. The flocks were spread over the hills, seeking for the scarce herbage.

241 Karzok is one of the two or three places in Rupshu where there is cultivation; here some 12 acres are sown with naked barley. Close upon 15,000 feet, it is the highest cultivation that I know of. When I was there the crop was thriving, but in some years it fails of ripening. The land is irrigated from the stream of the side valley, that which made the delta before spoken of, which is one of the chief affluents to the lake.

132 The climate of this part is thoroughly Tibetan. Snow falls in winter, but not to a great depth. In summer the air is usually clear and cloudless. The year I was at Tsomoriri, however, 1871, was an exceptional one all over Ladākh, and rain fell in showers such as had seldom been seen, accompanied by thunder. In these storms we saw the mountains in colours different from those native ones which the glaring sun had brought out so strongly. Before, the lofty hills, except where whitened by a capping of snow, had shown nothing but rocks and stony or earthy slopes of brown and grey, the distant ones seeming close from the rarity and clearness of the air. But now, with the clouds overhead and the storms filling the valley, the recesses of the purpled mountains seemed more distant; yet we saw deeper and deeper into them as the various shades showed out the successive spurs and ridges, and the water of the lake formed a bright belt in front of the richly-tinted hills.

TSO KYAGHAR.

133x North of Karzok a high ridge of mountains edges Tsomoriri on the west, having high cliffs in its upper part and sloping more gently below. At the very head of that lake there is first a sandy flat and then a narrow grassy strip watered by a stream which ranks with the Karzok stream as one of the larger feeders of the lake. After a few miles this stream turns to the west, and another fifteen miles up would bring one to its source, which is at the old watershed of the Sutlej and Indus. A path up this valley leads to the Salt Lake plain; this direction I did not follow, but I took a way to the north-east, and in doing so came across a problem in physical geography which was quite unexpected.

At the bend of the stream, by its left bank, there is a terraced plateau of old alluvium. On this I rose to a height of a couple of hundred feet, and reaching the top found that this alluvium constituted a barrier to a side valley from the north-east, which now, on account of this barrier, is a completely isolated hollow, holding a lake about two miles long and one mile wide, and about 150 feet below the alluvial plateau. The lake is called by the Chāmpās *Tso Kyāghar*. The question is, how could that alluvium have been formed so as to have the hollow on its farther side? For this is not a fan of alluvial gravel sloping down at the angle of its formation to the lake it dams; sections of it show nearly horizontal beds of clay and sand, with rounded gravel, fine and coarse, interstratified. The lake is bounded on the south, east, north, and partly on the west, by low ridges of gneiss rock, from 150 to 300 feet high. In the middle of the north-west side the alluvium fits on to the gneiss ridge, and completes the circuit. On this lake also I launched my boat for soundings, and found the greatest depth to be 67 feet; this was about 300 yards from the southern end; in the very centre of the lake the depth was 48 feet. The water is brackish as in Tsomoriri, being fit for animals to drink and not for men; the colour, even at the deepest, is green, not blue. A spring of water rises on the west side. There are signs of the lake having been some feet higher than it is now. Immediately on the north of the lake is a ridge of gneiss about 1000 feet high, which is part of the old Sutlej watershed.

I have not been able to solve satisfactorily to myself the ques-

133x tion of the origin of this lake, but I have turned over in my mind two or three hypotheses. The alluvium might at one time have filled the basin, which doubtless was originally but part of a valley tributary to that down which flows the stream; then, during some part of the glacial period, a glacier from the north-east may have scooped the hollow out of the gneiss and of the alluvium; thus the hollow would be a rock basin, counting the alluvium as part of the rock. Another theory is that at the time this tributary valley opened out to the larger one it was occupied by a glacier, and then the alluvium of the larger valley was deposited *against that glacier;* then, later, the ice disappearing left the hollow. The difficulty in the way of this is to know why no outlet was kept open by the water that must have flowed from the glacier. Altogether this little lake is about the most puzzling one I have met with.

INDUS VALLEY.

East of Tsomoriri there is a part of Rupshu which I have never visited—the valley of Hanle. It seems from the accounts to be another of these flat, high-level, alluvium-filled valleys, bounded by mountains which soon rise up to a height of 4000 or [361] 5000 feet or more above it. At Hanle, which is 14,276 feet high, is a monastery built on a rocky spur some hundred feet above the [221] plain. Passing by this tract, of which I have no personal knowledge, let us go to the Indus Valley, which, in the highest part of it included in the Maharaja's dominions, forms a portion of Rupshu, and is periodically visited by the Rupshu tribe with their flocks.

133x 487 From the south-east corner of the Salt Lake plain there leads a valley, which, followed up, brings one to an easy Pass, by name Folokonka, about 16,500 feet high, and beyond that one comes [312] into the valley of Pūga, a place where borax and sulphur are dug. The road from Tsomoriri, by the little lake Tso Kyāghar, also leads over a saddle of rock down into the Pūga Valley, which, farther followed down, brings us in a few miles to the Indus River. [221] The former of these two paths is the way taken by the Rupshu Chāmpās in the course of their migrations. The portion

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The portion of the Indus Valley thus reached is just above the narrow defile or gorge called *Bong*, which, as mentioned in the last chapter, confines the river above Upshi. Where we have now come to (where Maiya is marked on the map) the valley is again open; the Indus flows in a wide smooth stream, between banks of alluvial gravel, with a depth that makes it just fordable; the hills rise, in some parts smooth and with a gentle slope, in others bold and steep, on both sides reaching, within a few miles, to a height of 5000 feet above the river. From Maiya I marched for four days up the valley, to the place marked Dora; what was seen in the 50 miles then passed over may be described in the same order as it was met with. 133^x

Maiya is one of those places often met with in wild countries about which one wonders that they should ever have had a name. There is no house or shelter of any sort, only a little sandy flat by the edge of the river, with no wood and no grass. Still it is a common halting-place, and for that reason it bears a name. The yāks (which through all Rupshu have been our carriers) were bidden by voice alone to swim the river, by doing which they reached a bit of pasture on the right bank. From Maiya the way lies along the left bank over ground stony and sandy, but with a little grass here and there. The Indus was flowing by in a gentle stream, with a speed that seemed between 1½ and 2½ miles an hour; the alluvial flat it flowed through widened to a breadth of perhaps three-quarters of a mile, this being confined either by the spurs of the hills or by higher alluvial deposits, as of the fans of side streams. As is usual one could not see well the hills on the side one was passing along; the hills on the north were a series of irregular spurs connected with the great range which is a continuation of that behind Leh; they were made of stratified rock—shale and sandstone *—sometimes showing the outcrop of beds, sometimes only a surface of earth and loose stones, of various tints of brown, grey, and purple, all, to the eye, perfectly bare of vegetation. 361 133^x

Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts we 000

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* Farther back, towards its centre, this range is of granite.

Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts, we
361 come to where there are two or three small villages, which are the highest in the Indus Valley. This bit of the valley is properly out of Rupshu, still it is traversed by the Chāmpās in going from one part of their district to another. The villages are three. On the left bank is Nidar, in a ravine that comes down from the south; it has three houses only. On the right bank are Nimū, of twelve
[241] houses, and Mad, of ten. Nimū is about 14,000 feet above the sea; it shows a tract of bright green at the edge of a great stony expanse; naked barley and peas are sown here, but only the
[137] former ripens. Of trees there are a few large willows of great age. I have two or three times noticed that in the villages near the upper limit of trees, where few grow, there are some of more than usual size; this probably is from more respect being paid to, more care taken of them; there is also a newly-made plantation of
[132] willows. At Nimū little snow falls, and what comes does not stay long on the plain; in winter the cattle and the flocks graze on the
[101] plain by the river, but are brought under cover at night. The people of Nimū are not Chāmpās, but are nearer the Ladākhīs
[221] both in look and language; they are, however, to some extent nomadic, since some of them take their flocks to other pastures in winter and live in tents while tending them. The village of Mad is in the next ravine to the east.

133* Leaving these last villages we follow up the valley of the Indus. It has widened to a plain, some four miles across, sandy at the outer portions, but covered with pasture about where the river flows through it. There are some small isolated rocky hills projecting up in the plain. This extends to where the river makes a sudden bend to the north-east.

Here we must pause to look more widely at the physical geography of the neighbourhood.

Cunningham, in his book on Ladākh, speaks of the "Kailas Range" as extending in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shāyok, the name being taken from a peak on it near Mānsarāwar Lake (which is far to the south-east of the country we are dealing with), and he calls the great ridge behind Leh, between the Indus and the Shāyok, by

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the same name, "Kailas or Gangri Range." It will be seen that I have not used this name in my map nor elsewhere; in this I follow Col. H. Strachey, who does not connect by its name this last ridge (which I have called "Leh Range," though on the maps I have put no name to it) with any of the chains to the east or south-east of the part we have now reached. As I have before remarked, the question whether two certain lines of mountain should or should not be counted to belong to the same chain or range must depend on the definition you give to the words "chain" and "range." It is conceivable that the definition might be different in the mouths of the biologist, the meteorologist, the geologist, and the pure geographer. In any case it would only be a difference of terms. I myself have been and am using the words in the most restricted sense, as merely descriptive of the most patent facts. Let us look at some of these facts in connection with the Leh Range. We are now where the unbroken continuation of the Leh Range ceases. That long line of granite* mountain, which began at the Indus and Shāyok junction, and has, up to here, extended from north-west to south-east for 220 miles, in that direction ends, and the Indus Valley occurs. Immediately beyond the river, between the Indus and the Hanle stream, occur again granite mountains, which, geologically, are a continuation of the others, and indeed lie in the same line with them. So that it would not be alien to the methods of geological description to say, that the Indus here cuts through the granite range; the range being taken to extend from the Indus and Shāyok junction to the neighbourhood of Hanle at all events—how much farther to the south-east I know not. Now to the north-east of all this is a distinct line of mountain, of which Sajum Station, 20,021 feet, is one of the summits; this, according to Cunningham, would be part of the Kailas Range; here this range also is of granite, though farther east its composition changes; the line of it runs north-westward, overlapping the line of the Leh Range; the granite of the two ranges is in part continuous and in part separated, as regards the surface, by some shale and limestone; in the line of the occurrence of these last rocks is the depression separating the two ridges; the highest part of this depression is the Tsāka Pass, about 1200 feet above the Indus Valley, but nearly 5000 feet below the hill summits, on either side; the rise to this is a gentle ascent of 3°; the Pass divides the Upper Indus Valley from the Pāngkong drainage-basin. According to General Cunningham's nomenclature this Pass is a depression in the Kailas Range. According to the plan of description just followed by me the Tsāka Pass is a neck connecting two ridges, the Leh Range on the south-west and this other on the north-east. The difference seems to me unimportant in itself.*

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* The Indus, which flows at the foot of the range, is often in the line of junction of the granite with the soft shales and sandstones of what have been called the "Indus Valley beds"—beds of tertiary age—these making the hills on the left bank. The position of the river seems to have been determined by that of the junction of the hard and the soft rock. In the part of the range we have lately come to the shale and sandstone beds go up, so to say, farther into the ridge; but again the junction comes down and crosses the river at the bend above Nimū. The Hanle River comes from the south-east, at first in a hollow among comparatively low hills, probably along the junction of the stratified rocks with the granite; but for the last few miles of its course the Hanle stream diverges northwards into the higher country of the granite and comes through quite a gorge in that rock to join the Indus.

To return now to the valley of the Indus. On coming to the second bend—the one with its salient angle to the north—we find ourselves in a level plain, of an average width of two miles, that stretches far to the south-east. Near where flows the river is a thin growth of grass, which makes this plain by far the most important pasture ground in Rupshu. Farther from the water the flat is sandy, dotted in places with clumps of Tibetan furze. The plain is so even as well as so straight that the horizon of the curvature of the earth can be distinctly seen in both directions, hiding the bases of the distant hills. The mountains which bound on both sides the valley rise, uncapped by snow, to 19,000 and 20,000 feet; that is to say, they are about 6000 feet above the flat. On the north-east the crest of the ridge is about

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* A geological note may here be appended. On the rise from the Indus Valley to the Tsāka Pass beds of blue limestone and brown shale appear, dipping north-east, with granite mountains north-east and south-west of them. The Pass itself seemed to be of granite, though, on account of débris, this was not quite clear. A little beyond, the limestone again cropped out, in a patch, while some miles farther to the north-west shale again appears, in the valley, as if it cropped out from below the granite. This occurrence of stratified rocks beneath granite I have more than once observed in the Himalayas; it is a phenomenon very difficult to account for.

eight miles distant; a succession of spurs come down from it; 138x
between them are hollows from which come out, at their base, wide spreading fans. The hill-sides are completely bare of vegetation. On the slopes of the northern ridge, up to 2000 feet, blown sand has accumulated, sand blown up from the river plain; this sometimes lies in masses in the hollows, sometimes is spread on the hill-sides in varying thicknesses, in places it has been washed down again into the valleys on to the other débris. The different colour of this sand from that of the rock gives a strange look to the hills; it often reverses the usual light and shade, making the hollows bright and leaving the projections dark.

I went about 20 miles farther, south-eastwards up the valley, along the alluvial plain between the mountains. After that, as I could see, the space between the mountains narrowed; in the line of the valley there seemed to be an opening like a gateway; it is through this that goes the road into the Chinese territory; the river is deflected to the north-east, flowing in a narrow space, but after another 20 miles up the two valleys or hollows reunite.

Our farthest camp was at a place called Dora. This is where 361
the Chāmpās of Rupshu spend the winter. Here are built some 221
low walled spaces for sheltering cattle at night; there were many 342
small hollows dug two feet deep in the ground with a course or two of sun-dried brick above, these are made for the tents to be pitched in them; at one end is a rude house built for the headman—low walls washed over with a glittering micaceous mud and roofed in with sticks covered with turf. When I was there, in August, there was not a soul in the settlement. At Dora falls hardly any snow. This is why the place is chosen for winter quarters, the sheep and the cattle being thus able to graze on the extensive though thin pasture found on the flat. Close by is a small shallow lake in the alluvium; it is about three-quarters of a mile long and a furlong wide, of clear fresh water. Two or three miles off are some little salt ponds in the alluvium; the water of these tastes both salt and bitter. About north-north-east from Dora the northern mountain-ridge changes in point of composition from granite to a more or less altered shale; the line of it

133* is continued more to the east than before, while in the line of its
361 original direction are some more hills which are joined to the
221 other ridge by a neck called on the Survey Map "Chang Pass"; this Pass is practically the boundary of Chinese Tibet in that direction; in the Indus Valley the boundary will be a day or two's march beyond Dora.

136 It is natural that the more favourable circumstances of this part of the Indus Valley should encourage animal life to a greater extent than is common in Rupshu. I saw here some small herds of the Tibetan antelope, and the Tibetan hare is common here as well as lower down towards Nimū and again towards Chushal; it is a large hare, with much white, the back of a brownish grey. But the animal one sees most of in these parts is the Kyang or wild ass—wild horse it has sometimes been called—an animal which is met with singly or in twos and threes in many parts of Rupshu (as, for instance, the Salt Lake plain) but here is in far greater number than anywhere else. In a day's march I saw some 300 kyang, as many as 100 at one view. There were several different herds; they all let us come to about 250 yards from them and then trotted off, or if frightened by noise galloped away, often leaving the low ground and taking to the stony slopes. This animal is decidedly nearer the ass than the horse, but in outward appearance is much more like a mule than either. He is like a good mule such as one gets in the upper part of the Punjāb, about Rāwal Pindī.* The colour is brown, but white under the belly; there is a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. Of a full-grown male, a fine handsome animal, that I shot in order to make closer observations, the following are some measurements:

Height	54 inches (13 hands 2 in.)
Length of head (from point of muzzle to root of ear)	21½ "
Length of ear	9½ "
Fore hoof, length	5 "
" width	4 "
Hind hoof, length	4½ "
" width	3½ "

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* Trebeck, Moorcroft's companion, wrote that the kyang is neither horse nor ass, that his shape is as much like one as the other.

1s Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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On getting as near as we could to one of the herds and dispersing it, we separated and at last with some difficulty caught a colt of fifteen days or a little more. He was 35 inches high, his head was 13 inches long, his ear 6 inches; his coat was thick but soft, the mane short and curly, the tail short and bushy. His voice, as well as the voice of full-grown ones that we got pretty near to, was almost exactly like that of a mule—a subdued grunt or abortive bray. This little fellow soon lost his shyness and would let anyone come near him without fear; we tried hard to rear him, but he died in two or three days. Several attempts have been made to tame the kyang, but little success has attended them. I have eaten the flesh of kyang in the form of steak, and found it very like beefsteak, but rather coarser; the Chāmpās are glad to eat it when they get a chance. 136 [262]

PĀNGKONG LAKE.

In entering another of the high-level valleys of Ladākh we leave the area draining directly into the Indus, and come to where the drainage either communicates or has communicated with the river Shāyok. We saw that the neck of the Tsāka Pass is a point on the watershed between the two basins. From its summit there is an easy descent into a very gradually sloping valley, which, in less than 30 miles, leads us past the village of Chushal to the shores of the Pāngkong Lake. 133x

The series of lakes in one and the same line of valley, but just separated from each other, the lowest of which bears the name of Pāngkong or Pāngong, occupy a length of valley of 90 miles, or it may be more; the eastern end is unexplored, but the people about speak of its being an eight days' journey from end to end of the lakes. The upper part of Pāngkong itself and the lake next above are known to us only through the explorations (made in 1863) of Major H. H. Godwin-Austen, of the G. T. Survey, whose journal gives an admirable account of it,* and whose topographical work on the Survey Map is a most valuable guide to anyone who may follow his footsteps as I did to some extent. Col. H. Strachey also gives some valuable general information on the subject.*

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* Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxxvii., part ii.

The uppermost lakes of the chain Major Godwin-Austen himself was unable to reach, as they lay too far within the Chinese territory; below these there is a somewhat narrow winding lake over 40 miles in length; next (within the same valley) is a plain, three or four miles long, through which is a channel of still water; next to that is Pāngkong itself, the only one of the lakes that I myself have seen. Pāngkong is 40 miles in length and from two to nearly four miles in width; its height above the sea is 13,930 feet. The valley leading down from the Tsāka Pass and Chushal debouches into that occupied by the lake at about the centre of this 40 miles, at such a point that, in spite of the great bend in its direction, a great length, up and down, is visible. What strikes the eye in coming first in view of this lake is the lovely colour of its waters; especially towards evening is it of the richest deep blue, over the whole expanse; at morning time it is of a lighter but a very brilliant colour; close to the shore, indeed, the water is both so limpid that the bottom can be seen far down and colourless, but here too, if it is at all disturbed by the wind, at the rolling over of the waves before breaking, a beautiful sapphire tint is seen in it. In the eastern part, on both sides, high mountains bound the lake, whose bold spurs jut out in succession and, at last meeting, close in the view. These hills, like all those we have so long been amongst, are bare, showing nought but rock and loose stones; they are of shades of brown and yellow, only in the far distance is this earthy look modified by the tone which the atmosphere gives. It is but this absence of vegetation, this want of the varied hues which are one great charm of the best scenery, that prevents Pāngkong from being ranked for beauty with Lucerne or Killarney. Assuredly for grandeur of aspect, for combination of fine-formed mountains with the stretch of waters, and for the colour of the clear blue sky contrasting with the mountains, neither surpasses it; and indeed, under some aspects, it is difficult to persuade oneself that it is not as beautiful as can be. The

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* Journal Royal Geographical Society, vol. xxiii.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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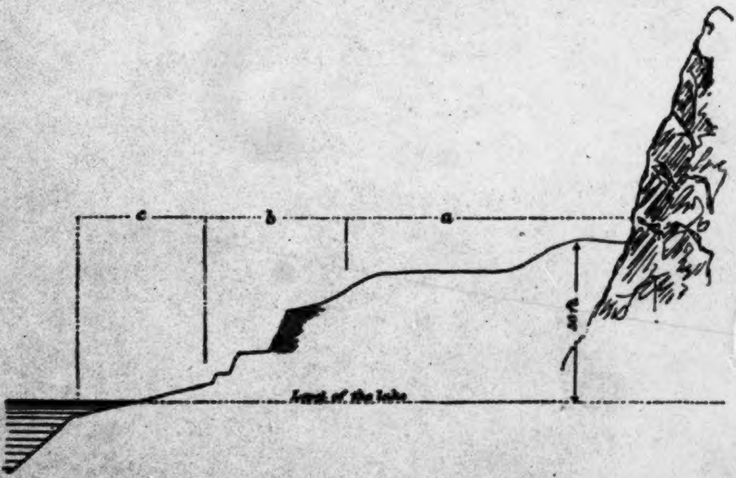
western part of the lake has, on its north-east side, hills like those we have been looking on; we see long projecting spurs, sharp-edged, with sloping sides in places broken with rocky prominences; at some times of the day, the sun, glaring on them, is reflected from the stone-surfaces in such a way as to give a peculiar shiny, almost metallic, look; these spurs enclose regular slopes, of alluvial deposit—confined fans of gravel. Opposite, to the west, there is a great ridge a little retired from the shore, a great ridge rising to bold rocky and snowy peaks, with snow-beds on the higher slopes and small glaciers in the hollows, the lower part a mass of stony débris. Between the foot of this and the lake extends a strip of ground stony and sandy.

The water of the lake is salt, with a slightly bitter taste; I had counted it, reckoning by the taste, to be something less than half as salt as sea-water, and this estimate is nearly verified by an analysis of it by Dr. Frankland given in Dr. Henderson's book 'Lahore to Yārkand,' by which close on 1·3 per cent. of salts is shown to exist in it, nearly half of which is common salt, and the rest mostly sulphates of soda and magnesia, and chloride of potassium. This sample of water was taken from the western end; as one goes eastward it becomes more fresh; the water of the far end is, I believe, drinkable. This saltness denotes that the lake is without a present outlet for its waters; where the outlet might have been or has been we shall examine later; at present it will suffice us to know that all the supply of water evaporates, and we will now look to see what that supply is. The amount of rain falling on the area drained must be very small; the greater part of the water that reaches to the lake is due to streams flowing in, most or all of which rise in glaciers. The Chushal stream winds through the sandy flat of Takkung and falls into the lake, much diminished in volume from what it was above. Of the numerous small glaciers contained in the south-western mountains each sends down a rill, and many of these reach the lake, not perhaps continnously, but intermittingly, according to the melting of the snows, but whether changing diurnally or as sunny weather comes and goes I do not know. The Lukung stream, which

133+ comes in at the far north-west corner, is an important one; it flows into the lake in a channel cut through a spread of sand. A few springs, too, rise near the edge and add a small amount, and some supply, I know not how much, must flow from the upper lakes through the channel at Ot.

Here and there at the edge of the lake, particularly in shallow places, there is a little vegetation; a flat seaweed-like plant, in form like narrow tape, grows apparently attached to the sand, that is with the end or root of it an inch or two deep in the sand; one sees small accumulations of this thrown up in company with shells of lymnea and planorbis. The lake, I am told, is frozen over for three months in winter, and can then be traversed. At places along the beach, a little above the level of the water, there are *ice-margin* marks, that is lines which denote the position of the frozen edge of the lake; these have been described fully by Major Godwin-Austen; I did not see such large examples of the effect of frost as he did, but I saw as it were turned furrows of the shore deposits lying parallel to the water's edge; these were from six inches to a foot high, and of two forms; first, elongated mounds of loose earth or stones, secondly where a layer of some cohesion had been bodily lifted or tilted up. I take these to be due to the expansion laterally of the ice on its formation over the surface of the lake. These marks I noticed at the following levels: 1½ feet above the present surface of the water, 3 feet above, and 7 feet above, with perhaps intermediate ones; these, of course, mark former higher levels of the lake. As to annual variation I have no very precise information, but I hear that the level varies some 3 feet from early summer, when it is highest, to autumn or winter. A former general greater height of the waters is shown by such evidences as proved to us the same condition for the Salt Lake. These we will now examine in some detail.

There is almost everywhere a beach at the margin, either sandy or pebbly. The bays are adorned by the regular curving of the beach-lines. The promontories have been cut into by the waves of the lake, which thus evince no inconsiderable power of denudation, for at one point a spur of hard rock has been cut back so as to form a cliff of 200 feet or more in height, and several other points that I went to on the south side had a cliff-face to the lake of at least 100 feet. Thus far the effects might have been produced by the action of the waves at the present level of the water; let us now seek for beaches and other marks at higher levels. My examination was confined to the southern side of the lake, and was especially directed to places but a few miles from the great bend. In many places there were beaches at levels of from 40 to 50 feet above the present level of the water; they are very distinct in the bays south-east of Takkung. In a sheltered nook of the first bay were a succession of beaches which I carefully measured, and have represented in the annexed figure, drawn to scale. The shingle was composed of



SECTION OF HIGH-LEVEL BEACHES ABOVE THE SHORE OF PĀNGKONG LAKE.

well-rounded pebbles of limestone, calcareous sandstone, and shale, mostly from one to three inches in diameter; the two ridges in the space marked *a* were of loose shingle; beyond, beneath *b*, the shingle was consolidated by carbonate of lime into a moderately hard conglomerate, it had been cut into a cliff by later denudation; below this was a slope of sand to the water; a little way beyond the edge the lake became suddenly deep. The topmost

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shingle-ridge here was 45 or 50 feet above the lake. The material of the beaches is not always well-rounded shingle; angular and half-angular stones often make up part of it. Besides the beaches there are other traces of a former high-water level, and these mark a level higher than that to which the beaches themselves rise. These are margin-marks similar to what we saw round the Salt Lake plain, impressions made in the hill-side by the action of the waves. Those at the highest levels are slight, and there is no accumulation of beach beneath them; indeed in some cases they cannot be traced on approaching near, but, when seen from a distance, their continuation at one level for a considerable length renders them distinct. The margin-marks occur at various levels above that of the highest beach up to about 120 feet (or perhaps only 100 feet) from the lake, several lines being sometimes seen in one cliff. These may be observed on the hills behind Takkung, and on the promontories between Mirak and Man.

All that has hitherto been described was formed by the waves at or about the surface-level of the water, at the different heights to which it reached. We will now look for deposits formed on the lake-bottom below the surface. At Takkung is a plain from 12 to 18 feet above the lake, occupying two or three square miles; it is chiefly composed of white clay, with a sub-angular granite-gravel of stones the size of a pea strewn over it. The Chushal stream flows through it in a little ravine; sections cut by this show interstratifications of the clay with plant beds, each layer being from a quarter to half an inch thick; sometimes sand also is interstratified; the plant is the same tape-like weed that we saw growing in the water. These beds must have been formed in the still waters of the lake when they were higher than now; the material was no doubt in part, perhaps almost entirely, brought down by the Chushal stream. By Mirak are beds of clay, sandy clay, and sand; this doubtless, as Major Godwin-Austen has described it, is a delta of the stream that there falls in, deposited when the lake was at a higher level than now; it extends into the lake and there is being added to; the shallow made by the deposit

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ends off suddenly and at a short distance from the shore, the end of it being clearly marked by the change to blue water. Between Mirak and Man is a repetition of the phenomenon, and at the north-west end of the lake, towards Lukung, is a sandy flat of like origin.

If now we begin to reason as to the origin of the lake, the investigation is hindered by our having no information as to its depth. I had not, when visiting Pāngkong, procured my boat, and there was no means of taking soundings. I shall proceed on th supposition that the lake is not materially deeper than Tsomor ready to alter any conclusion as to its origin which we may com to if measurements are taken which show this supposition to b wrong.[*] The hollow in which Pāngkong Lake is situate is continued, though much narrowed up, from the north-west en of it, past Tānktse, to the valley of the Shāyok. Major Godwin-Austen examined the old outlet in detail, and showed the true cause of the lake to be the damming of its waters by side alluvial deposits near to this spot. The sand and shingle at the north-west end, curving round, separate the waters of the lake at their present level from the outlet valley or gorge; they themselves, however, are evidence of the former extension of the lake water towards that opening. Again, tracing on in this direction the highest margin-marks (those 100 or 120 feet above the lake) we find them to end against a fan, composed of gneiss, that comes out of a steep valley on the south-west, and abuts against the opposite (north-eastern) hill-boundary of our gorge, the width of which gorge is here about a quarter of a mile. This then is what dammed the waters at the highest level to which we have traced them; it is the fan described by Major Godwin-Austen; the place is called Surtokh. At each side of this are other fans, which extend across the outlet valley at somewhat lower levels; it is quite possible that they too at different times dammed the waters, and so made the lake; which of them was the active agent must have depended

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[*] Since writing the above I have seen it stated in the 'Friend of India' newspaper, of March 20, 1874, that Captain Trotter (attached to Mr. Forsyth's embassy) had sounded Pāngkong, and found its extreme depth to be 142 feet only. Therefore the argument in the text may, for that matter, stand.

133 on the different rates of formation of each fan. We have now the material from which to recount the history of the lake. The hollow in which it lies, a valley cut through the mountains, not different from many parts of the valleys of other tributaries to the Indus, and to be referred to the same origin as they, had its drainage flow out by Tānktse to the Shāyok. Then came the damming of the waters of that valley by one or other of the fans which have been pointed out. The water rose in the valley and made a lake gradually increasing in height, probably equally with the increase of the fan, which by no means was made all at once. Doubtless the water flowed over between the end of the fan and the mountain opposite. This overflow of the water very likely wore down the channel to some extent, and so the lake may have been partly drained again. Then, later, came a change of climate to a state drier than before, and a sinking and receding of the lake-waters to their present position, where they are enclosed by deposits which were laid down in the lake during its greater extension. It was at this stage that the water got salt. This drying up went on until the diminished area of evaporation was only just enough to balance the supply of water. It will be remembered that the margin-marks, at the higher levels, were but slight impressions on the mountains, while below 50 feet from the water were shingle beaches, which must have taken a great length of time in forming. I infer that the lake did not stay long at the 100-foot level, but was lowered from that down to 50 feet by the *wearing down of the dam*, while from 50 feet downwards the change of level was due to increased evaporation (or the increased ratio of evaporation to the supply of water) consequent on *change of climate*, this change being so gradual as to allow, at every level, of the fashioning by the waves of the stones which form the beaches.[*]

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[*] I observed another set of marks, but only indistinctly from a distance, and my eye may have been deceived about them. Therefore I have not brought them into my argument, but will note them here in order to direct to them the attention of future observers. I saw them from the Man promontory; they are on the opposite side of the lake, at a distance of 3 to 3½ miles, about where *Kobang* is marked on the Survey Zincograph Map, and from there they extend towards Pinghong Station

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133x

The explanation here given will, I believe, account for at all events the two great stretches of the lake, or the two lower lakes if they be called so; for there seems to be hardly any difference of level between the two, a deep channel of almost still water connects them; it will be the delta of the Ot Valley that makes the plain that lies between them. As to the higher lakes, it would be rash with our present knowledge to say much about them, but I will venture the supposition that each has been formed by an alluvial fan coming out from a ravine on one side or another of the main valley.

The great ridge of mountains on the south-west side of the lake is one that deserves closer attention than we have yet given to it. This may be called the Pāngkong Ridge. It extends unbroken from Chushal to near Tānktse, a distance of 40 miles; beyond are mountains closely connected with it in structure, which, in combination with this, may be said to form a range parallel to the Leh Range. From Chushal to Tānktse the ridge is very lofty; there are peaks in it over 21,000 feet, and these are not isolated ones high above the rest, but the general level of all approaches to that. The crest is a sharp, irregular, rocky line. On those parts of the highest slopes which are not too steep, snow lies on it which never melts, and small glaciers lie in the hollows below. As we look at the range from Mīrak we get a clearer view of its form, which is somewhat analogous to that of the mountains that we looked at on the left bank of the Nubrā River. There is one outer line of peaks, the gate-posts, so to say, of the hollows through which, at a high level, protrude the glaciers that mostly end off when still 3000 feet above the valley. From these near peaks there is a face of slope towards the lake, a descent of 5000 feet, interrupted in its lateral extension by the intervals of the glacier valleys. Back from these peaks run ridges,

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(22,115). They seemed to me to be margin-marks continuously horizontal for some distance, at a level somewhere about 900 feet above the lake. If they should turn out to be so, then further causes must be sought out to account for the damming at that high level, which would have occurred at an earlier period; the reasoning as to the cause of the later damming of the waters would still hold. See second note to p. [illegible]

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133y increasing in height to join the central ridge, on which are the highest peaks of all. The small glaciers occupy the comparatively flat bottoms of hollows which are surrounded by steep cliffs; they are, indeed, in the *arena* of cirques or amphitheatres; they come out of this space by a narrower mouth, and there they rest on the terminal moraine; beneath these are still larger accumulations of débris matter, the brown, weathered, colour of which often is enough to distinguish it from the greyer glacier stuff lately accumulated, though the two are sometimes so mixed up as to be undistinguishable. West of Man the central ridge comes more into view from below; the outer gate-post peaks do not exist; this I connect with the fact of softer, schistose, beds here forming the outer part of the mountain, flanking the granite and granitic gneiss which south of this had formed the whole mass of the range. The outlet valley, which at first runs parallel to this ridge, at a distance of 13 miles from the lake suddenly bends at right angles to the south-west and crosses the line of the ridge, making a great gorge through the gneiss rock. The gorge here is very narrow; on the left bank is a great height of rocky mountain, part of the slope of which is worn and broken into pinnacles; on the right is a huge cliff of gneiss curiously marked on a very large scale by waving streaks of lighter-coloured layers and veins. Four or five miles of this and the valley bends again to the north-west, and leads down to the village of Tānktse. This is where a ravine from the south joins the valley we have traced; this ravine drains another valley which lies, parallel to that of Pāngkong Lake, between the Pāngkong Ridge and the Leh Range; at the head of it is a neck joining the two ranges.

361, 133y Let me now say a few words about the manner in which this country near Pāngkong is inhabited. Considered as a dwelling-place for man, Pāngkong is a grade or two better than Tsomoriri. Along its western shore are small villages, whose inhabitants cultivate the few crops—such as naked barley and peas—that will grow at this height of 14,000 feet. From Takkung, going north-westward, the inhabited places met with are *Kerkfe*, with three houses; *Mirak*, a fair village; *Man*, with six houses; *Spanmik*, with one

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or two houses; and *Lukung*, two or three miles from the north-west corner, with perhaps five houses. On the northern shore of the two long lakes are no houses, but the tent-dwellers, chiefly those who belong to the Chinese territory, frequent certain spots in small numbers. *Tánktse* is a larger village than any of these. There is an open space at the junction of the valleys, part covered by masses of rock either fallen or transported; from out of the space rises a long, isolated, steep-faced rock, crowned with the ruined walls of a fort and monastery. Until the Dogras came to Ladákh the villagers' houses also were built on the rock; but when the place was restored from the ruin that the wars had brought upon it, they were rebuilt on the plain. There is another village or two below in the same valley; then the Tánktse stream bends round to east of north to join the Shāyok, passing through a narrow gorge, which is not only uninhabited, but in summer time is quite impassable. 361 /33ˣ

CHÁNGCHENMO.

Chángchenmo is the name of a long valley, tributary to the Shāyok, which extends nearly east and west for more than 70 miles as the crow flies. The height of its junction with that river must be about 12,000 feet; at the middle of its length it is 15,000 feet high, and from there it rises gradually to a Pass which makes the boundary of the Rudokh district. /33ˣ

It is only in winter that the valley is accessible from the Shāyok. In summer time the approach—from Central Ladákh say—is by Tánktse and Lukung, the little village at the north-west corner of Pángkong Lake. This is the course of the road to Yárkand that of late years has been planned and to some extent followed. Between Lukung and Chángchenmo a Pass (called Mársimik Pass) of over 18,000 feet has to be crossed. In going up the Lukung stream towards it one almost immediately comes to a tract three miles long and one mile wide (about 2¼ square miles in area), covered with irregular mounds of detritus, except where two streams have worn out channels and made narrow flat spaces for themselves; it is a complete instance of an old terminal

I1 Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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133⁵ moraine;* it is composed of blocks, some angular, some half-rounded, and stones, many of them rounded, chiefly of granite and gneiss, but also of white crystalline limestone, sandstone, and shale; there are many very large blocks, one (of gneiss) measured 27 feet by 20 by 9 as seen above the ground, probably there was more than as much again beneath, and there were several others of about the same dimensions. The height of the mounds is often 250 feet above the low parts of the flat where two streams are flowing, and very likely this is the thickness of the moraine-stuff at those places, but the average thickness over the area may be less. This moraine is evidently the deposit of a glacier that occupied not only that valley which still, as the map shows, holds a glacier of a considerable size, but also those branches which extend to the north-east; it very probably rose over the low spur behind Lukung; this is about 250 feet high, and nearly to the summit, quite up to 200 feet above the valley, *on the south side of it*, I observed transported blocks of granite, and the glacier may have entered, and even crossed, the valley of the Pângkong Lake.†

[34.1] [311] [321] The last hamlet in this valley, the last in Ladâkh in this direction, is Phobrang, some five miles above Lukung; it is 14,500 feet above the sea, there are one or two houses, occupied in summer for the sake of the cultivation of some naked barley on the alluvial flat, and deserted in winter for Lukung itself. A little higher up is Chagrâ, 15,000 feet, a place of encampment, at some seasons, of a few families of Chàmpâs. From Chagrâ the road takes to an easterly branch of the valley and rises gradually, with hills on either side rounded in form and stony in surface. Thus we get to the Pass which is a little below the level of the hills on each side, though at some distance they rise nearly 2000 feet higher; they

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[*] A good view of this is obtained from the spur behind the village of Lukung, over which a path goes, an alternative to the valley road.

[†] If the doubtful margin-marks 900 feet above the present lake (as described at p. [illegible] in a note) turn out to be real, I should be inclined to attribute the damming to such a great depth to this glacier, of whose existence and importance we have such good evidence.

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are of a dark-brown colour, in form for the most part rounded; their 133x
whole surface is covered with loose stones, either taluses or else rock disintegrated into angular blocks, remaining as yet unmoved. On the farther side comes a stony valley similar to the one we have just left; down this we continue for a day and a half's march, going sometimes across taluses, sometimes along alluvial terraces, over stony ground, gradually descending till we reach the Chāngchenmo River itself. Here is a valley stretching straight east and west for far, the bottom of it a stony tract with the river flowing through it in many channels. In front of us, on the north side, is a bold line of mountains 5000 or 6000 feet above us, rocky in face, rising to a rugged ridge.

Below this spot where we first reach it (called both Pāmzāl and Tsolū) I have not followed the Chāngchenmo Valley; I believe it in that part to be a rapid stream flowing between narrowing rocky mountains. Above, the valley is partly occupied by the wide gravelly river-bed and partly by alluvial terraces, all stony and bare; the hills that bound this vary much in height and steepness, some are smooth-sided and comparatively low, others both lofty and steep. A branch from the main valley leads to the north, up to the plateaus that will be described in the next chapter;
it contains a stream of as great volume as the other. Gogrā is a [485]
place where a rest-house has been built a few miles up that valley, soon above which it divides into Kugrāng, the westerly branch, and Chonglung, the north-easterly.

The places where the three requisites for travellers in these [372]
regions occur together, namely, water, grass, and fuel, are found
several miles apart. One is Pāmzāl, already mentioned; here is 221
some pasture, and, close by, a great supply of fuel in the bushy 311
growth of myricaria (umbū) and of tamarisk on the alluvium. 133x
Then there is a stretch of over 12 miles before any more vegetation is met with. Then at Kyam, where some hot springs come out, there is a spread of grass extending some way up the valley, and there is brushwood also, and farther up, to the very head, there is grass to be found in places. Again, at Gogrā, in the side valley,

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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221 there is fuel and a little pasture. Thus scattered and scant is the
311 vegetation; excepting these far-between patches the whole surface
133x is a waste of rock or stone. Still the vegetation, scarce though it be, is enough to help on the traveller, and even to support the following of one or two families of tent-dwellers who pass a portion of the year in Chāngchenmo.

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CHAPTER XV.

LADĀKH: THE PLATEAUS.

THEIR SOUTHERN WATERSHED — LINGZHĪTHANG — THE LOKZHUNG MOUNTAINS—THE KUENLUN PLAINS — GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

/33x

THOUGH Rupshu, taken as a whole, may be called a table-land, its valleys being 15,000 and its mountains 20,000 feet above the sea, yet the valleys themselves I have preferred to call "high-level valleys" rather than plateaus, thinking the former phrase more likely to convey to the mind a true notion of their form. Now, however, we come to certain tracts to which the words "plateau" and "table-land" may fairly be applied. They are not, indeed, of that complete table form which consists in a mass of high land descending at once on all sides; here, as in every case I have met with in the Himalayas, the lofty flat is surrounded by yet loftier mountains, the plateau is edged by ranges, or by a ring, of mountains. Still, in the cases we are coming to, as contrasted with Rupshu, the width of the flat is very great, the height of the bounding mountains bears to it a much smaller ratio.

Between the country which drains into the Shāyok and that whose streams flow into the Kārakāsh or into other rivers of Eastern Turkistān, is an elevated mass of ground—plains surrounded and crossed by rocky ridges—whence water finds no outlet, but dries up on the plains themselves. The level of these elevated plains or plateaus is 16,000 and 17,000 feet; the area of the isolated drainage-basin (as near as can be estimated from the explorations hitherto made) is no less than 7000 square miles, the space being 100 miles long from north to south, with an average width from east to west of 70 miles.

Our knowledge of this tract is but scant, and of a portion of it only conjectural. It is truly a part, "where mortal foot hath

133x ne'er or rarely been." The first European to cross it was one who did not return to describe it. In the year 1857 Adolphe Schlagintweit, in company with Muhammad Amīn, an Arghaun, of Yārkand, went from the Chāngchenmo Valley across these plateaus to Yārkand. Thence Schlagintweit went on to Kāshgar, where he was killed (in August 1857) by Wallī Muhammad, the then ruler, who himself later met his death from Y'aqūb Beg, the present Amīr. The first written account of the tract is that taken from the mouth of Muhammad Amīn, the guide, and given in the 'Punjāb Trade Report, 1862,' in the form of an itinerary. The next European who crossed it was Mr. W. H. Johnson, who at the time was on the staff of the G. T. Survey.* In the year 1865 this bold and enduring traveller took advantage of an invitation from the agent of the ruler of Khutan to visit that city, and on his way to it he followed the route, as far as the foot of the Kuenlun, which Schlagintweit and Muhammad Amīn had taken. Mr. Johnson, the first (and as yet the last) European who in later times has reached the city of Khutan,† has given us, besides details of the way, an account of the country he visited as it was during the short period of its history between the break-up of the Chinese power in Eastern Turkistān and the establishment of that of Y'aqūb Beg.‡ But we are here more concerned with the intermediate highlands, of which a map constructed by Mr. Johnson has been published by the G. T. Survey. This necessarily has not the same degree of detail as the maps published by them of tracts which have been regularly surveyed, for it was made on a hurried journey over ground where to halt was to starve; still, for the opportunities, it includes a large amount of information, and it has been the foundation of every map of that region constructed since.§ A few years afterwards, Mr. Hayward,

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* Mr. Johnson, shortly after his return from this journey, left the Survey and took service with the Maharaja of Kashmir. He succeeded me as Governor of Ladākh, and holds that post at the present time (1874).

† The Schlagintweits, on a journey previous to that last of Adolphe S., had gone across the Kuenlun to Reshia, a place 100 miles south of the capital.

‡ Journal Royal Geographical Society, vol. xxxvii., 1867.

§ The map, as published in Calcutta by the G. T. Survey, is the eight miles to an inch Photozincograph. It includes much of other portions of Ladākh that is

Mr. Shaw, and Dr. Cayley went separately over the plateaus, 133x the last to explore for a trade-route, the other two on their adventurous journey to Yārkand. In the next year, 1869, I myself went across the plateaus to the eastern branch of the Kārakāsh River, following partly in Mr. Johnson's and partly in Dr. Cayley's footsteps, and in this journey made the observations which I shall now put down. In 1870 Mr. Forsyth's party, on the first mission to Yārkand, went over the plains; they returned by a new route on the west.* Then, in 1873, one party attached to the second Yārkand mission took the old route, but as yet no detailed news of their doings have been made public.

In the regions through which the reader has hitherto followed 485 me—in the high-level valleys, among the bare mountains, of Rupshu—no great difficulty in providing supplies and means of carriage presents itself to the traveller. The inhabitants of Rupshu, though few, are enough in number to attend to the wants of those who pass through their ground, and their cattle do all that is wanted for the carrying of baggage. Bare as that country is when looked at as a whole, yet, with very few exceptions, there are to be found, at distances which are practicable for a day's march, water, some amount of pasture for the baggage animals, and fuel, either [372] furze or *burtse*, or sometimes (as at one or two of the halting-places in the Indus Valley) the dung of the kyang, or wild ass. But now, in going beyond the basin of the Indus, especially in traversing the high plains with their enclosed drainage-area, one is put to straits to provide carriage for the necessaries of one's camp, and to procure food for the beasts of burden themselves. For at some stages fuel is wanting, at others grass, at others water even. Hence

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reduced from the regular Survey, and also some tentative representation of a tract which was afterwards explored by Mr. Hayward, who corrected certain portions. I refer particularly to the valley of the southern branch of the Kārakāsh River, which Hayward, proving it to be the main stream, traced to its source on the south-west of our tract. Mr. Johnson had, however, discerned the connection of this valley with the Kārakāsh drainage, as the following words quoted from his account in the Journal of the Geographical Society will show: "On the west of the plateaus there are no plains, but a series of deep valleys, which are the sources of one of the principal affluents of the Kārakāsh R."

* An account of this journey is given by Dr. Henderson in his 'Lahore to Yārkand.'

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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485 special arrangements are necessary to accomplish the journey; and even with these some loss of baggage animals may be expected.

[361] Tānktse is the place whence a start should be made; it is the last large village, and contains a Government store-house, and is the head-quarters of a *kārdār*, or manager, under the Governor of 492 Ladākh. The smaller one's camp, the lighter the baggage, the more likely is one to get comfortably through the journey. With half-a-dozen men of my own, and an equal number of people from the Tānktse and Pāngkong region, we took for our luggage and supplies eleven yāks and five ponies, and brought back, after a month's marching, six yāks and four ponies. This and other experience shows that ponies are far better for the work than yāks; for ponies can carry, besides a light load of baggage for their master, barley for themselves, which yāks, not being used to eating it, will not be able to live on; ponies also do the day's march quicker than the yāk, and therefore have so much the more time to graze on the scanty, thin, pasture that here and there is found. My own journey was the more trying for the animals in that, after passing through the most desert part to where the valleys begin to decline to Turkistān and to become less bare of vegetation, they had to return over the same desert, without recruiting themselves in the lower pastures.

133x
485 From Tānktse, or Pāngkong, the road leads one over ground that was described in the last chapter to the Chāngchenmo Valley. This it leaves by the valley in which is situated Gogrā, which is the last place where water, grass, and fuel are all to be found in plenty. I shall not trouble the reader to follow me through each day's march as I made it, but shall rather try to give him an idea of the character of the country such as I myself derived from observing it in the outward and homeward journeys, with the help, I must add, of Mr. Johnson's map. A list of the marches will be found in Appendix IV., Route 27.

The Southern Watershed.

133x The southern watershed of the plateaus lies to the north of the eastern portion of the Chāngchenmo Valley, and is continued

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eastwards beyond the head of it. The ravines that lead up from that valley to the watershed are in their lower parts bounded by steep, more or less rocky, hills; as we get to the sources of them, they rise with a more gentle inclination, and their sides become more smooth. The ridge which here makes the watershed is a line of rounded hill, of a height of from 19,500 to 20,000 feet. The Passes over it are not cut deep; the one that we crossed, as I found by means of the Boiling Point thermometer, which gave 178·9° as the temperature of boiling water, was 19,500 feet, this being but a hundred or two feet below the general level of the ridge; one or two other Passes are somewhat lower. Even at that high level the Pass was free from snow; there were some snow-beds near, but these were not permanent ones. The difference in the character of the form of the ground on the two sides of the Pass was very striking. On the north side there were low hills of rounded form, down-like; to the south the summits were no higher than these, and the rocks were the same, but, the ground being cut into deeply by steep ravines, it had the ruggedness, and the degree of elevation above the immediate valleys, which give the more usual mountainous character. The rock here is not a hard one; it is shale, with interstratifications of sandstone, the strata of which are continually undulating. This rock was disintegrated so as to make a comparatively smooth dark-brown surface, either altogether of loose stones or of stones and mud intermingled, or sometimes with the two arranged, by the melting and sliding snow, in alternate lines on the slopes. All is completely bare of vegetation.

Over the watershed, for some miles to the north, extend these hills, rounded at top, and gently sloping to the valleys, not deep, which lead away northwards. These valleys, may be 500 feet, may be 1000 feet, below the summits, are sometimes dry; but those which reach far back have small streams flowing in them, which unite into one that flows away to the eastward, and, it is believed, empties its waters into a saline lake, where they evaporate.

From the watershed ridge northwards for 15 or 20 miles extend

133+ these hills, varied by some ridges more rocky. Then, near the place marked Burchathang (or Burtse-thang), begins ground of another kind. On rising to the summit of the last low ridge, we suddenly acquire a wide view over an immense plain, which begins a few hundred feet below us, and extends without a break, in front, from south to north, for 16 or more miles, and from right to left for a distance that must be 50 or 60 miles. This plain has of late years been called by the Ladákhis *Lingzhithang*, and the name has been adopted by other travellers, and may well be continued. It is the southern division of the plateaus which lie between the ridge north of Chângchenmo (the watershed we have just been looking at) and the Kuenlun Mountains. For the northern division, which we shall come to later, separated from this by ridges of hill (which I call the "Lokzhung Mountains"), I propose the name "*Kuenlun Plains.*" These reach to the very foot of the Kuenlun Range; they consist not of one wide open plain, but of a plain a good deal divided, though not absolutely separated, into tracts by long branch ridges. These three, Lingzhithang, the Lokzhung Mountains, and the Kuenlun Plains, we will now successively examine.

LINGZHITHANG.

The lateral dimensions of this plain were given above. Its elevation, as near as I could calculate from two sets of Boiling Point observations which were taken from Pângkong as a datum, is 17,300 feet on the southern side, and 17,100 feet on the northern. There is a very gradual slope from south to north, or from south-west to north-east, one imperceptible to the eye, but marked by the course of the streams.[*] Besides this general slope there are minor variations of level; these, however, do not (as far as I saw) exceed 20 feet; the plain, therefore, is wonderfully even. In character it is bare and earthy; in colour it is brown and white in alternate spaces, according as the whitish clay which is the

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[*] The title of a photograph given in Henderson's 'Lahore to Yárkand' is written "Camp at Linze Thang 15,500 feet above the sea." This is clearly a slip, for in the text 17,300 is the height given.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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foundation soil of the whole is exposed on the surface or is strewn /33Y over or covered with stones. It is indeed "a weary waste, expanding to the skies."

If, from upon this plain, we survey the mountains around, we see that on the south, the side we have come from, it is bounded by low-sloping hills. On the west come bolder hills and even snowy peaks; in these there is a gap, to follow which would lead one down to the river Shāyok. All along the north of the plain is the range of the Lokzhung Mountains, whose direction is west-north-west and east-south-east; this begins on the west with two peaks between 20,000 and 21,000 feet, and continues at from 18,000 to 19,000 feet, a range of irregular hills, steep, rocky, and peaked. To the east-south-east the plain at first seems boundless, but again, from some points, summits of mountains become visible, which probably belong to an enclosing ridge.

The climate of this high plain is one of almost daily extremes. /33Y
The sun may rise in a clear sky, and, as it climbs, warm the /32
ground with a speed proportioned to the thinness of the air that the rays have to pass through, increasing its warmth till two or three hours past noon; the air being still, the lowermost layer of it becomes somewhat raised in temperature, but the traveller feels chiefly the double effect of the direct rays and the radiation from below, and he labours over the desert plain oppressed by the heat. When the sun has declined but half-way to the horizon, there springs up a wind from the south-west or west-south-west, a keen and searching wind, that quickly makes one suffer from cold more than before one did from the heat. So it continues till nightfall, then gradually the wind dies away; in the still night the ground loses its heat, and a severe frost occurs by morning. On the 26th August 12°, and on the 11th September 10° Fahr. were the temperatures recorded by my minimum thermometer. This, I think, is the usual course in summer time, but, exceptionally, cloud, or a storm of wind, comes on that tends to lower the day and perhaps to raise the night temperature. One cannot tell to what depth snow falls on this plain in winter; I have never heard of anyone having traversed it at that season,

132 but I saw it white with snow on the 12th September; the whole
133x plain was covered with snow, while of the bounding mountains the lower slopes were of the brown colour of their own rocks, their summits only being whitened by the fresh fall; but at that time of year such a fall would be sure to melt. The winter's snow certainly stays on the hills till summer is well on. The streams which the melting snow supplies are apt to dry up by the middle of August; in crossing the plain at that time, and again in September, I found but a few pools of water in one of the chief stream-courses; of these one was brackish and one fresh. One day I was on the look out, as the goal of the day's march, for the salt lake marked in Mr. Johnson's map. Several times a mirage deceived us by imitating a lake; at last we reached the very spot where it was marked to be, and there found but the bed of the lately-dried-up lake. The lake seemed to have been three miles across, but very shallow; doubtless it fills in the early summer, receiving the drainage of some of the southern and of the western portion of the plain. By evaporation it becomes saline, and as the season advances dries up altogether. This wide plain, dry and bare, and exposed at noonday to rays of the sun untempered by thick air, is well calculated to produce mirage, which depends on the differing temperatures (and therefore differing densities) of different horizontal layers of air. The first time I crossed it, a striking and somewhat puzzling mirage prevailed. Eastwards the plain seemed to end in a boundless ocean, in which were strange-shaped islands, some bearing masses of snow; the inverted image of them was reflected from below, and a repetition of the double image beneath that. As one stoops low to the ground the ocean seems to ripple to but a hundred yards from one; sometimes the appearance of water was very distinct to us as we were seated, but disappeared on our rising. From other points the mirage made the plain look like a beautiful lake with steep banks, backed by high snowy mountains.

133x The area of the plain itself and of the inner slope of the surrounding mountains makes an isolated basin of drainage.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans AJ4

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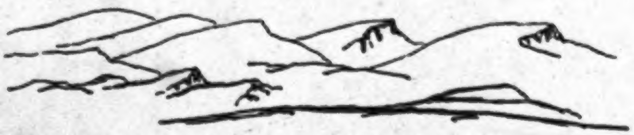
In the western part the waters flow towards the temporary lake above mentioned, some very probably drying up on the way to it; in the eastern part they go to the larger lake marked on the map, which has, I believe, been viewed from a distance by some member of the G. T. Survey. The isolation of the basin was the last considerable change that occurred; that a lake, whether of enclosed drainage or communicating with the sea, existed for a great length of time, is proved by the composition of the ground; the whole soil that covers the flat *has been deposited in a lake.* Mr. Johnson on his journey recognized the fact that the plain had been a large lake, and a close examination of the substance of the ground clearly proves it, as will now be seen. The small differences of level that have been spoken of resolve themselves, speaking generally, into a higher tract and a lower, with 20 feet, or less than that, of difference between them; there is also an unevenness of the higher plateau, made by watercourses having been cut through it as the surface-water drained down to the lower tract. This is extremely like what we saw in the Salt Lake plain of Rupshu; but there is a yet more important resemblance in the substance of the plateau. Small cliffs at the edge of it, or the minor ravines cut into it, show that below, as at the surface, there is a whitish or a drab clay; some of this is a massive clay, some of it is laminated; some of it is calcareous. Interstratified with the clay is sand, some so fine as to be impalpable. Again, there are laminæ of flat water-plants, and in places a mass of these plants some inches in thickness, with earth intermixed. These phenomena, repeated whenever one gets an opportunity of seeing into the substance of the plateau, leave no doubt in my mind that the strata were deposited in a still lake. The sections only enable us to say this of 20 feet in thickness of the material; how much deeper the lake deposits exist—to what extent the levelling of this wide flat surface is due to a filling up by such deposits—we have at present no means of ascertaining. The lower tract has stones on its surface from a quarter of an inch to three inches across, most of them angular or nearly so, some rounded, of limestone or of sandstone. That, in part at all events, this lower tract has been denuded out of the higher plateau, is proved by an outlier of the clay and plant-beds left in the lower space at a considerable distance from the rest. It is probable that the lower plain was cut out both by the water of the lake, acting at its margin, when it had already much diminished and had become localized in the lowest parts, and later by streams, which widened their way by denuding laterally. At one part, over a considerable space, was a curious result of the denudation of the substance of the plateau—a strange form of the portions of the clay which were left; this I saw four or five miles south and south-west of Tsothang, over a tract of some square miles. The rough sketch shows the form in question. There are mounds of a peculiar shape, with a steep and a sloping side, the steep face always looking in one direction, which is 15° south of west. The mounds are from two to twelve feet above the hollows between them. I have been much puzzled to account for these forms; their direction is most probably to be connected with the direction of the prevailing strong winds with which it about coincides; one feels inclined to speculate on the possibility of the wind itself, by drifting fine sand, to act on a surface already made irregular by stream-denudation, having carved them thus.

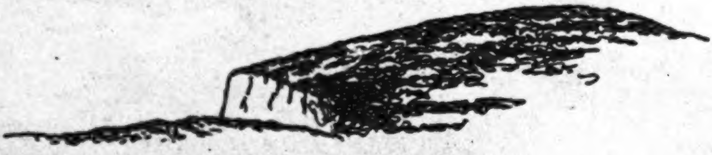


OUTLINES OF MOUNDS OF LACUSTRINE CLAY FROM TWO TO TWELVE FEET HIGH, IN LINGZHĪTHANG.

The lacustrine deposits hitherto described are clearly those of the deeper water of the former lake; we will now go to the edge of the plain to see if any marginal traces of the water of it can be found. Approaching the irregular Lokzhung Range, we see that the light-coloured flat of hard clay

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

ends off with a marked boundary against ground sloping slightly upwards; the slope is at an angle of about 2°. At first the soil of this incline is clay, with stones strewn over it; farther up is sand, more or less in lines; and farther up still the substance was all sandy or shingly, with slight ridges in it; these are clearly the littoral deposits of our lake. Then as we go up still higher, and especially as we examine the ground on the north-west of Tsothang, we meet with complete beaches, parallel curved shingle-banks; some of the shingle was cemented by carbonate of lime dissolved from the stones themselves, which are of limestone. Beaches of this ordinary kind are seen up to 150 feet above the flat plain; at a higher level still there are deposits the mode of whose occurrence will be understood from the next diagram. There is a line of rocky cliff between 50 and 100 feet high; at the foot of it are distinct beaches; above it is a mass of rounded stones, forming the top of the hill, which may be as much as 300 feet above the plain at Tsothang. We have, therefore, in the intermediate or lower beaches, evidence of the lake having at one time had its shore along the edge of these Lokzhung Mountains; in the upper masses of shingle, evidence of a still higher water-level. Of this we will try to understand the full bearing as we go farther on and become acquainted with the form of the ground in the Lokzhung Range and beyond. Hitherto we have looked only on the north side of Lingzhithang for shore-marks, but we must not forget to trace them, if possible, on the south. Both times that I came to the southern edge—going and returning—I was under disadvantages;



SHINGLE-BEACHES AT THE FOOT OF A CLIFF AND A MASS OF SHINGLE ABOVE IT. EDGE OF LINGZHĪTHANG.

133x the first time night was falling, and it was impossible to make any examination; the second, a storm of wind and snow came on which much hindered it. This, however, I saw; that the ridge, of a height of about 300 feet, which the path crosses as one approaches Lingzhĭthang from the south, has at its upper part a conglomerate of stones of the two kinds of limestone that occur near; the conglomerate is in beds which slope northwards 35° or 40°. It reaches also on to the northern side of the ridge.

Leaving for the present further discussion as to the history of the lake, we will go to the next division of the region, and afterwards return to the subject.

THE LOKZHUNG MOUNTAINS.

These are a complex range of mountains running in a west-north-west and east-south-east direction from the western to the eastern bounding-ridge of the Plateaus. Its length is 60 miles, its width from 15 to 20 miles. It is a region of rocky hills with flat dry stony valleys between them. The map but partly expresses the character of this range; it would require a more detailed survey than has been made for their complications to be represented. It is not one range with branching spurs, but it may be spoken of as a tract occupied by parallel hill-ranges (running from west-north-west to east-south-east) of various outline, according to the kind of rock each is composed of; these ranges are broken or cut through by valleys which lead from the southernmost edge of the hill-tract towards the north-east; the breaks in the different ranges are not opposite to each other but are in échelon, so that each valley zigzags, now flowing south-east between two ranges, now breaking through one to the north-east, again turning south-east, and ultimately leading out to the Kuenlun Plains.

I have put in a sketch of one of the widest of the stony valleys among the Lokzhung Mountains; it leads up to the western range, in which is a conspicuous peak of 21,000 feet, a peak too steep to bear snow, except a little in the saddle-like hollow.

None of the valleys drain out to Lingzhĭthang; the rounded

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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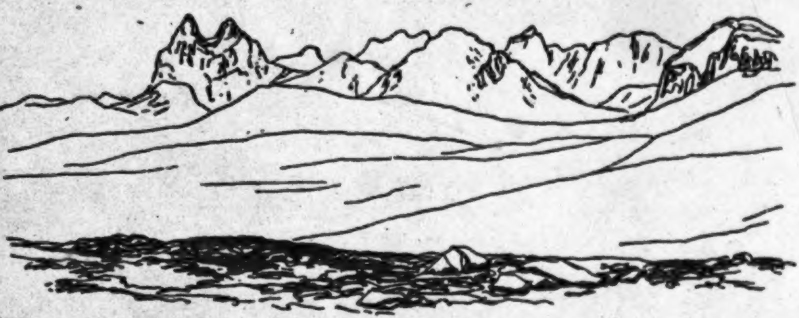
ridge which is about 300 feet above that place, that bears coarse shingle on the top, makes the watershed between Lingzithang and the Kuenlun Plains; for this is continuous, while the higher, the rocky, ridges behind it are broken through. /33 x

I said that the different ridges vary in character according to the rock they are composed of. There is an older encrinitic limestone, dark grey in colour, which usually is dipping high; this makes hills not the most rugged. Ferruginous sandstone, and above that a limestone that contains hippurites, lie unconformably on the older limestone; these sometimes make isolated hills of various forms, sometimes, with a high dip of the strata, make a rugged serrated ridge. Some portion of this newer formation gives, in the weathering, a reddish-brown surface; other portions, of a light-coloured limestone or crystalline marble, make conspicuous white rocks.



A WIDE VALLEY IN THE LOKZHUNG RANGE.

The path traverses this range from Tsothang to Thaldat; it takes two days' march in and out among the mountains to go through them. The road does not follow one valley, but passes from one to another by crossing low necks. More than one of these necks which I crossed were accumulations of rounded material—coarse shingle—like what composes the summit of the rounded ridge behind Tsothang. From one of these was a fall of 100 feet on one side and 200 feet on the other, but it is not certain that the whole mass was made of shingle; it may be that there was rock within.

THE KUENLUN PLAINS.

133x This, as was said above, is the name I give to that part of these uplands which lies between the Lokzhung and the Kuenlun Mountains.

The place called Thaldat is on the north-eastern edge of the Lokzhung Hills; the ground slopes gently down from it, for 200 feet of fall, to the flat of the Kuenlun Plains. To the south-east the boundary of the Plains is not seen, except that from a commanding position we may get sight of the summits of some distant snowy mountains. The mountains which bound the Plains on the north are both massive and lofty snow-topped hills, part of the great Kuenlun Range. From the different mountain ranges long-extending but not lofty spurs project, separating the various parts of the irregularly-shaped area of the Plains.

The level of the Plains is 16,000 feet above the sea, that is 1000 feet below Lingzhīthang. The surface is sometimes of hard clay, sometimes of a softer mixture, half sand, half clay. The variations of level are greater than any we met with in Lingzhīthang; from one upper plateau there is a fall of 60 feet to a lower watercourse plain, and numerous small ravines, cutting through nearly to that depth, make very irregular ground. Partly from these ups and downs and partly from the yielding character of the dry loamy earth (which certainly increased the labour of walking by one-half), we found the way very laborious; for here also, one must recollect, any increased exertion immediately makes the rarity of the air to be felt. The upper plateau is in parts covered with fragments of a brown calcareous cake, an inch or less in thickness—biscuit would be the more descriptive word. At the lower levels there are shallow saline lakes here and there. The flats of greatest extent are those to the north-east and east from Thaldat; from these many ramifications extend; a branch runs up between spurs (by the place called Yangpâ) to the Kuenlun, with a width of some five miles; this again branches to the west and opens out into that most saline portion of all (which we shall examine later) between Patsalung and Londing. At the head of some of these branches, the plain, narrowing, changes into a slightly sloping alluvium of streams that come down from the Kuenlun Mountains; higher up this changes into steeper-sloped alluvial deposits in among the spurs of those mountains. These are part of the foremost ridge of the Kuenlun; it is a bold dark line some 4000 feet above the plain; behind it is the lofty snowy range that reaches to close on 22,000 feet. On the southern face of the highest ridge the easternmost branch of the Kārakāsh River has its source.* The drainage of the Plains does not communicate with that river; there is a barrier which we shall presently look at. The Eastern Kārakāsh, at its nearest point, flows in a valley between the north-west corner of the Plains and the foot of the great mountains; here it is 15,000 feet above the sea, 1000 feet below the plain-level; there is a steep descent to it in a narrow side ravine. The Eastern Kārakāsh Valley is here a few hundred yards in width; it slopes down to the west-north-west at an angle of about 3°. On the north it is bounded immediately by the main Kuenlun chain; on the south by spurs from a more southerly, nearly parallel, line of mountains. These southern mountains are of slate and shale, and the same rock extends some way up the slope of the Kuenlun opposite; but at this part the ridge itself of the Kuenlun, and farther east the whole height of the slope, are of granite; the road on its descent from the Plains to the Eastern Kārakāsh Valley is about on the junction-line of the two rocks. The Kuenlun Mountains make a continuous ridge, with some higher peaks covered with permanent consolidated snow-beds; these tower 6000 or 7000 feet above the valley; just north of the high peak at the corner, a glacier, pure white, comes down in a hollow to a level some 3000 feet lower than that of the ridge. All is, as usual, bare; above are surfaces steep but not precipitous, below are taluses and other stony accumulations; down the valley rocky spur after spur from both sides comes forward until the

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* Mr. Hayward in his explorations found that this was not the longest branch of the Kārakāsh; although, therefore, travellers, Eastern and European, had called it by that name, the branch which Hayward discovered has now come to bear the name Kārakāsh; the first I shall distinguish as the Eastern Kārakāsh.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

133x curving of the northern ridge with its high mountains shuts in the view.

Having thus considered the general form of the ground as far as I myself have seen it in this direction—for, after going a few miles down this Eastern Kārakāsh Valley, I turned back towards Ladākh—we will return to the Kuenlun Plains and examine them with the same attention that we gave to Lingzhīthang.

I have explained that the various parts of the flat communicate with each other, for they are separated only by ramifying, not by interlacing, hills. The substance of this flat consists of interstratifications of white or drab clay with sand and some calcareo-argillaceous flakes—such as we saw on the surface broken up in a biscuit form. This is quite parallel to what we found in Lingzhīthang; it is clearly the deeper deposit of a lake; the biscuit-stone frequently, or generally, has impressions of plant-stems, and we sometimes find the same in layers in the clay. We conclude then that the small lakes scattered over are but the remnants of one that covered all the flat. To continue the same kind of investigation, we will now look along the foot of the lines of hill, at the edge of the flat, for those marginal evidences of a lake that our eyes or minds have now become accustomed to. At various places we see these as clearly as could possibly be desired. About Thaldat, though there is no beach proper, there is found a sloping littoral deposit of clay with small angular stones. Some fifteen miles north-north-east from Thaldat (at the farther side of that stretch of flat), when about a mile short of the hills, we reached again to the littoral deposit of the old lake—clay, with small stones, unrounded and half-rounded, within it. Then, right at the foot of those hills, we came on lines of shingle-beach, of unrounded and slightly-rounded stones, at successive levels up to 80 or 100 feet above the plain; these beaches stretched from spur to spur of the hill, sometimes connecting two headlands as by an isthmus of shingle, with a hollow left between it and the line of the hill. At the extreme point of this branch of mountains a high bank of beach connects it with an isolated hill beyond; again, at the north side of the

1: Drew G-3 (1869-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir

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branch, was a great accumulation of shingle, extending both in length and width towards the flat, first in ridges and afterwards in a flatter form, constituting a subaqueous littoral deposit, some of which has been cemented hard by carbonate of lime.

Now again come the questions—what made the lake? where would have been the outlet? is there any sign of a dam?

In trying to obtain facts in answer to these questions I wished for means of getting more accurate levels than I was able to obtain; I wanted both appliances for this and time for using them. But as far as I could judge by eye and by Boiling Point observations, the outlet of all this branching flat was once to the Eastern Kárakásh Valley.* Further, I saw that the cause of the stoppage of this outlet, the dam which made the lake—the lake, I take it, which covered all the flat—also existed here. It is possible that at different times the dam may have been at different spots, and even may have been of different kinds. If, as is possible, the lake existed during part of the glacial period, then a glacier itself, with its moraines—perhaps a glacier occupying the head of the Eastern Kárakásh Valley—may have formed the dam. However that may have been, there is now, at the spot we are speaking of (four or five miles in a direction 30° east of south from Brangsa encampment on the Eastern Kárakásh), a neck between the Eastern Kárakásh drainage and that of the basin of the Kuenlun Plains; this neck is made by two alluvial fans, from opposite sides of the outlet valley, coming down and meeting. I do not say that this particular fan-made neck is high enough to account for the highest of our beaches, but I both believe that it acted as a dam at some stage of the lake's existence, and also that here or within a short distance existed each and all of the barriers of the lake on this side.

We have now come to a corner of the Plains which I have not specially described, but it shows some points of peculiar interest. From the fans that make the neck, southward for more than

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* Mr. Johnson had inferred that the outlet of the Soda plain (which is the nearest branch of these plains to the spot in question) had been into the Eastern Kárakásh River.

20 miles, is a comparatively narrow flat (from one to three miles in width) which communicates on the south-east with the wider plain. We descend into this from the neck, and at once come on lake-deposits. We see flaky clay, the deposit of still water, and upon this we see parallel curves of beach reaching across the valley, which in succession shut off the end of the lake (at its different stages of level) in that northerly direction; the lake at one time extended beyond them, and deposited some clay-beds, and later, on a recession, caused by a lowering by drying, of the waters, the beaches were formed in tiers upon it. Side valleys that join in on the west were once arms of the lake; the marginal indications extend for some distance up them; but of one that I saw the mouth had been closed by a bank of shingle that had formed right across it. Where one of these valleys comes in the old high margin of the lake is beautifully shown out by the beaches; these consist of flat stones, with their edges rounded; angular pieces have lately fallen from the cliff, but to distinguish them from the shingle matter is not difficult; the beaches are at various levels, up to 200 feet above the lowest part of the valley near. Here the downward succession of deposit is shown with great completeness; in the uppermost 120 feet, there are steep slopes of beach; below are flatter, shelving, beaches; lower still the ground is nearly flat, composed of dry mud and stones; again lower is a flat all of dry clay. The level of this hardened clay-bed of the lake is of course below that of the neck made by the two fans, but I think that the level of the highest beach is above it. This neck then, considered as a dam, would not account for the highest rise of the waters; as before said, other dams—of ice or moraine—probably came into action near the same spot. At this part of the Plains we are, I believe, in the lowest portion of the whole basin. Being nearest the original outlet of the valley that preceded the lake, it would naturally have the lowest level, unless disproportionately raised by the lake deposits. I believe that on the waters lessening by evaporation they receded into this corner, and for long occupied this space in a narrow lake, during which time a concentration,

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and ultimately a precipitation, of the saline materials they contained and were being supplied with, were going on. For this tract is the one of all where there is the greatest deposit of salts. At other parts, indeed, there had been seen a thin cake, or else an efflorescence, of salts, sometimes of carbonate of soda and sometimes of sulphate of magnesia. But here, over many square miles, is a thick bed of salt which I believe to be chiefly sulphate of magnesia. There are three or four forms in which this occurs; first mixed with sand to a depth of many inches, but with a thin cake of unmixed saline matter at the surface; as one passes over this, the foot, crackling through the cake at top, sinks deep in the soft saline sand; secondly, a powdery form of the white salts, this being probably a changed state of the material to be mentioned next; lastly, a hard crystalline colourless cake of the salt; to what depth this may reach I do not know, but as much as 10 feet of thickness have I seen. The surface of this cake is often irregular, in hard rough narrow ridges, two or three feet high, of the consolidated salt, with the soft powdery salt, or the mixture of earth and salt, between them *; these may have been forced up by the frost at the margin of the lake, in the same way as the frost-margins are made which we saw by Pangkong Lake; for I observed such a line of ridge along the edge of one of the present pools of water.

The water of the small lake now remaining, though very saline, yet was frozen when I saw it on the morning of the 6th September; for the cold had even then begun to be intense. Where the flat widens out, and connects eastward with the rest of the Plains, its surface bears much less of the salts.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

We have now considered these uplands in their separate divisions of the two plains and the dividing mountains. There are yet some observations to be made which will refer more generally to the whole tract.

First we will recapitulate the facts which have been more or

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* It will be understood that I am not speaking of common salt, but of the same compound as before.

[illegible], of the Plains of Ladakh, -- Rupshu?]

less detailed as to the form of the ground. A nearly but not quite complete barrier of mountains encloses the two table-lands, one 16,000 feet the other 17,000 feet high, which are themselves separated from one another by the Lokzhung Range. Of what is outside this mountain barrier we do not know equally well for all the sides. On the north Mr. Johnson has shown how the ridges and the valleys lessen in height till the plains of Khutan are reached. On the west Mr. Hayward found that the mountain-ridge is succeeded by the main Kárakásh Valley, and that again by the high ground, partly mountains, partly table-land, that extends towards the Kárakoram and Suket Passes.* On the south is the mass of rounded hills which we dwelt on in the beginning of this chapter. There remains the eastern side. Here the ground has never been at all explored, nor even reached, by any European, nor, till some distance beyond, by anyone from whom information could be got. I believe there to be a bounding ridge of mountains on the east as there is on the west. Beyond that, I heard from the mouth of a Ladákhi who took the route from Rudokh to Khutan, there is a long valley somewhat corresponding to the Kárakásh Valley on the west.†

So much for the form of the ground. Next, a last word on the formation of the lake or lakes, for now that we have acquired a general idea of the ground we shall be able better to judge of the weight of the various facts, bearing on this subject, that were recorded. At the north-west corner we found an opening for former drainage, between the Kuenlun Mountains and spurs from the western ridge; this opening is now, to a certain extent, closed by alluvial accumulations, and was formerly in all probability obstructed to a still greater—perhaps to a much greater—height, either by similar deposits or by glaciers and moraines, glaciers at that time being more numerous and larger than now. At the extreme south-west corner I have been informed by Mr. Shaw (from his own observations and on the authority of Mr. Reynolds of the

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* Dr. Cayley explored some of this ground and found a route which in some respects is one of the best to follow in going from Ladákh to Yárkand.

† My informant told me that to traverse this route from Rudokh to Khutan takes about eighteen or twenty days.

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Survey) that streams which flow down to the Shāyok interramify with those that flow into Lingzhīthang, that the watershed between is quite unmarked.* That here, too, or else somewhat lower down, existed a dam, in nature similar to the one observed or to those inferred, for the other end, I have but little doubt. Now, on the theory that the lake or lakes were dammed at these two points, we must allow the dams to have had a height at least equal to the highest beach or margin-mark. Some of the highest of the shingle observed is by the Lokzhung Mountains, *between* the Lingzhīthang and Kuenlun Plains; indeed we saw that the watershed between these two drainage-basins (as they are at present) is made by a ridge of a height of about 17,300 feet (300 feet above Lingzhīthang), *which bears or is made of shingle at its summit.* I can then but infer that at one time, when the two dams locked the waters to a great depth, there was *one lake* stretching from near the Chāngchenmo Watershed to the Kuenlun Mountains, which made, over what is now Lingzhīthang, a wide sea, 60 miles by 20, which reached through straits among the various ridges of which the Lokzhung Mountains are composed, and which spread northward over what are now the Kuenlun Plains, penetrating far between the mountain spurs to the very base of the Kuenlun Mountains. At this stage there was *no watershed* between the Indian and the Turkistān drainage; or if there were one it could only have been the higher of the two dams that confined the lake; it is possible that each dam alternately became the watershed, the waters of the lake sometimes going one way, sometimes another; and it is just possible that at some period the waters simultaneously flowed out both ways. The sinking of the surface of the water may have first begun by a lowering of one of the dams, but must at the last have been due to a change of climate, the present ratio of supply to evaporation of water not now availing, while formerly it must have availed, to spread the waters over the enclosed drainage-basins. At a stage in the sinking of the water the one lake must have become two. The waters 133x

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* This is not so expressed on the map; I had no material from which it could be drawn.

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133x themselves, by their currents and their shore-action, had accumulated deposits along the line of the Lokzhung Mountains, which, on their retreating, became bars separating the two watery tracts, and have since become the watershed between the two enclosed drainage-areas.

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137 There is another subject—the extent to which this region can support animal or vegetable life—about which the little I have to say may be worth telling, since the place is so seldom visited. In the description hitherto little has been spoken of but earth and stones and rocks; but in this I have been guilty of hardly any omission, so few are the traces of either animal or vegetable life. Vegetation exists but here and there; generally every 10 or 15 miles is to be found some *burtse*, or Eurotia, the plant that serves for fuel, though at one halting-place moss is obtained in its stead, and at another neither *burtse* nor moss can be got. Pasture is still rarer; on leaving the last halting-place in the Chonglung branch of the Chāngchenmo Valley we had to pass over 60 or 70 miles before reaching any grass; the first find was at Lokzhung, a halting-place in the middle of the mountains of the same name. On the Kuenlun Plains grass is equally scarce, and it is only when one gets well into the Eastern Kārakāsh Valley that this cause of difficulty in keeping one's baggage animals alive disappears. 136 Of wild animals one would think from the foot-prints that great numbers must live in the plains and the surrounding mountains; but one sees few, and on reflection it appears that the many foot-prints are the work of a comparatively small number of individuals, for in this country a mark made may stay unobliterated for years. I saw Kyang, the Wild Ass, but only singly, at Thaldat, which is a watering-place of his; a track had been made straight to it for two miles, beaten and cleared of stones by continual passage. Hare also are now and then to be seen, and foot-prints of Antelope were observed at various places on the plains. Beyond, on the Eastern Kārakāsh, Kyang, and Antelope, and Hare were more plentiful. A beast I had not before seen, was the wild yāk; him I met among the Lokzhung

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

Mountains—a solitary bull—an animal in form exactly like the 136 domesticated yāk, but of larger bulk; from his sides hung long hair, but his back was comparatively bare. At first, on seeing us, he went away with a short quick trot, but he afterwards broke into a heavy lumbering gallop. It has been doubted whether the domestic yāk comes from this wild one, or whether the wild yāk may not have sprung from some that have escaped from the camps of travellers, for every now and then these beasts of burden are overcome, and, unable to carry their loads, are relinquished; these may, perhaps, recover, and, finding subsistence on some scant pasture, live and reproduce their kind in a wild state. 133x

There is one other phenomenon that deserves a moment's attention before we leave this interesting ground. There are at least two instances of *ice-beds*, or, as some have called them, *snow-beds*, occurring in the plains. I prefer the former name as being more truly descriptive, although at first sight they look just like beds of snow. Colonel H. Strachey described two or three of these in Rupshu and Pāngkong, but gave no explanation of their origin. Mr. Johnson mentioned the one at Thaldat, which was the first I ever saw. On the plain, a mile or two from the nearest hill, a space about a mile long and a quarter of a mile wide is occupied by the ice-bed; it lies in the bed of a stream, with the water flowing beneath part of it; the greatest thickness that I saw was four feet; some of it was like *nevé*, and some was more icy. A similar bed which I saw in Rupshu (one of those noticed by Colonel Strachey), I find described in my notes as being made in great part of layers from a quarter inch to one and a half inch thick of prismatic ice, the prismatic crystals being of course at right angles to the surface of the layers; there, too, was some that is described as like *nevé*. At other parts, again, the length of the prisms (and therefore the thickness of one layer of ice) was as much as eight inches.

I think that these ice-beds are the unmelted ice of the streams, formed especially in spring, when the successive rising levels of the water that flowed from the melting snows would make layer after layer of ice, as the still severe cold at that time

133x froze the surface at night, until a thickness had accumulated too great to be made to disappear by one summer's sun, and so the bed had become permanent. The limit to its vertical increase would be the impossibility of the water reaching to a higher and higher level beyond some certain height; only as it wasted away, as in summer it must waste, from the sun melting its upper and the stream its lower surface, would, when the mass of ice settled down, additions again be made to it from above in the same way as before. It may not unlikely happen that snow fallen on the surface sometimes becomes enclosed and consolidated by the overflowing water.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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CHAPTER XVI.

BALTISTĀN.

THE BALTÎS—SKĀRDŪ—SHIGAR—BĀSHA—BRĀLDŪ—RONDŪ—DEOSAI—THE GAME OF POLO.

In the course of the last five chapters we have gone over the whole of Ladākh, or if some few corners have been left untouched, it was either because their characteristics were not different from those of a neighbouring part that was described, or else they were places which I, not having visited them, was unable to write of from personal observation. Now, in continual pursuance of the plan laid down, we must proceed to the north-westerly portion of the Indus basin, and first to the district, formerly the kingdom, of Baltistān. /33

The reader will remember the character of that lowest part of the Indus Valley which was described under the heading of Central Ladākh—that which included the neighbourhood of the village of Dāh. We there found the river confined in a narrow rocky gorge; occasional flat and strait spaces supported the cultivation of a small village; above rose rocky mountain-spurs which connected farther back with a lofty range. Thus, or sometimes with a less degree of confinement, the valley is continued down through Baltistān. The path along it is sometimes on a piece of sandy alluvium, sometimes over the great rugged blocks of a talus, and sometimes on the face of a cliff washed at the base by the river, the road being carried on precarious-looking timbered galleries fixed into small projections of the rock. The scenery is always of [361] stony expanses and rugged rocks; only at every few miles a pretty village at the opening of a ravine pleases one by its thick crops and the foliage of its fruit-trees, which here, as we descend the valley, more and more flourish. The Shāyok Valley, which

133 runs nearly parallel to, and at levels corresponding with, the Indus Valley, I have not visited in this its lower part; from Dr. Thompson's description it seems to have much the same general character as that of the Indus, but perhaps with greater variation in width. The two rivers unite by Kiris. A few miles below is Skārdū, the chief place of Baltistān. I shall describe the neighbourhood of Skārdū, and some other portions of Baltistān that I am familiar with, in some detail, but before doing so I wish to give a short account of the people of that country.

THE BALTIS.

101 The country itself is by the Ladākhis called *Balti*, and a native of it is called *Balti-pā*; but the Kashmiris and other neighbours use the word Balti as an adjective, and call the country, according to the Persian form, Baltistān, or the place of the Baltis, and this mode I shall follow.

142 As has before been said, the Baltis are Muhammadanised Tibetans. They are quite of the same stock as the Ladākhis, differing from most of these latter in physical characters little more than some Ladākhis differ from others. By becoming Muhammadan, however, they have gained for themselves some other differences in look. The Baltis have parts of the Turanian physiognomy marked. The high cheek-bones are generally noticeable, and the eyes drawn out at the corners. Their eyebrows are often brought near each other with a wrinkling of the brow; but the nose not so often has the depressed form as it has with the Bhots (that is, the Buddhist Tibetans), nor are the [302] Baltis quite so scantily bearded as these are. The Baltis have dismissed the pigtail, and they partly follow the Muhammadan custom of shaving the head, only they leave long side-locks growing from behind the temples, which are sometimes lank, sometimes thick and curly, and sometimes plaited. In stature the Baltis are less thick-set than most Ladākhis, and taller; this difference may be the effect of local circumstances; for in most parts of Baltistān there is a less severe climate than in most parts of Ladākh, and the life led is somewhat easier; and it

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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~~is to be noted~~ that of Nubrá, where the people (classed with the 142
Ladákhis) resemble the Baltis in figure, the physical circumstances
approach those of Baltistán. The Baltis, though wiry, are not [482]
equal to their neighbours of Ladákh in carrying loads; especially
they move slower with their weights; but they are particularly
good in carrying a load over difficult ground where one would
think a laden man could not pass. They always carry about a
hair-rope or else a leathern thong, fixed to a wooden ring, for
slinging their loads, and very commonly carry a conical basket at
their backs for the same purpose. The dress of the Baltis 291
is different from that of the Bhots, but it is of the same material,
or perhaps of a more loosely-woven cloth. Instead of the large
loose coat they wear one reaching but a little below the knee, and
they wear short pyjamas. They carry one or two wrappers for
their waist and shoulders, these sometimes of a check pattern.
For the head they have a small round cap, which they wear at the
back of the head, and the headmen of villages bind a woollen
cloth pagri or turban over it; people of higher rank will have one
of white calico or muslin. The people go barefoot a good deal;
but they carry with them, for wear in the colder parts, boots of
soft leather, often of goat-skin with the hair left on and worn
inside. In disposition the Baltis are good-natured and 181
patient. They are not so cheerful as the Bhots, but they are not
without some humour. They are less slow in comprehension than
the Bhots are, and are somewhat more up to the ways of the world
—less generous, more eager in getting.

In adopting Muhammadanism the Baltis dropped the custom 595
of polyandry, and have since to some extent followed polygamy. [178]
And this although the same economic reasons for polyandry hold
in Baltistán as in Ladákh. The area of cultivation is closely
limited; there are no means of support within the country for an
expanding population. Still with the new religion the customs
prevalent among Muhammadans in other parts of the world
were adopted, and the old prudential arrangements set aside. I
do not think that with the poor people—the mass of the population—polygamy is common, but there is no customary restric-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Balti AV2

596 tion about marriage, and they are in fact betrothed as boys and
girls.*

161 The result is that Baltistān is crowded; the population is
167 overflowing. Happily they are a people more likely to fare
well as emigrants than the Ladākhīs; for the heat of some of
the valleys they dwell in has fitted them to endure the warmer
climates that the search for food was likely to lead them to.
Accordingly, colonies of Baltīs have been made in several countries,
where food is more abundant, and frugality and industry
(which are characteristics of the Baltī emigrant) can get their
[249] reward. Thus in the Yārkand country is a large settlement
of these people; their occupation, I have been told, is in
great part the raising of tobacco. In Kashmir some are settled,
[702] and to Jummoo even they find their way. Some hundreds, again,
get a livelihood as soldiers in the Maharaja's army, in which has
been formed a regiment of Baltīs, a regiment for which has been
adopted the Highland kilt and a head-dress that must have been
taken from some picture of our grenadiers of a century and a half
back. But at present the great outlet for the Baltīs is
464 the British territory, where, at many places in the hills, works are
454 going on—such as road-making and barrack-building—at which
167 they can earn good wages; or better, by taking small contracts,
gain a profit as well. It is common for the Baltīs, in parties
161 of half a dozen or so, to find their way through Ladākh to Simla,
[459] taking with them a load of dried apricots, by the sale of which
they provide food on the road and perhaps a little purse at their
journey's end. Joining a gang of their countrymen already at
work (for by this time there is established a regular though
slow correspondence through those going and returning), they
will work on steadily, until, after three or four years may be, they
have saved what will carry them back to their country and keep
them for awhile, and enable them to do something for those they
had left behind. Then, investing these savings in the goods most
in demand in Baltistān, generally copper cooking-pots, they will

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562 * With polygamy has been introduced the other Muhammadan custom of restraint of women from mixing freely in society.

oad themselves to the utmost they can carry, and start on their 464
wo months' journey home. There the travelled Baltī takes his 454
ase for a bit, being able to obtain the best produce of his village, 167
ill diminishing resources warn him again to look abroad. 161

In spite of all this emigration, however, there remain in the 161
ountry more people than its produce can well provide for. The 433
and, or the interest in the land, becomes minutely divided; 511
he workers on it cannot get a full meal; the result is a poor, ill- 423
lad, and unhealthy population: certainly the Baltīs are much less
obust and healthy than the Ladākhīs.

It is a curious thing that the Baltīs belong mostly to the Shīa 795
ect of Muhammadans. As to their first conversion to Islām I [797]
could hear nothing; but some teachers are remembered—four
brothers, it is said, from Khurāsān—who made "good Muhamma-
dans" of the people, who before were but nominally Muhammadan.
t may be that these four missionaries were Shīas. There
s among them yet another sect division. A number of the Baltīs
all themselves "Nūr Bakhsh," which name (evidently taken from
he name of some spiritual leader) implies a slight difference
rom the ordinary Shīa. This consists in the mode or order of
prayer; the Nūr Bakhsh follow one who stands in front, which,
pparently, the other Shīas do not; but in the great matters of
ifference between the Sunīs and Shīas the Nūr Bakhsh are with
he latter.

Until lately Muhammadanism was advancing gradually among 777
he Bhots. The line dividing the Muhammadans and the Bud- 178
hists was travelling south-eastward. Moorcroft remarked, in 777
821, that about Kargil Muhammadanism was advancing, and that
here was every reason to suppose that before long Ladākh would
e entirely Muhammadan. Dr. Thompson, who travelled over the
ountries in 1847–8, observed that in the Shāyok Valley an unin-
abited tract had acted as a barrier between Musalmān and
Buddhist, but that on the Indus and south of it Islām was
radually, though very slowly, extending eastward. Now,
owever, the advance is stayed. The countenance and encourage-
nent which the Maharaja has shown and given to the Buddhist

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Balti AV1

779 religion, as a branch of his own, has been enough to counteract
197 the tendency that there was to Muhammadan conversion.

178 Some villages of Baltistān, and some parts of villages, are inhabited by the quite different race of Dārds, who are called by
563 the Baltīs *Brokpā*. These have yet to be described; I here only mention this fact in their distribution. In a few places, as at Bāsho, the two races have intermarried.

197 As to the language of the Baltīs I can say nothing in detail; it is but slightly different from Ladākhī; the two nations understand each other's talk.

SKARDU.

133 Baltistān is composed of enormous mountain-chains, or masses of mountain. Of these, only a study of the map will make clear the direction. As to height; while 18,000 and 20,000 feet is common, there are, in the north-easterly parts, peaks of 25,000 and 26,000, and one above 28,000 feet. These give rise to the largest known glaciers out of the Arctic regions. Of the valleys, the most important are the Indus Valley, and the valley of the Shāyok that joins it, and that of Shigar, which combines with the united valley at Skārdū.

At this meeting of the waters, the valley (which, in the course of the Indus, both above and below, is extremely narrow) is widened. There is left between the mountains a curving, crescent-shaped, plain, in length 20 miles, in width varying from one mile to five. In the widest part are two isolated hills, about 1000 feet in height; between these flows the Indus. Immediately below, it receives the waters of the Shigar River, and with their addition becomes a river of great speed and volume; in summer time it flows, even through this level part, with a velocity of six miles an hour.

311 By far the most of the Skārdū plain is uncultivated; it is a
133 waste of sand and stones: there is first the space in flood-time covered by the waters; then, over some square miles, is blown sand, hopeless for cultivation; last are the stony tracts belonging to the alluvial fans of streams that flow down from the southern

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

Balti AV2

range of mountains. Cultivation, however, is limited more by the 311 supply of water than by the barrenness of the soil; for where /33 irrigation can be applied, very hopeless-looking ground will yield crops. [3/2] The water of the large rivers is seldom available, but the side streams, coming from a high level, can be led over the alluvial plateaus; these, then, make real oases, though of small area, surrounded by the yellow sands; plentiful crops come up, and innumerable fruit-trees flourish in them.

Bounding the valley on the south and south-west, curving /33 round with its form, is a grand line, or broken wall, of mountains, rising into high-peaked rock-masses. This crescent of hills extends from one narrow gorge, whence issues the river into the plain, to the other lower gorge, where the valley is again closed to the view. On the north side the mountains are more broken. One line comes from the north-west, and ends in a great rocky mass just opposite Skārdū. Then comes the valley of the Shigar River, and, at its farther side, some low, broken hills, backed by spurs from very lofty mountains. The mountains are of bare rock; here and there only, on the upper slopes, is a little grass—a patch of thin pasture. In all parts they are steep; in great part they are precipitous. High up on the southern hills, in hollows surrounded by great cliffs, lie small glaciers; these for the most part are not connected with perpetual snow-beds, only some snow-taluses rest upon them and against the cliffs; from one of those in sight, however, a long mass of perpetual snow leads up to the summit. These mountains rise to 10,000 feet above the plain.

Near the base of the hills, from 1700 feet above the plain 361 downwards, lie the villages. In the distance they are but little green lines and patches, either embosomed in the lowest hollows or crowning some platform that projects from the spurs. The space cultivated looks strangely small compared with the size of the great mountains; looked down on from a height, the fields seem to be minute garden-beds, and the groups of fruit-trees are like nursery plantations.

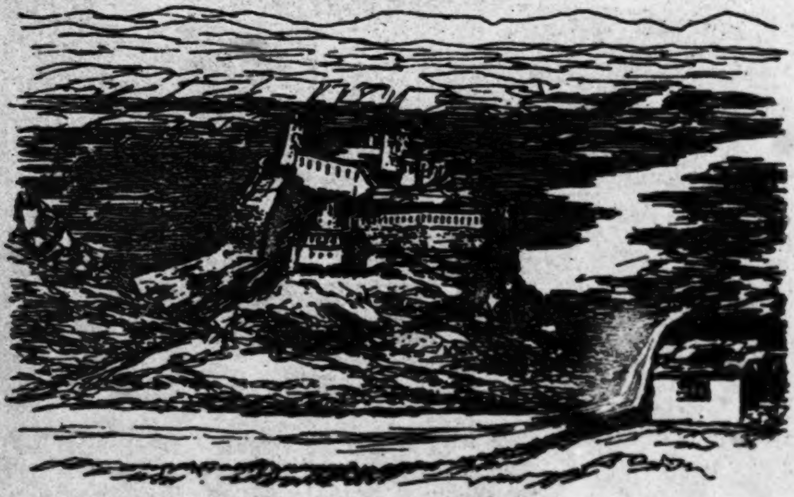
Skārdū itself is out in the plain, 7440 feet above the sea, just

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Balti AV2

361 at the foot of one of the two isolated rocks; this, rising to 1000 feet
above, overhangs it. Skārdū is not a town; it is rather a scattered
collection of houses and hamlets; the position of it is on an
alluvial plateau, 150 feet above the river, which will therefore
be about 7300 feet above the sea-level. The plateau extends from
the foot of the hills to the rock; the river sweeps along the base,
turned in its course by the same rock. Formerly the palace of
the Rajas of Skārdū stood at the edge of the plateau, where the
rock rises from it; now the ruins remain, little more than the
712 foundations and some vaulted chambers. The palace was dis-
175 mantled on the taking of Skārdū by Maharaja Gulāb Singh's
troops. The rock itself was the stronghold; there was a fort built
at the south-east end of it, at a part very steep and difficult of
access; to this the Raja (Ahmad Shāh) retired on the approach
of the enemy. Though the fort was a weak thing, yet its position
was such that it could have been held for long if the whole rock
had been properly guarded as well. On the higher part of the
rock was a smaller fort, in a position very difficult to reach from
below. But the Dogrā invaders were good mountaineers. One
dark night they stole round from their position in front of the
chief fort to the north-western corner of the rock, and, surprising
the guards there posted, climbed the hill, and after a little
fighting took the small fort near the summit. In the morning
they began firing down, at an immense advantage, on the larger
fort, and after two or three hours the Raja and his people took to
flight and the place was captured. All the garrison (except a few
who escaped across the river) were either killed or taken; the
Raja himself became a prisoner.

This deed was boldly done of the Dogrās; it resembled somewhat, on a small scale, the capture of Quebec by the English. The strength of the position was such that it should never have been taken except by blockade and starvation. Soon after this victory the whole of Baltistān became subject to Gulāb Singh; in one or two places, as at Shigar, the minor rulers held out for a bit, but they were soon reduced, and the country was attached to

Jummoo. This happened about the year 1840. According 717
to their custom the Dogrās built a new fort less dependent for 175
its security on advantages of position; a sketch of this is given
below, which shows that though it may be somewhat difficult to
scale, yet it is not well protected against long shots.



DOGRĀ FORT, SKĀRDŪ.

The new part of Skārdū is on the plateau near the old palace; 361
there is a small bazaar; the shopkeepers are, I think, all [439]
Kashmīrī who have here settled; others of the same nation are [167]
occupied in weaving pashmina, for which the pashm is brought
from Ladākh. The houses here in Skārdū and in Baltistān generally [342]
are low flat-roofed houses, of stone and mud, with, commonly, a
second story built over a portion of the first roof; this upper
story (which is for summer living only) is not unusually of wattle;
towards Rondū, where timber is more plentiful, it is built of thick
boards. In summer time one sees the roofs all strewn with 241
apricots, which are spread out to dry in the sun. The abundance 231
of fruit in this country makes up in a great measure—with respect 438
to the economy of the peasants—for the scarceness of the pasture
and the consequent small amount of live stock that can be reared;

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Balt, AV2

241 of goats or sheep one here seldom sees a large flock.* By the
231 sale of dried fruit in place of the produce of flocks and herds are
438 the luxuries from outside purchased or the cash necessary for
payment of taxes acquired.

133 In this Skārdū Valley are to be seen many physical phenomena which raise questions as to their origin well worthy of consideration. These are great mounds, stone-heaps, situated in the plain, which are the moraines of glaciers that once protruded from the ravines on the south. These, as well as certain lacustrine beds at high levels, have been remarked on by Dr. Thompson and Major Godwin-Austen. Then the rock itself, 1000 feet high, is covered in parts with alluvial deposit and transported blocks, which of themselves suffice to show that the whole valley was once filled with such deposits to at least a depth sufficient to cover in that rock. Close to the summit of the rock, by the upper fort, is a large mass of granite, 30 feet across, smooth-polished and grooved; this is a transported block, for the rock itself is of a different substance, a fine-grained but massive (that is to say, not very fissile) mica-schist. This argues the presence of ice as a transporting power, in some form, when the deposits had covered in all up to that high level. At Kuārdu, on the right bank, the alluvial deposits occur at such a height as to imply a still greater depth of the sand and gravel. Another thing, not often seen, came under my observation. The beds of clay and fine sand, probably lacustrine, which form the plateau of the town are sometimes seen to be curved and contorted, even to over the perpendicular. This phenomenon, observed elsewhere, I have referred to the ploughing action of glaciers.†

All these things merit a minuter description and a longer discussion than I will here venture on. We now will leave the Skārdū Valley to look at other parts of Baltistān.

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* Of cattle the Baltis keep the common cow and the zo. Some of the villages have a bull yāk for breeding, which they keep in the cool upland pasture-grounds until the cold of winter makes the valleys endurable for him.

† Quarterly Geological Journal, vol. xxix., p. 460.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Balti AV2

SHIGAR.

It may or may not be a fact of importance in physical geography—that is to say, the fact may imply a connection of deep causes, or may be the result of superficial accidents—that the line of the valley of the Indus as it flows north-west towards Skārdū is continued by that of the valley of the Shigar River as it *comes from* the north-west to join the former. The positions resemble those of the Indus Valley lower down, and of the Gilgit Valley which joins it. 133

The valley of Shigar, from the village of that name upwards for 24 miles, is some three miles in width. Along both sides rise steep rocky mountains; the immediate peaks are 7000 feet or so above the valley; more lofty ones stand behind. The valley itself, at a general level of 8000 feet, is occupied partly by the sandy and stony bed in which the river-channels are made, and partly by side alluvial deposits sloping down to that flat. On both sides cultivation occurs opposite each ravine-mouth, for there the waters of the side stream can be brought to irrigate the ground. 311

The village of Shigar is a long tract of cultivated land on the left bank of the river, where the ground slopes up gently to the base of the mountains. Here grow rich crops of wheat, barley, millet, and other grains, while all around each corn-field, their roots watered by the same channels that are provided for the irrigation, is a most luxuriant growth of apricot trees, which bear fruit of greater perfection than is met with in any other part of Baltistān or of the neighbouring countries. This, to my mind, is the most delightful place in all Baltistān; after the sandy tracts of Skārdū one can thoroughly enjoy sitting in the shade of the fruit-trees, whose bright foliage is varied by that of some large Planes, through which the eye can quietly view the grand mountains that on both sides bound the valley. 361 241 133

At varying intervals, for 20 or 25 miles up, are villages like this, but no one of so great extent. Towards the upper part of this length, on the right bank, which is the least sunny, apricot

361 and mulberry trees become fewer, and in their stead walnut-trees
241 flourish. In the central flat are sandy tracts covered with the
133 prickly shrub, *Hippophae;* through these the river flows with
a large volume of water and great velocity; it can be crossed
[501] opposite to Shigar on rafts made of numbers of inflated goatskins
fastened together by sticks; the force of the current, which here raises waves some feet in height, makes it a passage of some difficulty; in summer time it is impossible to get horses over, so that for some months there is no way of communication for them between the right and left banks; I had to leave my ponies behind at Shigar, and did not rejoin them for several weeks.

133 The Shigar River may be said to be formed by the union of the Bāsha and Brāldū streams, which meet at the top of this wide Shigar Valley. From these upwards the two branch valleys are narrow. I followed up both these branches in succession, beginning with the western, called Bāsha.

BĀSHA.

133 In the bottom of this valley there is no flat; there is, indeed,
361 nought but the space occupied by the fans which project from
the side ravines; each of these fans is the seat of a village, a small cultivated tract, with walnut-trees scattered about it. Often rocky precipices rise from the river side or else from close behind the villages; if one ascends far enough to see clear of these then the highest mountains come into view, peak after peak,
[233] rising from serrated ridges. Three thousand feet or so above the
level of the villages are commonly pasture-grounds, whither the flocks and herds are driven for the summer months; on these there is often a collection of small stone huts for the shepherds to live in. It is only at such heights that any pasture can be got, and this still is scanty; it must be nourished by the moisture from the melting snow.

Following up the Bāsha Valley we find the villages to become rarer; a tract of many miles is passed without one being met with; at last we reach Ārandū, the highest in the valley.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVl Kashmir

Balti AV2

361/ /33 Arandū is close to the end of a huge glacier that fills up the valley with its great mass of ice, black with stone-heaps and dirt. The elevation of the village and of the foot of the glacier is between 10,000 and 11,000 feet. This is one of those largest glaciers that come down from some of the highest mountains and occupy a great length of the valleys. In making three and a half marches on it, or alongside of it, I obtained a fair knowledge of its form and character, of which some account will now be given, beginning from the foot and going upwards.

/33 The valley thus filled with ice is a mile and a half wide; the height of the ice at the irregular ending off seemed about 200 feet; but above the thickness probably was greater. Crossing not far above the end we find a very irregular mass of ice, with ridges and hollows of no even run, so covered with stones that in going over the whole mile and a half, which is the width of the glacier, hardly once does one put one's feet on ice; on the higher parts are thick mounds of stones; on the slopes there are less; in the hollows again are accumulations of them; all this is because the ice has been so much melted as it nears its end that the stones of the various moraines have slipped and become mixed together. Thus it is for some miles up; but when we go farther up still, then the moraine matter appears in lines, and strips of clean ice come into view between them. If when one has passed along, say, 15 or 20 miles of the glacier, one rises on the hill-side to gain a view over it, one sees the great ice-stream lying with its enormous length in the valley, with a very low slope of surface; at this part the incline is not more than 1½° or 2°, though, below, the slope had been rather more; in the centre is a wide strip of snow-white ice moulded by melting into such forms as to give the appearance of waves of a rapid stream; on either side are lines of moraines; steep rocky banks make the boundary of all; above these are mountains with an immense spread of perpetual snow, from which spring glaciers, some ending off abruptly high above the main valley, others continuing on and coming down, with a steep slope, to join and coalesce with the large glacier. As we go up, large tributary

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Balti AVa

133 glaciers come in which themselves have a moderately low slope, as of 4° or 5°; to these again join some of the steeper ones, leading from the mass of perpetual snow above. The highest spot I reached was in the centre of the glacier 20 or 25 miles up from its foot; up to this place the width had been very regular, I should say from a mile and a quarter to a mile and a half; but here a greater expanse of ice was visible; the ice was white-surfaced, looking like a frozen and snow-covered lake, and here it was far clearer of débris than it was below, still moraine-lines lay along the centre. This wider part (which is about 13,500 feet above the sea) is where several glaciers meeting combine to form the great stream which thence, as before said, flows on with a gentle incline. From the foot of the glacier at Ārandū to the summit of the feeding glaciers the distance must be over 30 miles.

[311] At Ārandū there was cultivation; near above it birch grows in some abundance; at several places along the glacier side, chiefly in sheltered spots, both willow and birch are to be met with, but at the highest part visited only grass is to be seen; this in itself is rare for Baltistān; it denotes that here, in the heart of the mountains, moisture, either of melting snow or of rain, is more abundant. The way along the glacier was very rough, not many miles could be done in a day; it took us three and a half days to do what on the map would measure but 20 or 25 miles; the way was chiefly over the loose stones of the side moraine, but now and then it was possible to take to the hill-side; in the higher part the crossing of the side glaciers was especially difficult, for at the falling in of them the ice was much broken; as, however, no snow concealed the difficulties, we were able to avoid or overcome them without risk; in the very highest part visited there was a long reach of even ice in the centre that was easy to go on. The way was partly known to the natives [233] of Ārandū. For some miles up from the foot they are accustomed to take their cattle in spring time for a month or two's grazing on the slope at the side of the glacier, whence snow melts earlier than it does on their own side of the valley. Farther

Ia Drew G-8 ([illegible]) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Ga/c/AVa

up the ground had been trodden by few; Major Godwin-Austen /33 had been over it in prosecution of the topographical survey, and one or two English sportsmen had also found their way to the glacier side;* but the only marks of animal life were footprints [136] of ibex, leopard, and of bear. As far as I know there is no way possible to the head of this great glacier and over the watershed. It is true that in the map which illustrates [137] Mr. Hayward's letters on Gilgit and Yásin (published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for 1870) a route-line is put in along the course of it; but this I think was inserted by mistake; the road to Nagar (a very difficult one), as shown by Major Godwin-Austen, goes up a ravine due north from Arandū and not in the valley of this large glacier.

Along the side of the glacier there were both lakes and marks of former lakes. One of these that had existed a month before had occupied a space about a quarter of a mile long and 300 yards wide, and had had an extreme depth of 150 feet; its waters had drained away in three days. Another, of triangular form, had been half a mile long, with a perpendicular of 250 yards; it had dried or drained a week before we were at the spot, after existing some two or three years. Higher up were traces of two or three smaller lakes having existed, and I counted one still full of water. All these lakes are formed in a recess in the mountain-side, at the mouth of a gulley, where the straight course of the glacier shuts up the opening of it, and makes a hollow that gets filled by the drainage from above, unless there be a lower outlet through the cracks in the ice. If, after the lake has been formed, the onward movement of the glacier makes such a fissure as will enable the waters to communicate with the general nether drainage of it, then the lake runs dry. While the lake remains sand and mud are deposited in its bed, which afterwards tell the tale of it; and moraine stones shed by the glacier become imbedded in the finer deposit.

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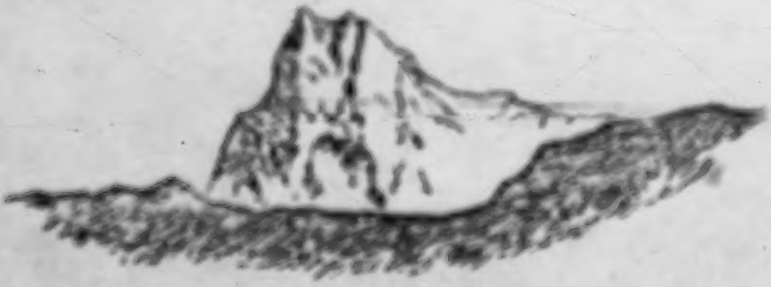
* Major Godwin-Austen has given an account of this and other glaciers of the Basha and Braldo valleys in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society on the 11th January, 1864.

In Drew G-6 (1863-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Balti Area

BRALDO.

133 The valley of Braldo, down which comes the easterly tributary of the Shigar River, has been so well described by Major Godwin-Austen in the paper before mentioned that I will not give any detailed account of it. In the lower part it a good deal resembles Básha, being narrow and having various villages on the alluvial fans. At the head of it are the highest mountains and the largest glaciers of any. The largest glacier of all (this one I did not myself visit) is the Báltoro Glacier, 35 miles long, which comes down between two extremely lofty ridges; the southern ridge has peaks over 23,000 feet, while the northern (which is part of the watershed) rises in one spot to the height of 28,265 feet, the peak of that height (marked K 2) being the second highest mountain known in the world, Mount Everest only exceeding it. It is not easy to get a sight of this mountain; I once saw it from a distance of nearly 70 miles, standing up, in the form given in the sketch, clear above all the great ridges. eq



K 2, 28,265 FEET; AS SEEN FROM TURMIK.

487
133 A way from Skardo to Yārkand used in former times to lead travellers for some distance up the Báltoro Glacier, and then across the range, here called Mustágh, by one of the northern tributary glaciers. From certain ice-changes that road becoming too difficult, a new one was struck out up a more northerly glacier

1- Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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that leads to where Mustágh Pass is marked on the large map. 487
This one I followed for some distance up the glacier, but not as far 133
as the summit of the Pass, to which as yet no European has reached.

In following this road there was formerly—and may be even [579]
now—danger from the Hunza robbers, who, issuing from their own country and crossing the watershed by an easier Pass, used to attack the caravans where the two roads met on the farther side of the range. When I was in Bráldū, in 1863, I met with one of a very few men who had escaped from an attack that had been made a week or two before on a small caravan of Baltis who were
returning from their country after a sojourn in Yárkand. Nearly [567]
all had been captured to be sold as slaves, and of the goods, horses, and cattle nothing was recovered. And the physical difficulties of the road are not small. The Pass is open for but a short time in summer; as soon as snow falls on it the crevasses are hidden and the journey becomes dangerous. In crossing, men are tied together, yák-calves are carried; ponies of Yárkand—a useful breed—also used to be ventured, they were sometimes led over the crevasses with ropes, held by eight men in front and eight behind. Even when safe over the Pass (on the hitherward journey) the horses and cattle could not at once be brought down to the inhabited parts; they had to be kept in one of the intermediate pastures until, as winter neared, the streams got low and the passage along the valley became practicable for the four-footed ones. These combined difficulties have caused this road to be at present disused. From the time I was speaking of, 1863, up to 1870, when I again visited Baltistán, there had been no communication between that country and Yárkand.

RONDU.

The part of Baltistán next to be visited is that portion of the 133
Indus Valley which is below the wide opening of Skárdū. We saw that the valley was narrow above that opening and narrow below it. The narrowest part of the lower gorge is called Rondū;

133 that name also has a political signification, for Rondû is a Rajaship dependent on Skârdû;* but before we reach the boundary of that division certain other places in the narrow valley will call our attention; these will be dealt with nearly in the order in which I came on them in marching down from Skârdû.

[961] I took the left bank. Katsûra is the first large village. It is situated at the mouth of a ravine, whose foaming stream drains a great space of mountain country on the south. At the debouch- [511] ment there is a mass of fan-stuff and moraine-stuff. For cultivation there is water in plenty, but ground fit for it is scarce, the loose blocks of stone so much fill up the space; wherever water-courses run, there fruit-trees flourish exceedingly well, the fields are all shaded with them; there are apricot and walnut in great plenty, and mulberry trees that bear a very fine fruit, resembling, but excelling, that which we have in England. This cultivated part is on ground that has been made by the stream; but at the mouth of the ravine, on both sides, is an enormous amount of glacier débris; on the right or south-east side is a long moraine-heap, reaching from close by the mountains down to the river, which, being confined thus on its left bank and by a fan at Bragardo on its right, here changes from a wide-spreading river to a torrent. One very large transported block I observed on the moraine; it was of mica-schist, approaching to gneiss; the part of it exposed measured 140 feet by 90 feet by 40 feet high. On the left bank of the Katsûra stream is another moraine-heap that also begins from the mountain-slope; this is an enormous accumulation, the surface is all of large blocks, it stretches wide as well as long; a great hollow in it is occupied by a lake, which the people there call "Jarvâ Tso," some three-quarters of a mile long and 300 or 400 yards broad; to this lake there is no inlet of water, except a little waste from the irrigation and on one side a spring; there is also no visible outlet, its waters fall in winter and rise in summer, but to no great extent. That part of the moraine which bounds

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* Formerly the Raja of Rondû was tributary to the Raja of Skârdû; now he is but a pensioner, and Rondû is governed directly by the Maharaja's representative at Skârdû.

the lake towards the mountain-side is a great steep bank made up 133 of masses of rock, of gneiss or of schist, piled to a height of 350 or 400 feet; the pieces of rock composing it are large, those of 20 to 30 feet in diameter are in thousands, and those of the size of 50 and 100 feet are many. The moraine-mass ends towards the river in a cliff of perhaps 500 feet. The glacier that left all this moraine must have been of great size, whether we judge from the moraine itself or consider from the map the area it must have occupied. Doubtless at one time—perhaps more than once—the moraines or the glacier, or the two together, dammed the river and made the Skārdū Valley into a lake. I will not here discuss whether *all* the lacustrine deposits and accompanying phenomena of that valley can thus be accounted for, but that some may I am sure.

Between Katsūra and Bāsho the road leads us, some hundreds of feet above the river, sometimes across taluses, sometimes on the face of the cliff, often being carried over frail wooden stages that have with difficulty been fixed; the way is rough and difficult. Bāsho is at the re-entering angle made by a bend in the river valley, where, too, a ravine comes down to meet it. There is a small [311] space enclosed between rocky spurs; the part that is cultivated is [345] crowded with fruit-trees; these are mostly of the same sorts as those before met with, but here apricots do not grow to perfection; the speciality of the place is grapes, particularly is it noted for the small black currant-grape, of which there are some little vineyards.* On the mountains behind Bāsho is a forest of [137] pine, the *Pinus excelsa*; this begins about 9000 feet from the sea level and extends well above. I hear that there are many places in the basin of the Katsūra stream also where this tree is found. The occurrence of it marks a considerable difference in the climate [132] of this western part of Baltistān; the difference, however, seems to affect only elevations such as these, and not the base of the valleys.†

Below Bāsho the road is as bad as it was above; at last the

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* The height above the sea is 6900 feet.

† At the head of the Stak Valley (north of the Indus) *spruce-fir* is found.

.133 valley-way becomes so difficult that one is forced to rise the mountain-side for some 4000 feet, and, crossing a spur, to descend
[137] to the valley again; on the slope as we rose the pencil-cedar was plentifully scattered, and on the summit of the spur-pass which we crossed* was a grassy and bushy slope and much birchwood, this being another evidence of our having come to a less completely Tibetan climate. From such a position as this Pass, several thousand feet above the valley, we were sure to obtain a more complete view of the mountains than from below, especially of those on the right bank of the Indus. They were mountains of the grandest form. Facing the river were enormous cliffs, or steep slopes of bare rock, fining at their summits to peaks; sharp ridges divided the various ravines, and from them issued spurs ending in vertical precipices; all this on an extremely large scale. The steepness of these mountains is such that there are several quite inaccessible tracts—valleys into which no one can penetrate.

The ridge that we crossed (which is at the salient angle of a
[712] bend of the river) was the boundary, the beginning, of the Rondū
[175] Rajaship. When the Dogrās came, a defence-work was here thrown up by the Rondū people, but the Dogrās turned it by taking a higher path, which, for a good reward, the Bāsho people pointed out; the parallel of Thermopylæ cannot be carried any farther.

A fact of very great import in the consideration of the former physical geography of this country came here under my notice. On a lower part of this same spur, just facing the opposite valley of Turmik, I found loose on the surface well-rounded stones, of granite and schist, many the size of one's fist, some a foot across; they were so distinctly a river gravel that the headman of Bāsho, who was with me, said, "This is the sort of stone found by the river side; I am astonished to see them up here"; the level must be 9500 feet, that is, some 3000 feet above the river; the explanation of their presence will be the same as what will account for the high-level deposits in other parts of this Indus Valley.

Thence the road descends, by a zigzag way that looked impracticable, and really was difficult, to the river side, and soon

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* The Katsibūr Pass, 11,500 feet high.

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Balti AV2

after we reached the first village of Rondû; beyond it were more 133
rough ascents and descents, which, to us, exposed in the lower
level of the valley to the rock-reflected heat of the blazing sun,
were some of the most trying bits of ground we had met with;
then we reached the head-quarters of Rondû, a village called by
the same name.

Rondû village, which has an elevation of 6700 feet, is a 361
strangely-situated place; it occupies little shelves, as it were, on 133
the rock. A ravine that comes down from the southern mountains
is here narrowed up to a deep gulley of 30 feet in width, with vertical
rocky sides; along these cliffs the water, taken from higher
up the stream, is led in wooden troughs supported in one way or
another as the people have been able to manage; on coming clear
of the gulley it is distributed in little channels throughout the
village, of which the whole area is but small. Here the same [241]
crops and the same fruit-trees are met with as before, with the
addition of pomegranate; weeping willow too adds its graceful form [137]
to the varied collection of trees that almost hide the fields from
view. On a separate, narrow, nearly isolated, plateau is the Raja's [712]
house, which is called the Fort. It is a curious building, made of
courses of stone and wood, with corner-pillars and doorways of the
same slab-arrangement that we saw at Bhadarwâh. The river
flows past, some hundreds of feet below the level of the village,
between perpendicular rocks of massive gneiss; in a narrow part
it is spanned by a rope-bridge, made of birch-twigs, which is 370
feet long in the curve, with a fall in it of some 80 feet, the lowest
part being about 50 feet above the stream. The approach to the
bridge is over slippery rocks; the path to it is so narrow and
difficult that one's steps have to be aided in many places by
ladders.

We have here a repetition of what, under the heading of 133
Central Ladâkh, I spoke of as occurring by Dâh, which is 120
miles higher up in this same Indus Valley. For a long distance
the river flows in a narrow gorge, the vertical rocks that form it
are over 600 feet high; this lowest part of the cross-section of the
valley, perhaps even for a height of 1000 feet, seems to be distinct,

Balti AV2

133 as to slope, from that above, as if the latest down-cutting had been done with a different tool. This was noticeable in many places between Katsūra and Rondū. Another instance of the last deepening of stream-channels being done in such a way as to make but a narrow gorge is at the flowing in of the stream of the Turmik Valley to the Indus; between that river and the village of Dassū a narrow channel, several hundred feet in depth, has been formed through, as it were, a barrier of rock.

DEOSAI.

This is a tract which, from its position intermediate between the different divisions we have adopted for description, from its being a kind of no man's land, has run the risk of being passed over by us without notice. Whether it can strictly be called part of Baltistān I am not sure; but at all events it may be as conveniently described here as anywhere.[*]

Deosai is a plateau, a mass of high land, surrounded by yet higher mountains. The centre of it lies 25 miles south-south-west from Skārdū, while the nearer edge is only 10 miles from that place. There is a ring of mountains, irregular, but still of a general circular form, the diameter of which, from crest to crest of the ridge, is about 25 miles. These mountains make a rugged serrated barrier of a height of from 16,000 to 17,000 feet. Within this ring is flat, though not completely flat, country, made up of plateaus more or less separated by flat valleys a few hundred feet below them in level. This flat part varies in height from 12,000 to 13,000 feet, according as we measure a valley or an intermediate plateau, or according as we take the measure away from or near to the mountains. As to the ring of mountains, they are serrated, but there are few low depressions in them; one towards Skārdū, over which (by the Burjī Pass) comes the road from Kashmir, is 15,700 feet high; and on the western side are one or two dips at an elevation of 14,000 feet. The face of the moun-

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[*] There is a short sketch of this tract in my paper on the Indus alluviums, before quoted (Quart. Geological Journ., Aug. 1873); something of what is written in it will be here repeated.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

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tains is divided into steep-faced hollows and projecting spurs. As /133
these spurs stretch out and diminish in altitude, we find, in continuation of the line of them, the widths of plateau before mentioned, separated by the valleys, which latter have originated in the hollows of the mountain-ridge. The diameter of the ring of mountains being 25 miles, an inner concentric ring of 15 miles diameter will, roughly speaking, include the plains of the two sorts—the higher dry stony plateaus and the intermediate flat valleys. The drainage of the area, first, to some extent, converges to the centre; then, the streams being united, the water flows away through an opening in the hills at the south-east corner by a stream called the Shigar River (the second, it will be observed, of that name in Baltistān), which flows into the Drās River, and so to the Indus.

In the paper before cited I have endeavoured to show the origin of the present form of the Deosai plateau; I will not here repeat the whole line of argument, but will state that my conclusion is that formerly—in some part of the glacial period—the whole was one stony, watery expanse, over which flowed streams from the glaciers that then filled all the hollows of the mountains, these streams bifurcating, rejoining, converging; that during this time the stony, gravelly, material that we see in the higher plateaus was accumulated by the streams in their beds, the level of the whole area becoming thus raised, while the continuation of the course of the combined waters down to the Drās and the Indus rivers was itself contemporaneously being raised; that, later, when the time came, probably on the change of climate—when less frost made less waste of the mountains—for the streams to be denuders instead of accumulators of alluvium, then the valleys were cut out, as continuations of the hollows of the mountains, and the intermediate spreads of stony table-land were left, which towards the hills connect with the spurs, and away from them end off where two of the valleys join.

The most frequented route between Kashmir and Skārdū is 487
over this plateau; the particulars of the marches are given in /133
Appendix IV., Route 10; we will here only concern ourselves with

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Balt: AV2

487 133 those that lead us across Deosai. In coming from the side of Kashmir, one's last halting-place within the Jhelam basin is at a spot called Burzil.* Thence two Passes have to be traversed near together. The first, called Stákpi Lá, leads from the Kishangangá basin into that of the Shingo, a tributary of the Drás River; it is therefore on the line of the main watershed. The Pass (which is 12,900 feet high) is a defile; the bottom, almost level for the length of a mile, is here turf-covered, there strewn with blocks; mountains of grey granite rise to something less than 2000 feet close on each side; in a mile or two the defile opens into the wider valley at the head of the Shingo River. This we now but dip into and cross, rising out of it to the north-east by a short steep ascent to a Pass called Sarsangar (13,860 feet), immediately on the farther side of which, after a descent of a few feet only, we 133 come on a lake occupying the base of the defile. The lake is half or three-quarters of a mile long and a quarter wide; it is but another work of the old glaciers; many old moraine-heaps and *roches-moutonnées* had we passed, and now we find this lake closed in by an old moraine; here too are polished and grooved rocks; whether the lake occupied a rock-basin or was entirely caused by the moraine-matter damming the waters I could not determine. Immediately beyond—at a lower level by some 150 feet—is a second lake of about the same dimensions; this also is dammed by a moraine. A few miles off to the north is a larger lake called Sheosar; it is a nearly circular sheet of water of a diameter of more than a mile; this seemed to be a rock-basin, there was no sign of moraine-matter for the dam; if the lake is pretty deep, as I think it is, the hollow will certainly have been made in the rock itself. Over a neck but 150 feet above the lake goes a path to Astor; this neck is part of the boundary of the Deosai drainage, for beyond it a valley led down suddenly in the 133 direction of Astor. Onwards we cross the wide plateaus 136 and the narrower valleys of Deosai. For five-and-twenty miles the road traverses the one and the other alternately; the plateaus

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* This is also one of the stages on the route between Kashmir and Gilgit, as we shall see in the next chapter.

1s Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Balti AV2

are dry and stony, the valleys have some little pasture. There 133
are no human inhabitants. The living things one sees most of are 136
the marmots. These animals are in great numbers; and they are always watching one, sitting by their holes upright on their haunches, with their knowing heads poked a little forward, and their paws held up in front of their breasts. They cry with a voice between a squeak and a whistle; when alarmed they dive into their holes with wonderful rapidity. In colour they are bright brown on the back and lighter on the belly; as to size, they may be 2½ feet long. The Gurez people (who speak a Dārd dialect) call them *Trishtūn*, *shtūn* being the word for dog; I was unable to find out what the prefix *tri* meant.

The passage of this table-land is easy enough in summer. The 133
elevation of the road averaging perhaps 13,000 feet, the rarity of [132]
the air is felt, but not badly; some grass, fuel, and water can be found at every place required for a halting-ground. But with the first coming on of winter the Pass is closed by the snow, and it may be dangerous to be caught on the waste. Generally the end of September is the time; but in 1870, on the 8th September, such a fall of snow came as to cover the whole plain to a depth of half a foot or more; this snow lasted for a few days only, till the sun came out strong again; in this storm three Baltīs lost their lives,—they died of cold during the night; a Hindostānī servant of mine who was coming with a pony and a mule managed to find shelter, and weathered it. All the spots frequented by travellers on Deosai have two names, one which the Baltīs call them by, and one originating with the Dārds of Astor or Gurez. Especially is this seen in the names of streams; one name always ends in *chu* and the other in *woi*, which words are respectively the Baltī and the Dārd for water.

The Skārdū road leaves this tract by a Pass of 15,700 feet over [487]
the northern part of the bounding ridge. In approaching this we see how the mountains are cut out into flat-bottomed amphitheatres, and we see clearly that these were the beds of ancient glaciers. Across the front of each of them is a stone-heap nearly level on the upper, inner, side, and sloping down on the outer;

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Balti AVa

133 these were terminal moraines, on which the glacier had raised itself while it shot down its detritus to make the slope below. The road passes by one of the most perfect of these amphitheatres; it was about a mile and a half long, and half that in width; on one side the rocks rose clear and precipitous for some 1500 feet, making a sharp-edged ridge; these curving round were on the other side more covered with stony taluses; the nearly level bottom was in great part occupied by moundy masses of stone, among these lay one small tarn, while a larger one reached to the foot of the great cliff, reflecting its crags. The narrow ridge divides this amphitheatre from a valley that leads direct to Skārdū with the great fall of 8000 feet in seven miles, measured straight, or about eleven miles by the road.

At the summit there opened a view which produced an impression of grandeur as deep as I had ever experienced. We looked from our great height right on to the mountains beyond the Indus and Shigar rivers. These, though distant 40 and 50 miles, presented a magnificent spectacle. It was a combination of various lines of mountains, with lofty peaks rising from these ridges in great precipitous masses, or in pyramids ending in acute points, the snow thick on them; these vary from 21,000 to 25,700 feet. Below this great region of snow mountains comes an enormous depth of rocky ones; in the upper hollows of these lie some glaciers that reach far below the level of the snow. We saw this in the morning sun, which lighted up the higher snows and threw dark shadows of the peaks over the lower snow-beds, but it made a soft haze in front of the nearer rocky mountains, which perhaps aided in giving us so great, so true, an idea of the size and grandeur of the range.

THE GAME OF POLO.*

526
565 Baltistān is one of the homes of polo. This is so thoroughly the national game of the Baltīs that almost every village has its polo ground, enclosed and carefully kept for the purpose. The people are passionately fond of the game; those of rank look on

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* It can now hardly be necessary to define this game as hockey on horseback.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Balti AV2

the playing of it as one of the chief objects for which they were 526
sent into the world; but not to them is the pursuit confined; all 565
who can get a pony to mount join in it, and the poorest enter thoroughly into the spirit of it; the children from an early age get their eye and hand in accord by practising it on foot—playing indeed the ordinary hockey of our country. It is not surprising that such an active pursuit of the game should produce good players. I have met with young men of most admirable skill. These have been mostly of the Wazīr class, a class of men who, while always able from their circumstances to join in the pursuit, have greater activity and energy than the Rajas whom they serve. The Rajas, indeed, have been all brought up to play, and they also usually have good skill, but they seldom ride with the same pluck, or throw themselves so completely into the game as do the Wazīrs.

In Dārdistān also polo is played. Indeed it is practised from Leh on the south-east to high up the Gilgit Valley on the north-west, and even in the Chitrāl Valley beyond; I have met and played with some people from this last country who had come to Gilgit on political business. At Leh it was introduced by the colony of Baltīs who settled at Chushot, close by; it has been adopted by the higher class of Ladākhīs, but not by the people generally; on the other hand, in every place where live Baltīs or Dārds, the polo ground may be looked for.

For an interesting fact relating to the antiquity of the game 526
we are indebted to an anonymous correspondent of 'The Times,' 171
who, on 12th June, 1874, gave an extract from the 'History of the Reign of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus' (by Joannes Cinnamus), which shows that the very same game was played at Constantinople in the middle of the twelfth century, and that even at that time it was considered an old as well as an honourable game, and was practised by the Emperors themselves.[*] In the

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[*] I here give a translation from the Latin of that part of the extract which describes the game. It will be seen that it differs not from the polo of to-day except in the form of the stick. "The nature of the game is as follows:—Young men, divided into sides of nearly equal numbers, discharge a ball made of leather, about the size of an apple, into a certain place previously measured out for that purpose.

526 171 time of the Mughal Empire in India it was, I believe, common among the courtiers. Strange it is that, dying out in India, till it remained only in two odd corners—Manipūr and the country we are describing—it should now again be learnt and practised by the last new rulers of India.

Englishmen in Calcutta first got the game from the people of Manipūr on the borders of Barma. In the Panjāb they began playing it about ten years ago, the game having been introduced into that province about simultaneously from Calcutta and from the Kashmir country. The English visitors to Kashmir played it, as far as I know for the first time, in 1863; from there it was carried to Syālkot and other British stations, while about the same time the Calcutta game also spread into the Panjāb.

526 I have played polo with natives of Baltistān and Dārdistān in many different places, and have closely observed their styles of play; as it is a pastime that has now got a good footing in England, and is likely, I should hope, to spread, it may not be amiss to say something of the way in which it is played abroad.

In these mountainous countries the tactics of polo are modified, or at all events determined, by the narrowness of the ground it is played on. There it is seldom possible to get more than a long narrow strip of level ground—never is there a wide expanse. The length from goal to goal is commonly 200 yards, sometimes it is as much as 250; while the width of the ground is from 30 to 40 yards only; the width of each goal is over ten and under fifteen yards; the goals are marked by white stones sunk into, but showing half a foot or a foot above, the ground. The surface is

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Then on each side they make at full gallop for the ball, which has been placed in the middle, as if it were a prize, each having in his right hand a stick, which is of moderate length and terminates suddenly in a rounded space, the middle of which is filled up with catgut strings fastened together in the manner of a net. Each side then does its best that it may be the first to drive the ball beyond the other (i. e. *opposite*) goal which had been previously marked out. For when the ball is driven into either of the goals by the use of the netted sticks, that is reckoned as a victory for one side. This, indeed, is the nature of the game; it obviously lays you open to a fall and other dangers, for it is necessary for anyone who practises it to lean back continually and to bend to right and left, so as to wheel his horse round and direct his course and his movements according to the varying movements of the ball. In this manner, then, is the game in question carried on."

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Balti AV2

generally a fine turf, which is kept in good order by occasional 526 irrigation; the ground is enclosed by loose stone walls, so that the ball seldom goes beyond bounds; the game is better when these walls are smooth, so that the rebound of the ball can be reckoned on, but their rough construction seldom allows of this.

There is no maximum or minimum number of players; in a large ground fifteen a side is considered a full number, but very fair play can be got with six or seven a side. The people consider [533] that it would be impossible for the game to go on properly without music;[1] the band, then consisting usually of two pair of drums, a fife, and a long horn that one man can hardly wield, first escort the chief personage—the Raja of the place, or whoever he may be—in procession to the ground, and then take their post on a raised platform in the centre of one side. Then the Raja sitting down has the sides made up. This is done in a fairer way than by alternate choosing—which gives such advantage to him who wins the toss. Each man gives either his whip or his polo stick, and these are paired, either by the Raja's advice or by the general voice of the bystanders, so that two equally good players are made into one pair; then is brought forward some little boy who knows nothing of the relative skill of the owners of the whips, nor even whose they are, and he, taking a pair of whips, shifts them round two or three times in his hands, and then separates them, putting down one on his right hand and one on his left, and so with each pair till two heaps are made, the owners of which represent the two sides. All this is for the sake of equality and impartiality. The players commonly know each other so well that they do not distinguish the sides by any aid as of colours; this makes it very puzzling for a stranger and less interesting to the spectators; the plan of wearing colours is certainly one to be commended.

Though the goals are appropriated to the two sides, yet the players do not take up their station at their respective goals, but *all* congregate at one end. Then from here one player begins the game by taking the ball in his hand, starting off at full gallop,

[1] [i.e, a polo game -- Analyst]

and, when he comes to the middle of the ground, throwing it up and striking it as best he can towards the enemy's goal; in this some are so skilful that the ball sometimes enters and the goal is won without anyone else having had a chance. But the leader is followed not only by his own side, but by all his opponents, galloping close behind, and the struggle comes for the second blow, if the ball has not reached the goal. Now when one of the other party gets the chance, he does not strike it back in the direction he wishes it ultimately to go, but carries it on *towards his own base*, for the sake of putting it not through, but past, outside, the goal-marks, that is to say, for the sake of making the ball miss the goal and pass behind. If this happens the practice is for a bystander to take up the ball and throw it as hard as he can in the other direction, so that now the second side have the advantage due to the impetus. And it is the rule that the game is not considered as again started until one of that side has touched the ball, this being done without interruption from the other side. Now probably will come the time when the ball gets checked and entangled among the horses' legs; then comes a *melée*, often amusing enough, when with crowding of horses, pushing, hooking of sticks—intentionally as well as by accident, for it is an allowed thing—the ball remains for long confined and often invisible; till by some chance it gets clear and is carried away by some nimble-handed one, when a race again begins, to make or save the goal.

The better players are marvellously good in carrying the ball along by successive strokes on whichever side of their horse it may happen to be; their ponies too—well knowing their duty—follow it in every turn and to the best of their speed. But an opponent coming up may spoil the other's stroke by catching his stick even when unable to reach the ball itself. Others following close take up the game, and so it rolls from one goal back to the other, or to the centre, backwards and forwards often for long. When the ball enters the goal, even then the game is not ended; it is not won until a man of the nearly victorious party dismounting picks it up; so that there is yet a chance for the other side to strike the ball out again and carry it away; but it must be struck out as it came—between the goal-marks, else the first side have still the power to pick it up. 526

The music had been playing nearly the whole time, with especial force on the taking off and on each rush at speed, and now, when the ball is caught and the game won, the band strikes up in sign of victory, and immediately, no breathing-time being given, one of the winning side gallops out with the ball—commonly the one who dismounting picked it up—and takes off as before, for a new game. It is this that brings about the custom of *changing goals* at each game; for the winning side, having put the ball through their opponents' goal, in starting afresh from there, make it their own. [533]

There is no rule against getting in front of the ball or waiting at your enemy's goal; this last is commonly done by some wily players, while staying at one's own goal to defend it is never even thought of.

In this way the play goes on without a moment's intermission may be for a couple of hours or even more, until one side has scored nine games, which may have involved the playing of seventeen; this makes the rubber, and the reaching to that number is the signal for resting, or more probably for closing the game.

Now comes in another ceremony. The winning side, riding 533
up, collect in front of the musicians, and, while they play the 533
Balti equivalent for 'See the Conquering Hero comes,' join in 526
with shouts and cheers, and raising and lowering and waving of their sticks; and then, if they are much elated with their victory —if some wager, or some point of credit had been depending on the game—a few of them will dismount and commence a grotesque dance to horrible music, accompanied by wild grimaces and gestures to mark their exultation, the other party meanwhile having slunk off to the farther end; all this shows how thoroughly the Baltis and the Dárds enter into the game and enjoy victory in it.

Once or twice I was especially glad to find myself on the 526
{[i.e. Polo -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Balt · AK

526 winning side. The stake was a salaam, which the losers had to fulfil the duties of by walking the whole length of the ground up to the winners, who were seated at the farther end, bending nearly to the earth in a salaam at every twenty steps or so, at each bow the others raising a cheer. At the last, however, the victors too rise, and cordially return the salutation. This is most likely to be the stake when two villages or districts are the rivals.

Though eager in the game the Baltis play good-humouredly; sometimes a hard knock is accidentally given, but I never saw any falling out.

526
231
The ponies of Baltistân are admirably adapted for polo; indeed, this is almost the only use they are put to, for the roads are too bad for them to be used to carry packs. It is likely, then, that they have for long been bred and selected chiefly in view of this use, and their form may be said to embody the experience of generations of polo-players as to the right kind of animal for the game; for this reason I will say a few words in description. They stand about twelve hands three inches, or thirteen hands; for their size they are rather large-boned; they are compact in make; they have a broad chest, a deep shoulder, a well-formed barrel well ribbed up, and good hind-quarters, and a small, well-shaped head. They are good at hill-climbing, and at polo they are very active; they are of good heart, going long without giving in, though they are terribly hard-worked at every game. These ponies are ridden on a plain snaffle, and not with the sharp bit that natives of India are so fond of using. The Baltis do not wear spurs, but they carry a short whip, hanging on the wrist, with which they urge their ponies to full speed.

526
192
The following are a few of the Balti words used in connection with the game; they may be useful to anyone else who should wish to join those people in playing it.

Ball	polo.	*A goal gained*	hal trang.
Stick	bentho.	*Ball gone behind*	hal chitsun.
Goal	hal.	*Taking off*	dalak.

526
171
I wish now to compare the system of polo-playing in Baltistân with that followed in England, especially at Lillie Bridge, where

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Balti AVA

526 171 only in this country have I seen it. There is not a great difference between the two, but it may be useful to discuss some points and perhaps to make some suggestions.

First, for those respects in which I would not recommend the adoption of Balti ways. The plan of a flag-staff is better than the goal-stone; it enables one to judge better if a goal has been gained or not, and it is equally safe if only fixed so that it will go down easily if ridden against. Next I see no advantage in the practice of requiring one of the riders to dismount and pick up the ball before the game be considered won; the game must end somewhere, and the natural time is when the ball is put within the goal; the origin of this Balti custom was, probably, the struggling among themselves of the men of the winning side to get the ball, in order to take it off for the next game. Again, the giving no breathing-time between the games is not likely to be followed by those so careful of their horses as are Englishmen; it causes a useless strain on the animal's wind.

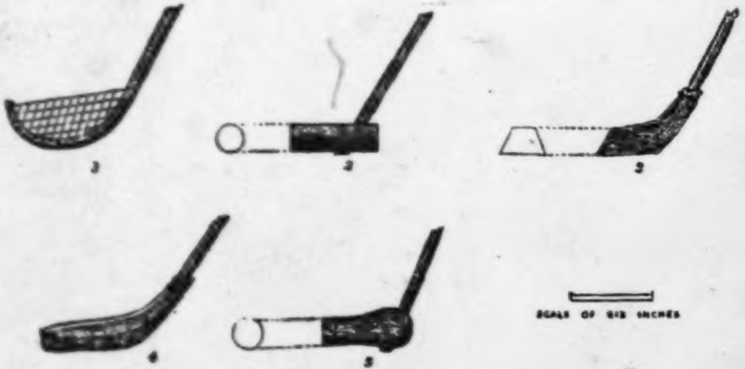
526 As to hooking of sticks; the practice certainly is productive of amusement and variety. One sometimes sees a man careering along just ready to give the victor stroke, unconscious of others following hard upon him, when a gentle hook will spoil his aim and discomfit his whole procedure. But I cannot recommend it for Englishmen; their tempers will not stand the interruption and consequent vexation; the practice was tried and disused in Upper India. Whether with the cooler air and the other sedative surroundings of home it could safely be adopted I will not presume to judge.

An important branch of the subject is the question of the kind of stick to be employed; certainly, next to one's pony the stick deserves attention. There is considerable variety, the different sorts being used in different parts. The accompanying cut shows six different forms.

No. 1 may be called the Byzantine stick. I have drawn it from the idea I received from the description given in the extract quoted in the note to p. 381, though perhaps the netted space was

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 / AV1 Kashmir
Balti AV2

526 more of the shape of a racket; it would suit best, or only, with a light ball. No. 2 is the Calcutta stick, taken, I imagine, from the Manipūrīs; it is a stiff bamboo, four feet or more long, with, for a head, a cylindrical piece of hard wood. The Baltī sticks (Nos. 3 and 4) have curved heads, the curves being of various degrees of sharpness, according to the fancy of the player; some of the best players use a short stick with a very slightly curved head; the other differences are that the handle is shorter (being usually 3½ feet in length), thinner, and more elastic; and the head is much heavier in proportion to the handle than that of the Calcutta stick. The head of these Baltī sticks is bored right through for the handle, which is fixed by a tight fastening round the upper end of the head, this being enabled to get a grip on the handle by a slot a couple of inches long being cut in front. It seems that the Calcutta stick is the only one that has been introduced into England. I say with confidence, having tried both sorts and seen them both tried, that the Baltī stick is the better, that more can be done with it. Very likely it takes more time to learn the use of it; its shortness involves one's getting nearer the ground—the kind of stick thus reacting on the style of riding; for while the Calcutta stick would both be suited to and tend to



POLO STICKS.

1, Byzantine; 2, Calcutta; 3, Baltī (Skārdū, &c.); 4, Baltī (Kargil); 5, Dārd.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Balti Ara

perpetuate a stiff kind of riding, the Baltí stick would encourage 626
a freer and more flexible style. When one's play is accommodated to a short stick there is a distinct advantage gained, in that the ball will be more lifted by the blow, and be carried farther; in cross-cuts, again, the Baltí sticks are much more manageable. Their top-heaviness, though awkward for a beginner, helps the blow to be very effective. The Baltis do not give the stroke from the wrist, but from the elbow or the shoulder. No. 5 is the kind of stick used in the Gilgit country. The section of the head of it is circular, the handle is elastic. With this sort I was not much taken; those who use it—the Dárds—make a very different kind of stroke from what the Baltis do; they give a short circular stroke from the wrist. This is apt to raise the ball (and knocks on the knee are not uncommon from this cause), but it does not drive it far, and the game generally of those players is closer, more shuffly, more of a *mêlée* than that of Baltistán.

It is almost essential that the head of the Baltí sticks should have the grain of the wood curved with its curve; the piece should be cut from the knee of a branch, or of course it might be bent by steaming. Birch is most commonly used, but probably oak would be as good; for the handle, hazel or ash would do well.

The ball used out there is as light and knotted a piece of wood as can be found; often it is from the root of some tree; bamboo-root is probably the best of all. Such a ball as this is more lively than the cricket-ball which, I believe, is used in England.

As to the ground, the Baltis will have it that their long narrow spaces are the best, and they wish for nothing better. Still there can be no doubt that it is only the character of their country, the confined area available, that brought about the rule of narrow polo-grounds, and, perhaps, the practice of all riding in one direction. I myself think that a square of 200 yards, with the goals in the middle of two opposite sides of it, leaves little to be desired. If, indeed, it were possible to enclose the area by any

1, Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Balti AF2

526 kind of turf wall, or by boarding, which should be smooth enough for the ball to rebound from it at the calculated angle, then a narrower ground—not so narrow, however, as those of Baltistán—would give opportunities for very pretty play. In any case, the bounds should be conspicuously marked.

We now come to the subject of tactical rules. One cannot help allowing considerable weight to the fact of three, if not four, Englishmen having lost their lives at this game within the first ten years of its introduction into Upper India. Considering the small number of places where it is practised, this is a large proportion. In Baltistán, fatal accidents at polo are hardly known, and it behoves us to examine whether this may not be due to their different way of conducting the game. I have little doubt that this freedom from accident arises from the galloping being done by all in the same direction at one time; there is no meeting; both sides start together and ride together after the ball. This is a very different thing from two sides being drawn up opposing each other, as in a tournament, and galloping towards each other. I grant that with a wide ground one may not be able to keep the direction of riding so completely as they do in Baltistán; but I think that the start should be made from one direction only, even if after that the courses may be less regularly kept. As to the commencing, the Balti plan of striking the ball in the air at a gallop is much more workmanlike—requiring as it does some considerable skill—than any other.

526 To speak generally as to the play one sees at Lillie Bridge,
171 I am sure that the best players there, were they to see a game played at Shigar or at Rondû, would learn much. They would learn how much of skill there was to be acquired. They would, I think, see that the best kind of pony was not a leggy animal, but a compact-built, handy, pony, that is both quick to start and quick to turn, a pony whose own intelligence is brought to bear on the game, not one that incessantly has to be worked by rein and spur, and certainly not one that requires blinkers. New kinds of stroke, too, would they learn; some of them, I believe (though I may have a bias on this subject, which should be allowed for),

attainable only with the shorter and comparatively heavy-headed sticks. A stroke corresponding to cut four of the cavalry exercise is a favourite one with the best Balti and Dárd players; it is difficult, but it is often useful. A cross-cut stroke, right across the front, is especially useful in our wide grounds, and a modification of this, by which the ball when nearly in front of one is sent to the left rear, is nearly equally so. These can all be done at the gallop by a good player. A fault to be avoided is the fighting too much over the ball when it is *far* away from the line of the goals, where the working it backwards or forwards can do little good or harm to either side; this looks as if the object were simply to get a knock at the ball, without reference to where it might go. True it is that even from the *far* side a good player well mounted may take the ball away and drive it home, but with the greater number the struggle there does not affect the result. When, as is not uncommonly the case in England, the sides are small, it is a good plan to bring the goals nearer to one another; and if that makes the game seem too easy, then the goals may be made narrower. 526 171

I have made these suggestions about the English play, in the full hope that if the game is kept up the play will improve, and with the desire to help even a little towards that end. That it is a game worth keeping up I feel strongly. It is one that, to play it well, requires a combination of skill of various sorts. As an exercise it is admirable, for it brings into action nearly every muscle of the body. As a pastime, it seems to me unrivalled; it is never tedious; with good sides it is always interesting, and often exciting.

Lastly, I must try to efface an impression that has lately got abroad, that polo is a cause of cruelty to the ponies. It can only be so if racing be cruel to race-horses, and hunting to hunters. The truth is that the game brings out a horse's capabilities, exercises his faculties, and so makes him fulfil the object of his life, in the highest degree. In the heat of the game a blow from the ball on his shin or his knee (a joint by no means so tender as our knee, with which it does not correspond in structure) is 526

Lo Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Balt/AV2

526 hardly felt, and this is about the worst that is likely to happen with moderate care in playing, which care should be dictated by a consideration for both man and beast. If one expose the ponies to no greater risk of injury than we do ourselves at polo, or at football—and I cannot think their risk is greater—then the best friends of animals should be satisfied.

1s Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV3 Kashmir
Dard AV3

CHAPTER XVII

DĀRDISTĀN: THE COUNTRY.

THE ROAD FROM KASHMIR TO GILGIT—ASTOR—BAWANJÍ—GILGIT—PUNIÁL—INDUS FLOODS.

The name written above is one that includes all the land inhabited by the Dārd race; but since that reaches beyond the bounds of the country I have set myself to describe, I must limit this chapter to that part of Dārdistān which is confined within the Maharaja of Kashmir's dominions. 101

In accordance with the plan previously adopted for other parts, I shall first show the geographical connection of this country with some that we have already become acquainted with by giving an account of the road between Kashmir and Gilgit, a principal place in Dārdistān. Then I shall describe different parts of that country, saying something under the headings of *Astor*, *Gilgit*, *Bawanjí*, and *Puniál*. In the next chapter I shall speak of the inhabitants, of the Dārds themselves; afterwards, some account of the later events that have affected Gilgit and of the political state of the neighbouring valleys will be given. 000

The Road from Kashmir to Gilgit.

This road is traversed by the Maharaja's troops and those who carry their supplies, and by few others. It is twenty-two days' march from *Srīnagar* to Gilgit; the details of the marches will be found in Appendix IV. (Route 9 *b*). 487

The way usually adopted is to drop down the *Jhelam* by boat and cross the Wular Lake to a place called Bandipūr, whence the start by land is made. There is first to be crossed the ridge which intervenes between the Vale of Kashmir and the Kishanganga Valley. It takes more than a day to reach to the summit of this, /33

/33 The path zigzags up a spur for a rise of some thousands of feet and then comes to a part where the slope up is more gradual; here the ground is varied, being broken into sweet little flowery dells surrounded by fir-trees. The first halting-place is Trāgbal, 4000 feet above the level of the Kashmir Valley, an oval opening in the dark fir-forest, filled by a pond of artificial make. From some spots near we command views of the Vale we have left, and of the great lake and the marshes beneath us, and of the opposing Panjāl Range, whose peaks, separated from their base by a great depth of mist-hidden ground, catching the sun's light, looked like mountains of another world. From Trāgbal a rise of between 2000 and 3000 feet more, up the same spur, brings us to the ridge. The Pass is hardly a depression in it. On the other side the road descends through somewhat similar but on the whole more wooded ground; after a day and a half's march from the ridge, the banks of the Kishangangā, at a place called Kanzalwān, are reached. Thus, then, in traversing 24 miles of road, or as the crow flies a distance of but 16 miles, and rising and descending some 6500 feet, we had crossed the northern bounding ridge of Kashmir.

The Kishangangā River rises 40 miles to the eastward of this spot, among the mountains behind Drās. At Kanzalwān it is a fine swift stream; as it goes on it receives the drainage of many lateral valleys in a country that is wooded, from which we may be sure it is one that has plentiful moisture; so the current increases in volume, until, when it joins the Jhelam at Muzafarābād, it has come to be one of equal importance with that river. There is a tract beginning a few miles below Kanzalwān where the valley is so narrow and the hill-sides so steep that, although the climate is favourable, no cultivation exists and there are no inhabitan[illegible] indeed, it is almost inaccessible.

36/
133 From Kanzalwān our way leads up the valley. A short march past pine-covered hills brings us to Gurez, a chief village, of which the hamlets are little clusters of log huts. This place, which gives its name to the district, is where, for some four miles in length, the valley is rather wider than at other parts, being from

Dard AV3

half a mile to a mile across; it is bounded on the south by wooded 361
mountains, and on the north by a great steep cliffy limestone mass, 133
which rises to 7000 or 8000 feet from the river. To the view the
mountains join above and below, closing in the valley. The
height of Gurez is 7800 feet above the sea. This elevation, combined [132]
with a great amount of cloud and rain in summer and of
snow in winter, makes the climate inclement. In this and some
other respects the place reminds me much of the valley of Pădar.
Here the only crops are millet, buckwheat, and peas, which are [241]
raised by help of irrigation; rice will not ripen. The best produce
of Gurez are the ponies, which are the best of their size for loads [231]
that I ever met with. In reaching this upper part of the
Kishangangă Valley, we had already come into the tract occupied
by Dărds; in the village of Gurez itself there is a mixture of [563]
Dărds and Kashmiris, but the former predominate. From there
onwards the people are almost entirely of that race, and dialects
of the Dărd language, a language quite different from Kashmiri, are
spoken. Where the two large streams meet, just above 133
Gurez, is the end of the wider part of the valley. The southern
stream may be said to be a continuation of the Kishangangă, as its
course is the longer, and it has, I believe, the greater volume; it
flows from the district called Tilel. If one had to go to Tilel one
would not attempt to follow up the stream, for the gorge it here
comes out of is impassable except when (for a week or two it may
be) the river is frozen over; travellers must go a few miles up the
other, the Burzil, stream, and cross a Pass which leads into the
cultivated valley of Tilel. This I have never visited. Our own
way leads for three days' march up the course of the northern
stream. The valley of it is narrow, bounded by mountains
rising some 4000 or 5000 feet; the stream flows for the most
part in a rocky bed; for the first ten miles there are many little
plateaus above the level of it, formed by the alluvium of side
streams; over these the path leads us, past several small villages; [137
on the mountain-slopes is a good deal of pine-forest; as the level
of the valley rises the forest does not reach so high up the sides,
and farther on the pine is replaced by spruce and silver firs.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AV3

133 From the place called Bangla a road for Astor and Gilgit leaves the valley and rises the ridge on the north; this has of late years come to be considered on the whole the easiest route to those places; the Pass just above (called Kamri) is little over 13,000 feet, and the way is shorter by some five miles than the other. But the other is the one we will follow, continuing in the [361] valley. There are now no more villages, though at one place, [311] called Minmarg, a little buckwheat is grown (at an elevation of about 10,500 feet) by villagers from below, who come there in the summer, but the crop with difficulty ripens. At this place, and farther up the valley to the south-east, are moraine-mounds of old glaciers. The last halting-place on this side the watershed is at [137] Burzil. Up to here there was no sign of a Tibetan climate; and as far as I, not being a botanist, could tell, there was the same vegetation, of forest, thick grass, and flowers, as in Kashmir.

487 At Burzil two roads part; one (spoken of in the last chapter) 133 leads north-eastwards across the Deosai plateau to Skārdū, the other, going due north, will bring us to Astor. Following this latter, we rise, not very steeply, a height of about 2000 feet in five or six miles; the Pass, which is called Dorikun, is 13,500 feet high; it is not a defile, but a neck between the two parts of a rocky ridge; this is of granite, and the peaks here have a character not uncommon with that rock—they are massive in general form, but serrated and jagged at the uppermost edge; soon beyond the rock changes to slate and altered slate. Having crossed the Pass we are in the basin of the Indus; we are on the eastern branch of the Astor River. The valley in which this flows we now descend.

This Pass is crossed on the fourth march from Gurez; after gradually descending for three more marches, down the narrow valley enclosed by not very steep mountains, we come to where the eastern branch of the Astor stream falls in; it was along this latter that the other road would have led us that branched to the left some way back; then another few miles and we reach Astor. Of the two Passes crossed by these two roads the Dorikun Pass is the easier, and, although rather higher, is more practicable when under snow; it opens in the spring a few weeks earlier, and it

1_2 Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AV3

remains open in the autumn a few weeks later, than the other; 4?7
the way, however, as before said, is some miles longer. Keeping 133
back the account of the valley of Astor for another subject-heading, we will now just finish the route, considering it merely in the light of a road to be got over.

Astor we may count thirteen or fourteen marches from Sirinagar. Thence five marches bring us to Bawanjī on the Indus. Down to this point laden ponies are not uncommonly brought, but there are many places very trying for them; the worst is the descent of the Hatū Pīr, a spur-pass just above Rāmghāt, one march short of Bawanjī. As far as Gilgit itself laden ponies are seldom taken, on account of there being a few spots where it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for them to pass. From Bawanjī to Gilgit there is a distance of three or four marches. One has first to cross the Indus; the passage is now easily effected by a ferry-boat; then the road leads some 12 miles up the Se Valley, whence we cross a 2000-foot ridge, after which we descend into the Gilgit Valley; one march along this brings us to Gilgit itself, over 230 miles from Sirinagar.

ASTOR.*

We will now look more closely at the Astor Valley, through 133
which we hurried. Its two chief branches have a length of 60 or 70 miles, reckoning from the source of each to the junction of the Astor River with the Indus. The more easterly of the two, that one down which came the road we traced, I have only seen under snow, and I have not much more to say about it.

At the head of the westerly branch is the Kamrī Pass, of 137
13,000 feet; the rest of the ridge being at heights of 14,000 and 133
15,000 feet. The descent on the north is steep for 1000 feet, and then the valley falls with a gentle slope. On this north side of the ridge a slight difference in the vegetation is observed as compared with that of the Gurez Valley; the grass less completely clothes the hill-sides; the brake fern does not so much abound;

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* The Dogras always call this place "Hasora," but its name in the mouth of a Dard is Astor.

1: Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

137 133 and the pine-forest is less extensive, while spruce-fir has become rare. Birch is found nearly up to 12,000 *feet*, and *Pinus excelsa* at 11,300. Some of the hill-sides have great stretches of birch-wood, which, as I saw them in autumn, made a glorious blaze of yellow, from the valley-bottom far up the mountain, enveloping detached woods of dark pine.

[361] Coming down the valley, we reach traces of cultivation at the level of 10,000 feet. First are detached hamlets and small villages, bare, with no trees round them. Then, at Rattū, are some apricot trees; at the next place are some small walnuts; while at Chagām, which is 8500 *feet*, are many fine walnut trees, and from there onwards the villages are mostly well shaded by fruit-trees.

175 721 [311] [161] But in that upper part it is chiefly traces of former cultivation that one sees; they are enough to show that crops will grow and ripen; but the fields are waste, the hamlets deserted. In most of the mountain-tracts we have hitherto gone over the population has increased nearly up to the limit of land available; but here is room for hundreds of settlers. This state of things was brought about by the *raids* of the people of Chilās. The Chilāsīs are a Dārd race inhabiting a long valley on the west of [101] [131] Diyāmir or Nangā Parbat. Until about 1850 they used to make occasional expeditions for plunder into this Astor Valley. Often they came over the Mazenū Pass to reach these higher parts, while for Astor itself, which they also attacked, they came round by the Hatū Pass and Dāiyān. The plunder they came for was [567] cattle and people to make slaves of; their captives they do not sell, but they keep them for their own service, making use of them to take their flocks and herds to pasture. But since it would be almost impossible to keep grown men as their slaves at such work, where opportunities for escape would be plentiful, they used to kill the men and carry away only the women and the young people.

It was these raids that determined Maharaja Gulāb Singh to send a punitive expedition against Chilās; this he did in 1851 or 1852, I am not sure which; one force went direct from Kashmir, and one advanced by this Mazenū Pass. The Dogrās were in great straits for provisions, as the communications were

4 [i.e. Astor Valley -- Analysis]

Dard AVS

not well kept up, but they at last took the chief stronghold of the 175
Chiláses, a fort two or three miles from the Indus River, and 721
reduced those people to some degree of obedience. A few of the slaves were released, but most of them had been sent to neighbouring valleys for safety, and they could not be recovered; as late as 1869 some half dozen of them escaped, and returned to their homes in Astor. The expedition had the effect of frightening the Chiláses into good behaviour; there has been no raid since. There is even some communication kept up; the people [441]
from Tarshing, a village under Nangá Parbat, now go to Chilás, while from Chilás messengers or envoys come to the Maharaja with a yearly tribute and hostages, of whom a certain number remain in Kashmir until, after a year or two, others come in exchange.

It is curious that while the people of Astor are all riders and keep many ponies, these Chiláses have none, and they used not 221
to attempt to take away any they met with in their raids.

The Astor people, who thus in later times have suffered so much, used formerly, when they were stronger, to do the same 721
kind of thing. Gurez was liable to their attacks, and Drás also.

The present state of quietness and security is a great change for them all. But the country has not yet recovered the ruin 161
and depopulation. Some new small settlements have indeed been made in the old village sites; attempts have been made to induce the Baltis, who overflow from their own country, to settle; but the inclement climate of the higher part of the valley (where chiefly there is vacant ground), and the absence of the fruit-trees they are so much used to enjoy, deter them.

The most interesting place I visited in the Astor country is the valley which leads up to the base of Nangá Parbat. Just 133
beyond the last village, Tarshing, one comes to the foot of one of the glaciers that spring from that great mountain.* I went

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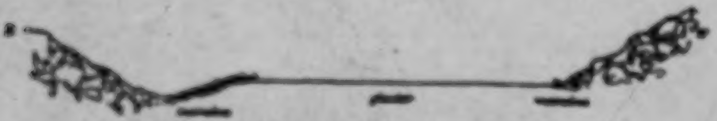
* The G. T. Survey Map is not accurate in the delineation of these glaciers; they do not in reality unite as there expressed. I have made the correction, as far as I could with certainty, in the map attached to this book. Other small mistakes occur in the Survey Map as to the position of streams and so on in the Astor and Rondû districts; these, though I was able to detect them, I had not time to rectify; so they have been allowed to stand in mine as in the Government Map.

to the glacier which comes down to Tarshing from the north; the level of its foot may be put down at 9400 feet. This is at the base of Nangā Parbat, which mountain towers above in a great snowy and rocky mass that appears like a gigantic escarpment. The glacier in its lower course has a slope of 4° or 5°, with a width of three-quarters of a mile or so; it is much broken by curved cross crevasses, and lengthwise by one long one. This glacier is fed by three or four steep branch glaciers which reach up the mountain, and there are one or two similar steep glaciers which end off before reaching the large ones. These side glaciers, whether the tributary ones or those of the secondary sort which do not unite their ice-flow with any other, are subject to another division into kinds—they may either, rising high up, be connected with snow-beds of the permanent snow, and in this case one cannot tell where snow ends and glacier begins; or they may end off suddenly upwards, being supplied only by falls of snow from above, which remains through most of the summer in taluses at the glacier's edge.

From the village northwards, for some three miles along the left bank of the glacier, is a great side moraine, the surface of which is now grown over with forest. The annexed section across, if looked at closely, will show the relationship of the moraines and the ice. From the hollow next the mountain-side on the east one



SECTION ACROSS TARSHING GLACIER.

ascends a very regular slope of perhaps 25° for a height of 400 feet; this is the old moraine, it is now covered with pine-wood. Beyond the crest of it is a little hollow, and then a second moraine heap, which, on the farther side, is bounded by a vertical cliff of 100 feet, at the foot of which is the glacier. On the right bank there is a representative of the inner one only of these two moraine-ridges. The moraine-cliff shows sections of large blocks among small stuff, but here and there was just a sign of stratification, not continuing for far in any case; this stratified matter was, I have no doubt, deposited in temporary side lakes, such as we saw along the side of the Ārandū Glacier.* Following the glacier down we see that it abuts right against the cliffs on the opposite side of the main valley, to which this may be said to be tributary; it has not at all turned, nor diminished in thickness, but it ends off thus sharp against the rock; on the lower, easterly, face the ice is much cracked, and evidently is continually breaking off. I heard from natives of Tarshing, close observers, of some interesting changes in the state of the ice. It seems that up to 1850 it was in this same way jammed against the opposing rock, but at a higher level than now; that inner moraine-ridge is evidence of it having been at a level about 100 feet above its present one; at the time spoken of the whole surface of the glacier was smooth, uncrevassed; one might have walked, and indeed they used to ride, anywhere on it. The stream from the south-west, which drains other glaciers, found a way for itself underneath. Well, about that year or the next, in the winter time, the water-way got stopped up, and a lake began to accumulate in the valley above; as spring came the lake much increased; it must have been, at the last, a mile or a mile and a half long and half a mile wide, with an average depth of 100 or 150 feet, the extreme depth being about 300 feet. The people knew what was coming, and men were put on the watch; when at length the water reached the top of the glacier and began to flow over, word was sent down the valley, and all fled from the lower parts to the hill-sides; the water cut down a course for itself between the cliff and the glacier, and in doing so produced a disastrous flood that lasted three days. One near effect of the flood was to alter the course of the stream that comes down from the south, so as to make it at once fall into the main stream, instead of, as before, flowing along the near hill-sides; this cut it off from the alluvial

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* I never thoroughly understood how such stratified deposits came to be mixed up with the irregular glacial accumulations until Professor Ramsay, on my describing them to him, gave me the above explanation.

133 plateau on which the village of Ċhoi is situated, and destroyed the prosperity of that place. On the left bank, the flood, in cutting a cliff, carried away the canal that irrigated another village; and some land and some houses at Tarshing itself were washed away. Lower down, in the Astor Valley, at Gurikot, Dashkin, and other places, some cultivated lands were destroyed, but it does not seem that any lives were lost. A curious thing followed this;—the glacier gradually sunk in level, at the rate of a few yards every year, till it came down to its present position, that is about 100 feet below its former level; at the same time it became crevassed, so that now it is difficult to find a road across. It is evident that at the time the glacier abutted against the rock the ice was being compressed, and the crevasses that may have formerly existed were closed up; afterwards, the water kept open a passage, the ice was cracked off bit by bit as it advanced, and the circumstances that cause crevasses (as inequalities in the bed) acted without opposition. Now again the space between the end of the glacier and the cliff is closed up; the waters at present find a passage for themselves beneath; probably the same process of compression has re-commenced, which may again end in a complete stoppage of the upper drainage, formation of a lake, and subsequent outbreak and flood.

[361] The village of Astor is situated on the western side of the
valley, at the junction of one of those tributary valleys which come
648 down from the Nangā Parbat Ridge. It is on the remnant of an
175 alluvial plateau, at a height of some 500 feet above the main
river. This place, which used to be the seat of a Dārd Raja, is now a cantonment of the Maharaja's troops, the chief station for the Gilgit Brigade. It is a collection of hundreds of small huts, which the soldiers inhabit in twos and threes; these huts are huddled or crowded together in two or three separate clumps. The number of troops is about 1200; the object of keeping them here rather than nearer the frontier is to save carriage of the supplies, which mostly come from Kashmir; the force is on the

Dard AV3

right side of the snowy Pass, and is always ready to advance 175
to Gilgit if required. I know very little of the L48
history of Astor. Bernier, who wrote about the year 1660, in enumerating the countries that border Kashmir, speaks of the territories of *Raja Gamon*. Now from geographical position I infer that this was the ruler of Astor. When the Sikhs held Kashmir, the Astor Raja was tributary to them; he had become so without any force having been sent; for a time he remained in quiet. But a curious thing happened. When Wazir Lakpat [721] (who was lieutenant of Zurāwar Singh, who was servant of Raja Gulāb Singh, who was a tributary of the Sikhs) was victorious in Skārdū, he came over the Harpo Lā and invaded Astor. Lakpat besieged the Astor fort for four months; at the end of which time it was given up for want of provisions, and the Raja was taken away prisoner to Skārdū; and this though he was on terms of friendship and (in a degree) dependent on the Sikh Governor of Kashmir. At last, representations on the subject went to Lāhor, and from there Gulāb Singh received directions to desist from interfering with Astor, so the Raja was sent back. But [643] not long afterwards the Sikhs themselves from Kashmir required a passage through the Astor territory on their way to Gilgit (as will be related in Chapter XIX.), and not only so, but they required to make their communications sure; with this object a Sikh post was placed at Astor, and from that time the independence of the Raja diminished; now there is a titular Raja, for whose subsistence some provision is made, whether by pension or from land I do not know.

At Astor and for many miles on there is one general character of the valley; at the bottom it is very narrow; the river 133
is quite confined between the ends of great spurs from the lofty 311
mountain-ridges on both sides; the cultivation is on very small 137
spaces, usually some hundreds of feet above the valley-bottom. The hill-sides are partly broken into cliffs and partly of a smooth surface, grown over with grass in tufts, and with bushes of pencil-cedar scattered over, while in parts sheltered from the sun *Pinus*

133 311 *excelsa* grows, of small size, and makes a thin forest; above, the mountains often rise to lofty rocky and snowy peaks.

137 Below Astor, as well as in the higher part of the valley, are deserted lands which again tell of the raids of the Chilásis. This part should be a country of fruit-trees, but when the lands were deserted these perished for want of water; the old watercourses have now come to be in such a state that it would take much labour again to bring the water over the fields. On some of the terraced fields I saw trees growing which must have been 100 years old; this shows that for long the same state of hostility and insecurity had continued.

133 A mile or two below the village of Dashkin, on turning a spur, we open a tract of a character different from what we have lately seen—a wide valley, somewhat of the amphitheatre form, but with the base also sloping; over both the sides and the base are extensive pine forests, through which we contour, avoiding the broken ground below, where among rocks the river flows; stretching back at a gentle slope the ground rises above the limit of forest to a ridge easy of access, about 14,000 feet high; over this ridge is a path by which the Chilásis have before now irrupted.

[137] In this forest grows the edible pine (*P. Gerardiana*), this being the only other locality in the territories, besides Pádar, where I have met with it.

One other hollow round which we travel, and we get to the last spur, that which overhangs the valley of the Indus. It is a sharp spur-ridge, the Pass over which bears the name of Hatú Pír. From this we look straight across the Indus Valley on to a great steep mass of mountains, the greater part of the surface of which is bare, either rock or talus, only in the upper part pine-trees are dotted here and there; a ravine comes down in front, by the side of which is a small patch of cultivated land—the little village of Thalicha. The river Indus winds through what, in a large way, is a plain between two mountain-ridges, but is really made of sloping fans on both sides—stony tracts—below the level of which flows the river, winding and leaving little stretches of sand in the hollows of its bends.

I₂ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AVs

From Hatū Pīr there is a great descent, of about 5000 feet, /33
by a zigzag road, steep and rough. We do not immediately reach the Indus Valley, but we go first to where the end of the Hatū spur nearly meets the mountain on the opposite side of the Astor River, leaving but a narrow channel for the water. [491] Here the Astor River is spanned by two rope-bridges, made of birch twigs, and by a wooden bridge, over which ponies can be taken; [712] a tower has been built that commends the passage; the position is held by some forty soldiers, who keep a good look-out. The place is a strange one; the soldiers live in caves in the rock; the rock overhangs, so as to keep off the sunshine for the greater part of the day; still the air becomes burning hot in summer; in winter, though no snow falls, the cold is somewhat severe.

Here crossing and following down the Astor River we soon debouch into the Indus Valley and find ourselves on the stony alluvial tracts, over nine miles of which, with small ups and downs, we have to go before reaching Bawanjī.

BAWANJI.

This is a spot where at one time was a good deal of culti- [311]
vation, and it is likely that fruit-trees once shaded it; but 175
during the wars of two or three generations back it was laid waste 712
and became entirely depopulated, and nought but bare ground remained. At that earlier time it was inhabited by Dārds, but was ruled, as I am informed, from Rondū; it was by Sulaimān Shāh's invasion that it was laid waste.* At the present time Bawanjī has a very small area under cultivation, but the place is of some importance as a military post, since on the holding of it depends the passage of the Indus on the way to Gilgit. There is a fort which was built by the Dogrās; it is manned by about seventy men, and as many more are in barracks outside. [492] There is here also a prison, where a gang of incorrigible Kashmīrī horse-stealers are detained; these men enjoy during the day some liberty for cultivating their plots of land. The valley /32
here is warm and dry; with irrigation two crops can always be [8-4]

v2/586.

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* See Chapter xix.

Dard AVs

132 raised. In winter snow seldom falls, but on occasional years it may do so to the depth of an inch, melting away with the first
133 sun. The mountains round are lofty, rocky, and bare; these increase the summer's heat. There is a fall of about 250 feet to the river Indus, which has here a width of 160 yards; the water flows smoothly, and has, I think, a considerable depth; the ferry is a mile or so above the fort. Immediately opposite comes in the Se stream, while the Gilgit River falls in a few miles above.

GILGIT

183 From the mouths of the Dārd people, when talking among themselves, in their own language, the sound of this name seemed to my ear such as would properly be represented by the spelling *Gilgit*.* But all people of other races who have had occasion to use the name—Kashmiris, Sikhs, Dogrās, and Europeans—have caught the sound as *Gilgit*, and used this form until it has become so much known that it would be inconvenient, not to say useless, for me to attempt to change the name.

131
648 The district of Gilgit consists of the lower part of the valley of a river tributary to the Indus, which, rising in the mountains that bound Badakhshān and Chitrāl, flows south-eastward until it falls into the great river, a little above Bawanji. The length of the course of this Gilgit River, speaking roughly and only following the greater changes of direction, is 120 miles, which are thus divided,—Yāsin includes a length of 60 miles, Puniāl of 25 miles, and Gilgit of 35 miles. Yāsin is beyond the Maharaja of Kashmir's boundary; Puniāl is within it, being governed by a Raja dependent on and aided by the Maharaja's power; Gilgit is administered directly by the Maharaja's officers. This refers only to one line of valley—the main one; besides this there are important branch valleys belonging to Yāsin, and there is a long tributary valley on the north-east, which is occupied by two other small states—Hunza and Nagar.

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* Vigne says that the real name of Gilgit is said to be "Gilid." Dr. Leitner speaks of "Ghilghit or Gilit."

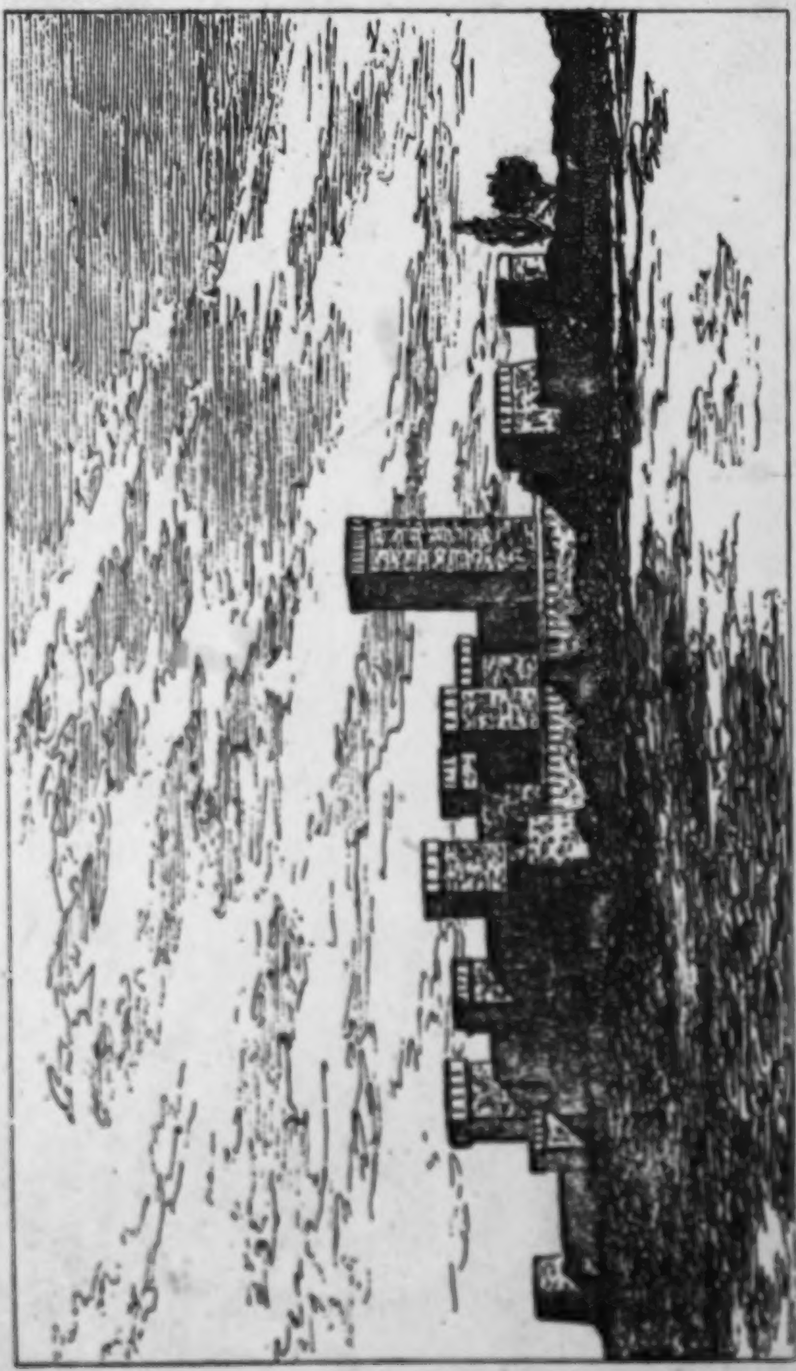
1, Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AVs

The lower part of the valley, occupied by Gilgit, is from one to 133
three miles wide; it is bounded on each side by steep rocky mountains; the valley itself contains stony alluvial plateaus of various form, and various level above the river, which flows in cliffs worn in them; the greater part of this space is arid and barren, but, as usual, in front of each side ravine is a cultivated space, watered by the side stream, on which is a collection of houses. The line of mountains on the south-west side of the valley is divided most regularly by these ravines; between each of them the steep rocky masses narrow as they rise. On the north-east side the mountains are of an enormous size; they are well seen from the ridge separating the Se and Gilgit valleys; the rocky spurs lead back to lofty snowy peaks, one of which is over 25,000 feet in height. In front of each ravine on that side, too, is the wide-spread alluvial fan, with a portion of it watered and cultivated. There the mountains are completely bare, but on the south-west side, high up above the lower cliffs, is a growth of pine-wood.

The village of Gilgit is on one of the watered tracts on the right
bank of the river; here the cultivated ground is not part of the fan 361
of a side stream, but is on the flat plain of the river alluvium, 131
which makes a terrace 30 or 40 feet above the water. The cultivation 241
occupies the space of a square mile or so, extending from
the river bank to the mountains; the irrigating water comes from
the nearest side stream. The houses here, as also in Astor, are
flat-topped; they are scattered over the plain in twos and threes 342
among groups of fruit-trees, having been rebuilt in this way after 127
the destruction that occurred in the various wars to which Gilgit
has been subject; it will take long for the village to recover the
abundance of fruit-trees which used to prevail. The fort
of Gilgit is the Maharaja's chief stronghold in Dārdistān. It has 712
been at different times taken, destroyed, rebuilt, added to, and E 41]
altered. In 1870, when I was there, the appearance of it from the
south-west was as represented in the sketch on the next page.
The central part with the high towers (one of them loftier than the
rest) was built by the ruler Gaur Rahmān during his second reign
in Gilgit when the Maharaja Gulāb Singh's troops had been for a

Dard A V3

712



GILGIT FORT IN 1870.

1: Drew G-2 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AV2

time dispossessed of it; this is built in the Dârd style, of a wooden 712 framework for the wall filled in with stones; it was really a strong work for the country. The next outer construction is the work of the Dogrâs; it is a wall some 14 feet high, built round three sides of the inner fort (the fourth being protected by the steep river bank), so as to enclose a space between the two for 200 or 300 men to live in; of the seven or eight towers of this outer fort two can mount a gun. Lastly, built cornerwise on to the fort, was what was called the *Sangar*—a space enclosed by a poor stone wall; in this were quartered two or three hundred irregulars.

But since this sketch was made, since I saw the place, changes have occurred. In the spring of 1871 a severe earthquake threw down a considerable portion of the fort, and it has now, I believe, been rebuilt on a better plan.

Gilgit, by my reckoning, is 4800 feet above the sea. Mr. Hayward put it down as 5025 feet; but I think the former figures, 133 which are derived by Boiling Point observations from Bawanjî, whose elevation is given by the G. T. Survey, to be the nearer. The climate of Gilgit is not unlike that of Baltistân, only less snow falls, indeed but little snow-fall occurs. The vegetable 132 products are the following—wheat, barley, naked barley, rice (in Gilgit village only), maize, millet, buckwheat, pulse (mungi, mân, 241 and masar), rape, and cotton; and of fruits—mulberry, peach, apricot, grape, apple, quince, pear, greengage, fig (not in any perfection), walnut, pomegranate, and sarshing (*Elæagnus Moorcroftii*, called there sanâb, sarshing being the Tibetan name); besides musk-melons and water-melons. Silk is grown, but in very small 231 quantity; the worm is smaller than that of Kashmir, and the cocoon is small. There are three fabrics made of it; one half silk, half wool, this is much worn by those in station above the ordinary 286 peasant; another half silk and half cotton; the third all silk, a strong though loose-wove fabric which is prized for kamarbands.

Gold is washed from the river-gravels, as in many other parts of the Indus basin; here it is in coarser grains than I have seen 135 elsewhere, and the return for the labour of washing is somewhat better.

1a Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

PUNIÁL.

131 Four miles above the village and fort of Gilgit the valley narrows; still there is generally a bit of alluvial plateau on one side or other of the river; a few villages are passed and sites of deserted villages. For a day's march up one is still in the district of Gilgit, which is conterminous with the old Rajaship of Gilgit. Between the villages of Sharot and Gulpür this district ends and Puniál begins.*

648
642 Puniál is a part of the valley which had long been held by separate Rajas, sometimes I think independent, sometimes depending on one or other of their neighbours—Yásin and Gilgit. The last result of the wars and disturbances that for some generations so much affected these valleys has been to leave Puniál to a ruler of the line of its old Rajas, but under the protection of and in close dependence on, and, in those matters in which interference might be called for, in obedience to, the Maharaja of Kashmir. The district thus held is simply the line of the main
361 valley, all along narrow, from Gulpür up to the village and fort
133 of Gákúj. This is a length of some 25 miles; within it there
725 are nine villages and two or three outlying patches of ground cultivated from the nearest; these villages vary in altitude from 5500 feet to nearly 7000 feet; the chief place is Sher, on the left bank, where the Raja dwells. A characteristic of this part of the valley is that often, after every few miles, one comes to a place where the space is narrowed for a short distance by spurs coming down, so that the passage along is extremely difficult; the name given to these places is *darband*, or "shut-door"; they are of much importance from a military point of view, since at each of them a few might stop an army for a time; but there are usually two roads by which they can be passed—a very difficult one, fit only for agile foot-passengers, along the cliff, and a bridle-path that

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* I believe that originally Gulpür itself was under the Gilgit Rajas, and that it was granted to Puniál in dowry of one of the daughters of the house. The present actual boundary between Gilgit and Puniál is the stony and sandy plain between Sharot and Gulpür.

leads a thousand feet or more above; again, in winter, they can sometimes be turned by twice fording the river. 133 361 725

That we have here come to a country exposed to the attacks, or, at all events, the alarms, of surrounding enemies is shown by the arrangement of the villages. 361 712 At *Sher itself*, and from that place onwards, all the villagers, with their wives and families and their cattle, live within the fort; village and fort are here synonymous. *Sher Fort* is the strongest hereabouts; it has one face to the bank of the river, whence its supply of water cannot be cut off; all four sides are lofty walls with towers, much in the style of the inner work at Gilgit, but not quite so regularly built. [342] Inside, the whole area is covered, huts are built over it all; these huts are mostly of three stories, the lowest is occupied by the cattle, the second is the usual dwelling-place, and the third is the summer living place; they are lighted by small openings in the roofs. The Raja has a nice set of rooms in one corner. Besides the country-people, there are 100 irregular sepoys of the Maharaja's army quartered in the fort; [648] they occupy the part next to the walls, while the villagers have the centre. Thus the place is very much crowded. *Bubar*, which is also on the left bank, some 15 miles up (6000 feet above the sea), is in the same way a place where the villagers live in the fort; this is a large and prosperous village thick in fruit-trees. [245] Vine is much cultivated; it is grown in small vineyards with the plants at irregular distances, many being old trees; the whole of the vineyard is covered with a framework of sticks supported at a height of from two to four feet above the ground, and over this the vines are trained; some of these vineyards are immediately beneath the walls; they are considered as a good defence to the fort; I think it more likely that the fort is a good defence to the vineyards, which are apt to suffer in a war. Bubar Fort is not quite so strong as Sher, still it is reckoned one of those which cannot be taken by force—the alternative, treachery, is not an uncommon weapon in these countries. *Gulmati*, *Singal*, and the other villages in this part of the valley, have the dwellings similarly enclosed in forts.

At evening, the people, who have been occupied in their fields
512 during the day, all come with their cattle within the walls and
[623] the gates are closed; all night sentries watch on the towers, and
every half hour the "All's well" resounds through the stillness,
though it may get less frequent towards the sleepy hours of
morning. At dawn an armed party go forth and make the round
of all places that might possibly harbour an enemy, and not until
their search has proved that the village is clear do others issue
648 for their ordinary avocations. At the time I marched up the
valley the Maharaja's relations with the Yásín chief were in a
doubtful state, on account of the murder of Mr. Hayward, for which
we were trying to get reparation; these precautions, therefore,
may have been more than usually attended to. I did not myself
lodge within the forts, but, having an escort of 200 men from
Gilgit, we were able to keep such a look-out as effectually to
prevent any surprise.

649 The highest point in the valley that I went to was Gákúj.
131 This is the last village in Puniál; it is the farthest in this north-west corner to which the Maharaja's power or influence extends—
and hence it is the farthest to which the influence of the Government of India reaches. Gákúj is, by my observations, 6940 feet
133 above the sea; it is on a knob of rock behind which is a sloping
132 plain, all this being 700 feet above the river. It is a cold windy
place; snow falls there in winter to a depth varying from 6 inches
to 1 foot 6 inches, and it stays three months; here only one crop
is grown, while near the level of the river, 600 feet down, two
crops are got from the land.

712 There is a strong fort at Gákúj, containing within it a spring
of water; the garrison is composed of the villagers—about fifty
fighting men. Part of the plain is cultivated, but beyond that
704 part stretches a narrow stony plain backed by mountains 3000
361 feet or so high, their sides dotted with pencil-cedar bushes with
133 pine-forest above; this strip of plain extends some eight miles up
the valley, at which distance a spur from the mountains comes down
[648] and juts against the river, making a natural barrier. This spot,
called Hûpar, is the extreme point of the Maharaja's territory;

Ic Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AVS

here the Puniál Raja has a guard of six men, who, on signs of an 704
enemy approaching, would light a signal fire; for this reason no 361
cooking of food is allowed there, so the look-out party take a few 133
days' provisions ready cooked, to last until their relief. To hold the position would require one or two hundred men. There are two roads past it, one of them only can be traversed by horses. At three other places is a guard kept. One on the left bank of the Gilgit River, a little lower down than Gákúj; one is on the left bank of the Ishkoman River (which falls in from the north above Gákúj) and one on its right bank, near, I think, its junction with the main stream; while in summer a guard is pushed nearly a day's march up the Ishkoman Valley. The object is to reach the best look-out place at each particular time of the year, and this must vary as the rivers become fordable or impassable. The Yásínís have a guard at a place called Shelodas, on the left bank, opposite to Húpar.

It was in November, 1870, that I went through Puniál. The 159
ruler is Raja Isá Bágdur (a name sometimes corrupted by strangers [175
to Bahádur). We were together for several days; we travelled in
company, and nearly every day I joined him in a game of polo; [578
with such intercourse we naturally became well acquainted. He is a man who has long been at enmity with the Yásín family, and now entertains the most lively hatred of them; in the various tides of invasion he has had to flee from his territory and take
shelter now in Gilgit, now in Chilás, and now in Kashmir. On [649
the re-conquest of Gilgit by the Maharaja (which will be related in another chapter) he was replaced in his own country, which ever since he has held in faithful dependence on the Maharaja's Government, often under difficult circumstances. Though an old man he is strong and active; he is a capital, even a renowned, rider. In character he is both brave and politic, at the same time cautious and enterprising. He is much feared by his enemies
and liked by his people; these obey him implicitly; it is their [576]
custom, on meeting him, to go up and kiss his hand; this, I believe, to be the general old custom in Dárdistán, or at all events in that part of it where the government is monarchical.

1s Drew G-3 (1862-1871) 1875 AV3 Kashmir
Dard AV3

132] Mr. Hayward, who made friends with the Yāsīn chief, Raja Isā Bahādur's worst enemy, took a dislike to the latter. I speak of him as I myself found him.

Indus Floods.

133 In several of the preceding chapters, as well as in the present one various physical phenomena have been noted, which either have caused or have been likely to cause a flood in the Indus River or in some of its tributaries. Thus in Central Ladākh we encountered signs of the river having been dammed by the protrusion of fans or by landslips, and such a keeping back of the water is likely to be followed by a working out of a channel through the dam quickly enough to produce a flood. By the Ārandū Glacier we saw how little side lakes were every now and then being formed, the sudden draining of which sometimes made a flood perceptible at all events in the tributary valley if not in the main one. Again, the instance of the Tarshing Glacier shows how ice can act as the dam of a lake of considerable size, whose body of water is enough when loosed to effect enormous damage. Now in the lower part of the Indus—where, after the unexplored space, we again become acquainted with it—floods have been experienced which were the outcome of the greatest of the events whose nature has just been explained; only the greatest have such effect as to be observed in those inferior regions, the others are masked, either by the addition of the volumes of water of the lower tributaries of the river, or by the gradual dying out of the flood with the distance and with the bends and shallows of the river.

Two great floods have been noted in the part where the Indus leaves our map; they have been remembered on account of their extraordinary height, and of the great havoc they effected. The first is the flood which devastated the plain of Chach in Hazāra in the year 1841. The second is that which in 1858 caused such a rise of the river at Atak (Attock) that the waters of the Kābul stream were penned back, and, overflowing, destroyed a great part of the British cantonment of Naushahra. Each of these has been

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the subject of much inquiry as to its origin, and differing opinions /33 have been and perhaps still are held about them. I wish now to add something to the facts from which conclusions must be drawn, and to see whether we shall not then have evidence from which we can form a firm and stable opinion.

The flood of 1841 was in this wise. It occurred, as near as I can make out, in the beginning of June of that year. At Atak, a place 12 or 15 miles below where the latitude-parallel of 34° crosses the Indus, the river had been observed during several months, indeed from December of the previous year onwards, to be unusually low; in the spring it had risen a little from the snow melting, but only a little, so that at the end of May (when in ordinary years the volume has greatly increased) it was still extraordinarily low. This in itself should have been enough to warn the people who dwelt by its banks, but so little was it thought of that a portion of the Sikh army was encamped on the low plain of Chach which bordered the river. One day in the beginning of June, at two in the afternoon, the waters were seen by those who were there encamped to be coming upon them down the various channels, and to be swelling out of these to overspread the plain in a dark muddy mass, which swept everything before it. The camp was completely overwhelmed; 500 soldiers at once perished; only those who were within near reach of the hill-sides could hope for safety; neither trees nor houses could avail to keep those surprised in the plain out of the power of the flood, for trees and houses themselves were swept away; every trace of cultivation was effaced; and the tents, the baggage, and the artillery, all were involved in the ruin. The result is graphically expressed by Captain J. Abbott, who wrote, "Chach has been sown with barren sand," and by his informant, a native eye-witness, whose words were, "As a woman with a wet towel sweeps away a legion of ants, so the river blotted out the army of the Raja."*

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* My sources for this account, besides the oral description of one, a Sikh writer, who himself narrowly escaped, are chiefly a letter from Dr. Falconer in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. x., 1841, p. 615), and a notice by Captain J. Abbott in the same journal (vol. xvii., pt. i., 1848, p. 230). In the latter communication there is a mistake as to the date of the occurrence; the time given by the

/38 Inquiries as to the place and mode of origin of this flood, which were made by several officers at different times, resulted in two theories. The first was that the deluge was due to the breaking of the icy barrier of a lake which had been known to form above a glacier high up near the source of the Shâyok Valley, at a place called Kumdan; this view is taken by General Cunningham in his book on Ladâkh, and Captain Henderson also adopted it.* But by those who held this opinion the argument never was answered, "How could the interception of the waters of one branch near its source cause such a drying up of the river as was observed, while scores of streams of equal volume with the one at the head of the Shâyok still were pouring in their tribute?" It is this previous fact of the decided lowering of the river that made others look for the cause of the deluge on the main Indus, below the falling in of the Shâyok. The true position of the barrier (whose formation caused the waters to accumulate, and the breaking of which loosened them) was ascertained by Major Becher, who was on duty in Kashmir in 1858 or 1859, and who then made inquiries through the Maharaja's officials, which resulted in his acquiring information which my own entirely corroborates. Since I myself saw the spot, and made inquiries on the spot, it may be well for me to give my own information; the reader will see how it corresponds with what Major Becher wrote, the gist of which is here subjoined in a note.†

Hindū reckoning—the middle of Jeyt, 1898—really corresponds to the end of May or beginning of June, 1841, and not, as there put down, to the 1st May, 1842. That 1841 was the year there can be no doubt, since Dr. Falconer wrote on the 6th July, 1841, on receiving news of the event. The exact day I have not been able to determine, but it cannot have been far from the beginning of June.

* See Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. xxviii., 1859, p. 199.

† In a letter to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, given in the Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, vol. xxviii., 1859, p. 219, Major Becher expresses his disbelief in Cunningham's account of the flood, and says that it was caused by the arrest of the main Indus, across which a mountain called Ultoo Kunn subsided at a narrow place about 5 coss (a coss being either 1½ or 2 miles, one cannot be sure which) south of Ghor, that Boota Khan, a native of Ghor now in Cashmere, gives the most exact account—he saw the actual dam, and some men of his village were buried by the fall of the soft-soiled mountain, which he attributes to an earthquake. Major Becher then corroborates the above account by copies of news-letters written at that time from Cashmere to Sir George Clerk. The news-writer says, "From Hussora (Astor) and Gilgit news has arrived that in last January a mountain (by reason of an earth-

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At the time I was in those parts I was not aware of what /93 Major Becher had written, and might very likely have passed along without thinking of the subject of the flood; but on reaching the summit of Hatū Pīr, after taking in all I could of the grand mountain view it gives—which reaches as far down this Upper Indus Valley as anyone of my nation has ever seen or been to—I got talking to a man who belonged to the village of Gor, opposite, who told me of a landslip that had occurred in the first ravine below Hatū Pīr, either just at or just below the bend of the river; he said that the débris of this landslip had dammed the river and made a lake which had extended up to Gilgit. Thus put on the track, I made inquiries from many people and found that truly this was the spot where the obstacle had occurred. It seems that in the late autumn (of the year 1840 it would be; these informants are not exact as to a year) the landslip occurred, of which the immediate cause was an earthquake. I saw the heaped material, but was unable to get to the very place. The amount of it was enough to cause the waters of the Indus to rise to the level of Bawanjī Fort, just on to the plateau, which is about 300 feet above the ordinary level of the river near, and still more above the river-bed by the dam. With such a depth as this it will be understood that the lake must have extended far up the valley. I know not to what point on the Indus it reached; up the Gilgit Valley it stretched to where the Hunza stream falls in; the length of the lake, therefore, in that direction must have been 35 miles, with, at half that distance, a branch leading up the main Indus Valley, along which branch also, from the lower end, it would have measured at least that length. It is difficult

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quake) fell into the Indus or Attock River, and has closed the course of its stream. Up to the 1st May 12 coss of land in Gilgit District has been submerged. Jubbar Khan, the chief of Hussora, sent in a note to Cashmere that the waters would continue pent up for another month, and after that would force a passage in some direction." Again, in June, 1841, he writes, "From Gilgit the news is that the waters of the Sinde or Attock River, by reason of a fall of a mountain, were brimmed up in the direction of Gilgit for a long time, and there was a lake reaching to a distance of 18 coss; high hills were on all sides; when it had risen immensely, the river forced its way with great velocity, and is now pursuing its natural course; many villages of Yusufzays, Chuch, and Husara have been destroyed by the deluge."

/33 to estimate the width, for I have not followed the course of the valleys all along; it may have been a mile on an average; thus it must have been like a narrower Pángkong with a bifurcation. This lake took from six to seven months to fill. When the waters were at their height another landslip occurred just opposite Bawanji (of which I could see the talus); this made a great wave in the lake, which reached over to Bawanji, but the débris by no means extended across; I mention this to show that such events as the sudden falling of mountain masses are not so very uncommon, and also to provide against any future inquirer being led to confound this fall with the one that made the lake-dam. I have little doubt that the dam held until the lake reached to the lip and began to flow over;* then the loose material gave way and an increasing passage allowed at last of such a rush of waters as to make for the lower parts a veritable cataclysm, all that great lake draining off in a day.†

The next flood that I heard of occurred about the year 1844. It came from the Ishkoman Valley, and was noticed in that of Gilgit; on the water going down, many fish were caught in the flats above Gilgit by the Sikh soldiers. Mr. Hayward recognised the lake at the head of the Ishkoman Valley as the source of floods, past and to be expected; he had heard that it was formed by glaciers blocking up the valley, through which the waters sometimes burst. There seems to be an impression on some that this blocking is due to the *falling* of glacier ice across the valley. This is not the case. It is only the gradual forward movement of the glacier which makes a dam, when its direction is such that it must in that movement abut against the opposite side of a connected valley; this process we saw going on with the Tarshing Glacier under Nangā Parbat.

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* This one may infer from what the news-writer quoted in the previous note says, namely, that up to the 1st May 18 coss of land had been submerged, and that the Astor chief sent word that the waters would continue pent for another month. This estimate, which was curiously accurate, must have been founded on an observation of the rate at which the lake was rising and of the height of dam that remained above.

† The positive evidence of this lake having been the cause of the Chach flood is, to my mind, conclusive. In examining the arguments in favour of the Shâyok-flood theory, one cannot help seeing that though there are very good proofs of *certain floods* having occurred in that valley, there is nothing to connect them with the Chach catastrophe.

The next flood of which we have a record is the second of those two great floods first mentioned—the one that in the year 1858 did so much damage at Naushahra. My information about this is derived chiefly from the above-quoted letter of Major Becher, from a Memorandum by Captain Henderson which precedes it, and from papers by Captain Montgomerie and Mr. Obbard.* The following is the description of it. At 5 A.M. on the 10th August, 1858, the Indus at Atak (Attock) was very low; at 7 A.M. it had risen 10 feet; by half an hour after noon it had risen 50 feet, and it continued to rise until it stood *ninety feet* higher than in the morning. The fall was very slow; during the 12th August it returned very much to the position it occupied before the flood came. Captain Henderson speaks of the water as "welling up quietly but very rapidly," and says that four hours after the rise began, and three and a half hours before the maximum, he crossed the river in a boat. This flood also produced difference of opinion as to the place of origin of it. Some said that the flood of 1841 and this one both came from the same spot, near the head of the Shāyok Valley. But the inquiries made by Majors Becher and Montgomerie cleared up the doubt about this also. The Mahārāja's people up and down the Indus were asked for information; the only news of a flood which came in answer was from those at Bawanji, where a great flood had been noticed by the sepoys, and timbers were seen floating which they recognised as the gateway of Nūmbūl Fort. Now Nūmbūl is no other than Niomal, a place a little way up the valley of the Hunza River. From this and other evidence obtained from them, there remains no doubt that the flood came from that valley. My own inquiries at Gilgit brought me to the same conclusion; I was told that in three or four places in that valley the flood had carried away the half of a village-fort; these, doubtless, were where, for the sake of a water-supply, the fort had been built at the edge of an alluvial cliff; I heard also that Shams, a village of Hunza, was carried

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* For both of these see Journal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, vol. xxix., 1860.

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133 away altogether. As to the cause, my informants said that it was the bursting of the barrier of a lake that had been made by a land-slip, not by a glacier, in the *Shinshâl* Valley.

One other flood I may mention. In the year 1865, one evening in the month of Hâr, which corresponds with the latter half of June and the first half of July, at 9 or 10 P.M., a flood, which originated in the Ishkoman Valley, passed Gilgit. It came very suddenly indeed, and it lasted but a few hours. The guard at the rope-bridge by Gilgit Fort were surprised and carried away by it; five of them were drowned; the sixth, being supported by a log of wood he had come in contact with, was saved, being stranded two miles below.

A theory has been formed, and supported with much ability,* that in such cases as the two great floods of 1841 and 1858 the rise of the water at, say, Atak, was not due to the arrival of the very water that had been pent up and then let loose, but was a wave transmitted all down the river from the spot where the dam broke—a wave started by the sudden impinging of the water of the lake, or of the breaking dam, or both, on the river-water, down which, it is supposed, the wave travelled, like as in a trough full of water you may, by letting something fall, send a wave along without the passage of any particle of water along the length of it.

After considering the arguments for and against this theory, I find it very difficult to form a conclusion, but on the whole I incline to believe that the floods were caused by the actual arrival of the pent waters, and were not waves in the river. True it is that Captain Henderson's description of the flood of 1858, of its gentle rise, and the steadiness of the current during the rise, make that particular flood look more like a wave-rising than a down-rushing of the waters. It may be that this flood was really a wave, and that the one of 1841, of which the description is very different, was not so. If so, the cause of the difference may be found in this, that in August, 1858, the Indus was much fuller

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* See the papers in the Journal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, vol. xxix., "On the Translation of Waves of Water with reference to the Great Flood of the Indus in 1858," by J. Obbard; "On the Physical Difference between a Rush of Water down a Channel and the Transmission of a Wave down a River," by Archdeacon Pratt.

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than in June, 1841 (when, as we have seen, the river was much dried up), and so was more likely to transmit a wave. But the considerations are many which lead me to doubt the possibility of such wave-transmission down such a river as the Upper Indus. Some of the objections had been stated by Archdeacon Pratt, who did not stand forth as an advocate of the wave-theory as applied to these particular cases, though on the whole he inclined to it. The general shallowness of the river as compared with the great height of the wave at Atak is a difficulty in the way of this theory, for waves require depth for their transmission; and the *irregularity* of the river-channel in depth and width would render difficult the passage of a wave for such a great distance, for in meeting with so many changes as there are in that course the wave, supposing it had started, might have been so retarded as that the waters themselves of the lake should have overtaken it, and then, probably, it would have been masked by the flood proper; again, the bends of the river, by adding to the friction, would tend to the same result. These affect the question of the transmission of a wave. But there is a great doubt in my mind, whether the dam-breaking was an event of such a character as to *produce* a wave. There does not seem, at all events in the case of 1841, to have been a sudden giving way of the dam, not a slipping of a whole mass of débris, but rather a sweeping out of a channel through it, which let pass the waters more or less gradually. On the other hand it has been said that the passage of the flood from point to point was so quick that it seemed more like the translation of a wave than the passage of water itself. If so, this is an important argument; I have not myself seen records that clearly prove such a rate of passage. The subject is still one of great doubt; the wave-theory seems to me at all events "not proven."

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CHAPTER XVIII.

DĀRDISTĀN: THE PEOPLE.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DĀRDS — CASTES — MUHAMMADANISM AMONG THE DĀRDS — BUDDHIST DĀRDS — SUNDRY NOTES.

114 THE existence of the Dārds as a separate race, as well as something of their language, have for a good many years been facts within the reach of readers of travels; but the information made known about them has till lately been extremely meagre. Dr. Leitner has collected and appended to his own work the previously published notices about this people and their country, and these show how very little knowledge there was on the subject. Dr. Leitner visited Dārdistān in 1866, and, having supplemented his inquiries of that time by investigations into Dārd dialects and customs made through men of the race whom he gathered round him at Lāhor, he has given the results in a work that is of the greatest value to all who take interest in tribes that have long lived separate, unknown to all but their nearest neighbours, and a knowledge of whose relationships may throw light on some of the most weighty ethnographical questions.*

Dr. Leitner's researches in the various dialects; the great amount of knowledge of them which he, while his opportunities were still imperfect, acquired; the philosophical acumen shown in mastering much of the grammar of these unwritten languages; these command high admiration. The songs and proverbs he has recorded and thus preserved from oblivion, make another part of the book for which the hearty acknowledgments of the public are due.

As to the 'History of the Wars with Kashmir,' given in the same work of Dr. Leitner's, as taken down from the statements of

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* 'The Languages and Races of Dārdistān,' parts i., ii., and iii., by Dr. G. W. Leitner. [cf. source no. 1 in AV3 Dard file-- Analyst]

2; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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a native of Sásin, there are in this many exaggerations and inaccuracies—so many, indeed, are they, and so difficult is it to wash free from them the grains of truth that are mixed up, so confused is the whole tale, that the account is of but little value. 114
The 'Rough Chronological Sketch' given in Part III., p. 81, is of more accuracy. Dr. Leitner himself would be ready to admit that such a history, derived as it must be from the mouths of a few, who could not have been eye-witnesses of most that they told, must be but approximately true. In the next chapter of this book will be given the version of the history (from information obtained in much the same way) which I myself conceive to be nearest the truth. I was careful to get accounts from both sides whenever it was practicable, and I believe that as much as I have ventured to put down is not far from right.

Mr. Hayward, who travelled farther into Dárdistán than either Dr. Leitner or myself, made a map of the Gilgit River basin, which is a great addition to our knowledge; this, with other geographical information of much value derived from his personal observation, is to be found in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for 1870. Mr. Hayward's view of the later history of Gilgit and Yásin, and of the political situation, as expressed in a letter to the 'Pioneer' newspaper, which is reproduced in Dr. Leitner's Appendix, is so evidently coloured by the source from which it came—the mouth of Mir Walli, the man who afterwards treacherously murdered Hayward, but who at first made him, for his own purposes, his friend—that one cannot take it as a sober statement of facts.

I must now pass on to tell what I myself have observed of these Dárds; Dr. Leitner's account and mine will, I think, often be found to supplement each other, and on the subject of ethnology only to differ in minor respects.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DÁRDS.

Whether we judge from language or from physiognomy, the conclusion is inevitable that the Dárds are an Aryan race. 142

For physique; they are broadshouldered, moderately stout-

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142 built, well-proportioned men. They are active and enduring. They are good as mountaineers, and those who have been used to act as porters are strong and quick in the work; but in some parts they have never been trained to coolis' work, and will not undergo it. In face they can in general hardly be called handsome, but still they have a rather good cast of countenance; their hair is usually black, sometimes brown; in complexion they are moderately fair, the shade is sometimes, but not always, light enough for the red to show through it. Their eyes are either brown or hazel. Their voice and manner of speech is somewhat harsh; those who have learned Panjábí have a particularly hard way of speaking that language.

181 The photograph given of a group of Dárds[1] (after Frith) is an admirable representation of some men of the race who live in the neighbourhood of Drás; these fellows are as hardy and enduring as any men I have ever met with; though living in the most trying circumstances of climate, they are not oppressed or weighed down by them, but keep such a cheerfulness as the inhabitants of the most favoured climes and countries may envy.

The disposition and bearing of the Dárds is independent and bold; they will not endure to be put upon, but stand out for their rights, and stand up against oppression as long as possible. They are by no means soft-hearted; but they are not disobliging when taken in the right way. For intellect, it seems to me that they are, as a race, decidedly clever; if not so ingenious as the Kashmíris, yet they are both clear-headed and quick.

Such qualities as these make them a people that one must sympathise with. A people who are bold and, though not caring much for human life, are not bloodthirsty; a people who will meet one on even terms, without sycophancy or fear on the one hand or impertinent self-assertion on the other; such are not so often met with in the East but what one welcomes and values them.

The women, of the districts I went through, I did not consider pretty; those of Gilgit are better than those of Astor, but few of them could be called good-looking. Yásín, a place I could not visit, has a greater reputation for female beauty.

[1] [Cf. category 116, photograph facing p. 424-Analyst]

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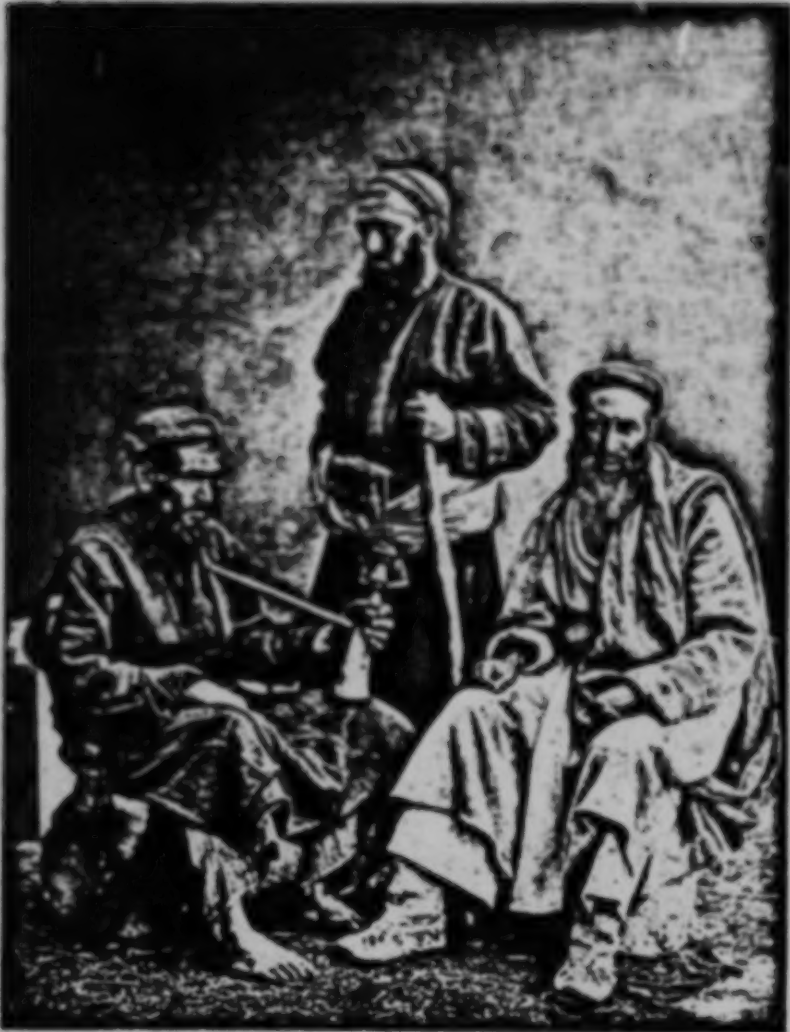

DÂRDS

[Facing p. 424]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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291 The dress of the Dārds is woollen, except among the higher people, who wear cotton clothes for the summer if they can get them; the dress consists of pyjamas, choga (or gown-coat), a waistband to confine this, and lastly, a cap and chaussure, both of peculiar construction. The cap is a bag of woollen cloth half a yard long, which is rolled up outwards at the edges until it gets to the size to fit comfortably to the head, round which the roll makes a protection from cold or from sun nearly as good as a turban. For their feet they have strips and scraps of leather put under and over and round the foot, and a long thin strip wound round and round to keep all these in place. The head-dress is thoroughly characteristic of the Dārds; wherever they are scattered, and with whomsoever they are mixed up—with the one exception of the Buddhist Dārds to be mentioned below—they keep that kind of cap.

CASTES.*

564 There are certain subdivisions of the Dārd race which may be called castes, since they are kept up by rules more or less stringent against the intermarriage of those who belong to different divisions. To trace these out is a matter of much importance, for they probably give indications, if one knew how to interpret them, of the sources from which the present community has been compounded, and of the order of successive occupations of the country, and of the supremacy of different nations.

According to my inquiries, the following are the important caste divisions in the order of their recognized rank:†

(1) Ronū. | (2) Shīn. | (4) Kremin.
* * * * | (3) Yashkun. | (5) Dūm.

As to the first, Ronū, I am not clear whether any importance may be attached to the division. In no other account have I seen the name mentioned, but in the Gilgit country it is certain that a

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* The substance of this and the next division of the chapter was communicated in a paper which I read to the Oriental Congress that met in London in Sept., 1874.

† Besides these, I have in one village, Tashgām near Drās, heard of a caste called *Ram*. I was unable to find out the extent or relative importance of this caste, or to collate it with the others.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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564 small number of families are of a caste called Ronû, and that they are held higher even than the Shîn. It is possible that this rank is derived from their having in former generations held some offices of power, hence the caste could not be wide-spread; as, however, it may be a clue worth following out, I record the fact.

The remaining four castes are of undoubted importance in an ethnographical view. These are the same divisions as are given in an account of the Chilâsîs by Captain Ommaney, in the Panjâb Government Gazette, of Feb. 28, 1868, quoted in the Appendix to Dr. Leitner's work; and they are also spoken of as the four primary divisions by Dr. Leitner's informant, a Sazini; Dr. Leitner himself, by adding the names of many other castes (which I incline to think are subdivisions), makes less of this fourfold separation, and he inverts the positions of Kremin and Dûm.*

[583] Beginning with the lowest of the four; we find the *Dûms* acting as musicians, like the low-caste Marâsîs of the Panjâb and the Domes of other parts of India, and like also the Bems of Ladâkh and the Bâtals of Kashmir. It will be remembered, too, that the lowest caste at Jummoo—the outcasts to whom was relegated the lowest kinds of work—is called Dûm, though there the musicians and dancers are not taken from among them. Thus all through these hills, in all the different nations, we find a lowest caste, one everywhere treated as unfit for ordinary social intercourse, corresponding in all the cases either in name or in occupation, or sometimes in both. It is true that in each nation that lowest caste has something of the general characteristics of the nation as a whole. In every case their language is the same as that of those they live with, and has no connection with that of the similar caste in the neighbouring nation. In form and features they are somewhat like and somewhat different from those who are in some measure their masters; we saw that the Dûms of the Outer Hills differ in form and complexion from the men of the higher castes, and that the Bâtals of Kashmir by no means equal the ordinary type of Kashmîrî. Of the Bems of Ladâkh and the Dûms of Dârdistân I hardly saw enough (for in truth they are few in number) to be able to

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* 'Dardistân,' part ii., p. 22, and part iii., p. 42.

-1, Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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generalise about them in respect of this. But even a resemblance 564
more or less complete would not, in my opinion, outweigh the probability derived from the other facts, that in all these cases we have remnants of the early, pre-Âryan, race that inhabited India. If this be so it is a new, and I think unexpected, fact, the existence of this race among the high mountains and in the snowy country.

The *Kremins* seem to correspond in function with the *Kahârs* [463] of India (the Jîwars of the Panjâb), for they act as potters, millers, carriers, &c. Thus they are analogous in position to the Sûdras of India, and it seems likely that they had an analogous origin, that they are descendants (with some intermixture of blood) of those of the aborigines who earliest and most easily coalesced with the nation that overcame them. I do not find the Kremins very numerous; certainly there are not many in Gilgit.

The *Yashkun* is the most numerous of all the castes. In Gilgit and Astor they are the body of the people, whose chief occupation is, of course, agriculture. Dr. Leitner speaks of the Yashkun as "a caste formed by the intermixture between the Shin and a low (? aboriginal) race"; this view does not recommend itself to me; it is more likely that the Kremin had some such origin, but that the Yashkun, who follow all the same occupations as the Shin, and in physique and physiognomy are their equals, should have so originated is far less probable. I am inclined to think that they and the Shin together made up the race (which we may call Dârd) that invaded this country and took it from the earlier inhabitants. What may have been the origin of that (probably previous) division into Shin and Yashkun is a point both curious and important,—a question which at present I see no way of solving. Dr. Leitner's information that a Shin [582] may marry a Yashkun woman, while no Yashkun may marry a Shin woman, is highly interesting; this custom is just like that described in Chapter III. as followed by the Râjpûts in connection with the cultivating classes; here I would again point out the natural corollary to be drawn from it—that the higher race thus remains less pure (that is less separate) than the lower.

[A Dard caste -- Analyst]

564 We now come to the *Shin*, the highest of the four generally-distributed castes. In some isolated places they make the majority, or even constitute the whole, of the community, but in Gilgit itself they are not so numerous as the Yashkun, nor are they so in Astor.

There is a peculiarity of manners most strange and curious attaching to some of the Dārds. It belongs especially, perhaps even solely, to this Shīn caste. Attention to the point is desirable, as it may, by comparison with customs that may be found in other races, enable us some day to trace out the origin of the tribe. [231] The thing is this; they hold the cow in abhorrence; they look on [262] it in much the same way that the ordinary Muhammadan regards a pig. They will not drink cow's milk, nor do they eat or make butter from it. Nor even will they burn cowdung, the fuel that is so commonly used in the East. Some cattle they are obliged to keep for ploughing, but they have as little as possible to do with them; when the cow calves they will put the calf to the udder by pushing it with a forked stick, and will not touch it with their hands.

A greater, more astonishing, contrast between their way of looking at a cow and the consideration which the Hindūs give to the animal it would be impossible to conceive.

In some places I have found other customs accompanying this. For instance, at Dashkin, 13 miles below Astor, where [262] the people are Shīn, they will not eat fowls nor touch them; [241] in this they approach the Hindūs. Here, too, I was told that they have an objection to cultivating tobacco and red pepper; whether these last peculiarities attach to the Shīn generally I cannot say.

I think that these restricting customs are already dying out, and that they exist mostly where there is a geographically isolated community of Shīn without the other castes.

The table at the beginning of Chapter XX. shows in what countries the Shīn caste is found and in what the Yashkun prevails. The Shīn occur, mixed with Yashkun, along the Indus Valley and in those side valleys that immediately lead up from it.

1₂ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

564 The Yashkun without any Shīn are found in more distant places, in the upper parts of the valleys of the Indus tributaries, namely in Nagar, Hunza, Ishkoman, Yāsīn, and Chitrāl.

MUHAMMADANISM AMONG THE DĀRDS.

779 The Dārds are now (with the exception that will be noted farther on) Muhammadan.* Formerly they had some kind of idolatry of which we know not much, nor do we know at what period they were converted to Islām. At the time the Sikhs annexed Gilgit and Astor the people of those places were in some respects but very weak Muhammadans; it so happened that the Sikh commander, Nathū Shāh by name, was a Muhammadan and a Syed; he acquired over these Dārds a great influence, and he exerted it to make "good Muhammadans" of them, to get them to attend more carefully to the forms of their religion. It is a 764 fact that before Nathū Shāh came (say in 1842) the Astor people used to burn their dead, and not bury them as Muhammadans should. A curious remnant of the custom still remains there—when they bury they light a fire by the grave; it is true they will now tell you that they light the fire to keep off jackals; this may be in some sense true, that is to say they could hardly reconcile themselves to leaving the body in its grave undestroyed, so they lit the fire as they had been used to, and this satisfied them in giving some security as against the beasts of prey and at the same time making a link with the past.

795 But it is not enough to say that these Dārds are Muhammadan; they are divided into three separate Muhammadan sects —Sunī, Shia, and Molāī.

Sunī and Shia require no description, as the division exists in almost every part of the Muhammadan world. The Molāī sect corresponds very nearly, or it may be exactly, with that sect called Nūr Bakhsh which we found in Baltistān (see Chapter XVI.), which was a modification of the Shia. The name must have its

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* This must be taken without prejudice to the question of the relationship of the Kāfirs to the Dārds. It is true at all events of those who have as yet been definitely classed as Dārds.

Dard AV3

795 origin from the Arabic *Maula*, God, they thus calling themselves "the Godly." In matters of prayer and fasting they follow the Sunī ways, but in creed (as regards the proper succession of Muhammad's successors to the Khalīfat) they are Shias.

564 The Molāis and Shias will drink wine, the Sunis will not. Of the different castes it would seem that the people of each may belong to any of the three religious sects; the religious differences do not depend on the caste, but are more geographical; this is illustrated by the table given in Chapter XX.

Buddhist Dārds.

779
174 I have now to record some facts as to an outlying portion of the Dārd race, which are of peculiar interest. In that narrow part of the Indus Valley which was described under the heading of "Central Ladākh" (Chapter XIII.), are some villages inhabited by Dārds who follow the Buddhist faith; who, though remnants left by a wave of immigration from the direction of Gilgit, have so far amalgamated with the Bhots that they obey the Lāmās as spiritual leaders.

Muhammadan Dārds, whose locality is denoted on the map either as outlying or outstretching portions of the main area occupied by the Dārd race, reach up close to these Buddhist Dārds, but the villages of each are distinct. The following places —villages and hamlets—are inhabited by the Buddhist Dārds: Grugurdo, Sanācha, Urdus, Darchik, Garkon, Dāh, Phindūr, Baldes, Hanū, Lower and Upper.[4]

That they did come from the direction of Gilgit they have a tradition, and many circumstances of language and manners show that in spite of their being Buddhists in religion they are one in origin with those Dārds we have been describing. But I think they belong to an earlier immigration; probably a small number reached their present seat and settled there, separated from the main mass of their tribe-brethren, at a time before the Dārds were converted to Muhammadanism, so that the transition from their ancient faith to Buddhism was not difficult. At that time the neighbouring Baltis also may still have been Buddhists. Later,

[4] [cf. category 114, End Map I -- Analyst]

when the Dārds had become Muhammadan, they spread again in 179
this direction, and the newer comers have joined on with, or become 174
next-door neighbours to, the earlier migrants.

The Race Map shows the area of these Buddhist Dārds under the same colour as all the rest of that race, while the Faith Map shows it under the same colour as the Ladākhīs who are Buddhists. The Language Map shows a division of even this small area, for while in the greater number of villages above enumerated a truly Dārd language is spoken, in the Hanū side-valley the people have lost their original language, and speak only the Tibetan Ladākhī; in the Language Map, therefore, that valley is coloured with the rest of the country where the Tibetan tongue is spoken, while the other villages are classed as Dārd-speaking.[2]

These Buddhist Dārds have little or no trace of Tibetan in 142
their faces; the two races have not mixed, or not much mixed; their face is Aryan, but not a fine stamp of Aryan; their noses are small, though often slightly hooked, their chin narrow.* In stature they are taller than the average Ladākhī, but they are
not such fine men as the Dārds of Drās, Astor, or Gilgit. They 302
wear the pigtail as the Ladākhīs do, and their dress is the same 291
as theirs, including the drooping cap figured at p. 240.

They are a dreadfully dirty people, far more so than any other 515
tribe I have ever met with; their faces are blotched with black
dirt, which they never think of removing. As a means of purify- 783
ing, instead of washing, they burn twigs of pencil-cedar, and let the smoke and the scent from it come over them and inside their clothes; they do this before eating, not perhaps generally but on feast-days, and at other times when they think purification to be necessary. Their women, who are not shy of being seen, surpass even the men in dirtiness, and altogether are the most miserable of objects.

I could not hear that there was any distinction of castes among 564
them[1]; indeed what I heard made me think there was not. One

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* Among the Muhammadan Dārds also, as in the upper part of the Hārpo Valley in Rondū, I have found this narrow-chinned, low-Aryan, form of face. It may after all be due to an admixture of breed, in this case with the Baltis.

[1] [i.e, the Buddhist Dards -- ANALYST]
[2] [cf. Category 11b, End Maps III-V -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir

Dard AV3
Balti AV2

D One might infer that they[1] are, or have been, of the Shīn caste, from
564 the fact that all those customs concerning the cow, which we saw
[262] to be characteristic of that caste, are held by these Buddhist
D Dārds to an extreme degree.

177 It is curious to trace how in some respects they keep to the
622 customs of the race they sprang from, and how in others they
595 have adopted the customs of the Buddhists.[1] There seems to be an instance of the former case in that their headmen of villages (at all events in the Hanū Valley) are elected for three years only, and even within that time are sometimes changed; this is certainly a trace of the republican system, of which something will be said in Chapter xx. On the other hand, we see them following the Buddhist Ladākhīs in the practice of polyandry, to which they are completely given; among these Buddhist Dārds a
D woman has sometimes as many as five husbands.

171 Their religion, I think, lies easy upon them[1]; they are not so
772 attentive to its ordinances as the Ladākhīs are; and I do not
764 think that any of their young men are trained up to be Lāmās. Their dead they burn, and the bones of them they stow away in holes in the cliff, closing up these with stones.

SUNDRY NOTES.

D Leaving now the Buddhist Dārds, we will note a few isolated
167 facts concerning the race generally.

It has been seen from the map that the Dārds have spread, driven by want, or by oppression, or by disturbances, from their own countries across certain ridges into valleys that were occupied by other races; in these they often live side by side with those other races—as with the Kashmīrīs and the Baltīs—sometimes in villages separate, sometimes occupying part of the same village.

B At Rondū the Dārds nearly equal the Baltīs; the two do not
563 intermarry. At Bāsho also the two races are about half and half,
D but here they have intermarried, and the distinctiveness has been
564 broken up. At Dorū and at Satpūr they are of those who do not
262 drink cow's milk; these must be of the Shīn caste.
167

[1] [ie Buddhist Dārds living in Ladākh – Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Balti AV2

D
167

At Drās the Dārds (who here are Sunīs) form more than half 795
the community, the others being Baltīs, who are Shias. B 563

Wherever the Dārds are in contact with Baltīs or with Bhots, 795
these others call them (whether they be Muhammadan or Buddhist D 174
Dārds) *Brokpā* or *Blokpā*. The word Brok or Blok means 101
in Tibetan a high pasture-ground, and Brokpā or Blokpā must mean a "highlander." The origin of this appellation for the Dārds I take to be this, that they first came in contact with the Baltīs by coming over the Passes and settling in the higher parts of the valleys, parts that perhaps had been left unoccupied. D

There is a colony of Kashmīrī among the Dārds at Gilgit, or 563
rather there is an infusion of Kashmīrī blood in a certain section 582
of the Gilgit people; many generations back there must have been a settlement of Kashmīrīs, who took unto themselves Gilgitī wives. The descendants have quite lost the language and the ways of Kashmir, and to a stranger's eye they are quite Gilgitī, but the Dārds themselves distinguish, and, as to intermarrying, keep separate from them.

In one or two higher valleys of Baltistān I have noticed a D
difference in the people, as compared with the ordinary Baltī, 174
which may perhaps be due to some admixture of Dārd blood, B
although the fact is not noticed or known by the people themselves. 174
Thus, at Pakora in Brāldū the men were much better 142
looking than the ordinary Baltīs; they had well-shaped features, and had a manly bearing; I noted this at a time when I knew less about the Dārds than afterwards; now, it seems to me likely that some of that race came over the difficult Passes from Nagar and made a settlement among the Baltīs. Again, in the Turmik Valley, many villagers have a high and broad forehead, and hooked nose, though they call themselves Baltī; I have little doubt that here too is Dārd blood, the immigrating Dārds having become absorbed into the community of Baltīs, but still making a mark. These two cases I have not represented on the Race Map, not thinking them distinct enough for that; the area of Turmik and of Brāldū is coloured for Baltī alone.

There is one other peculiarity belonging to a class, which may 000

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Balti AV2

B There is one other pecularity belonging to a class, which may
174 be an ethnological variation due to a strain of the Dārd. In
565 general the class of Rajas and the class of Wazirs in Baltistān
582 are not only better looking than the ordinary Baltī, but have cer-
D tain differences of cast of face. The Rajas are of several different
174 stems, more or less connected by marriage; it is not uncommon to see them with a light complexion and light eyes and a hooked nose, in all these respects differing much from their Baltī subjects. The Wazir class intermarry among themselves, and also take girls from among the ordinary Baltīs for their wives; hence they have a larger proportion of Baltī blood than their masters.

Cunningham remarks that the earlier Rajas of Shigar had the title of Tham, which, it seems, is the word for king in the Hunza language*; now whatever may be the affinities of the Hunza language there seems no doubt that the Hunza people are Dārds. All these facts go to support the view that Dārd blood is shared by the Baltī rulers. It would seem, indeed, probable that at different times the Dārds had given rulers to the Baltīs and the Baltīs to the Dārds, for, as Cunningham states, the chiefs of Astor are called by the Tibetan title of Makpon.

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* By my own information, Āmichā is the name of the present caste of Shigar Rajas, or else the title they are called by; it is a word of the origin of which I know nothing.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

CHAPTER XIX.

DĀRDISTĀN: GILGIT HISTORY.

BEFORE THE COMING OF THE SIKHS IN 1842 — THE SIKH OCCUPATION; 1842 TO 1847 — THE SUCCESSION OF THE DOGRĀS; 1847 — THE EXPULSION OF THE DOGRĀS; 1852 — RE-CONQUEST BY THE DOGRĀS; 1860 — LATER HOSTILITIES; 1863 TO 1869 — CHANGES AT YĀSĪN; 1870 TO 1873.

BEFORE THE COMING OF THE SIKHS IN 1842.*

As far back as the time of any tradition that has reached me, Gilgit has been governed by Rajas; it has not been of those valleys ruled a democracy, such as, in connection with some neighbouring countries, we shall later describe. 175

The early Rajas of Gilgit were called Trakane; that was the name of their caste or family; this caste is now extinct, except that the present titular Raja has a slight strain of that blood from the female side. Tradition mentions as the founder of this royal family of Trakane one Trakan, a personage described as of miraculous powers. I was told the names of half-a-dozen rulers after him whom we still must count as outside the bounds of history; these are Azar, Jamsher, Khisrau, Fardos, and Habikan his son. It is worthy of note that most of these names are old Persian ones. The succeeding names I think we may depend upon, namely: [564]

Gūrītham.
Muhammad Khān, son of Gūrītham.
Abas, brother to Muhammad Khān.

Of the name Gūrītham the last syllable must be the [redacted] word "tham" which in the Hunza language means "king" or

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* I am not sure of this date to a year; J. D. Cunningham ('History of the Sikhs') says, "Towards the end of 1843 the secluded principality of Gilgit was overrun and annexed to Cashmere by the Sikhs." But my other information pointed to the year 1842.

1: Drew .G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

175 "raja"; the name "Gūri" is found in composition in Gūrikot, *kot* meaning "fort,"; there is one Gūrikot in the Astor Valley and another in the Kishangangā Valley.

Abas was the last of the Trakane line; with him ended the independence of Gilgit; henceforward the valley was devastated by successive invasions of the neighbouring Rajas, who, each in turn, first acquired the country and then was defeated and killed by some other. In the twenty or thirty years ending with 1842 there were *five* dynastic revolutions in Gilgit, as follows:—

(1) Sulaimān Shāh, ruler of Yāsīn, of the Bakhte caste or family, conquered Gilgit from either Muhammad Khān or Abas, I do not know which.

(2) Āzād Khān, ruler of Puniāl, killed Sulaimān Shāh at Sher and ruled in his stead in Gilgit.

(3) Tāir Shāh, ruler of Nagar, displaced and killed Āzād Khān; he himself died a natural death, and was succeeded by his son, Shāh Sakandar.

(4) Gaur Rahmān, ruler of Yāsīn, conquered Gilgit and killed Shāh Sakandar.

(5) Karīm Khān, brother to Shāh Sakandar who was killed, with the aid of a Sikh force, expelled Gaur Rahmān from Gilgit a year and a half after his acquisition of it.

This brings us to the year 1842, and from that time Gilgit history becomes bound up with Kashmir; from here onwards it is known in more detail.

159 But first I must speak of Gaur Rahmān, who, though expelled at this stage, will again appear on the scene in a prominent part. He was the eldest son of Mulk Imān,* the ruler of Yāsīn. He

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* Dr. Leitner states that Mulk Imān was brother to Sulaimān Shāh; this would make Sulaimān Shāh uncle to Gaur Rahmān, but in another place Dr. Leitner speaks of Sulaimān Shāh as Gaur Rahmān's great-uncle; I do not know which is correct.

I have had given me the names of eight sons of this Mulk Imān:—Gaur Rahmān: Gul Sher Khān, the son of a goli, or concubine; he was killed in the fight at Madorī: Mīr-i-Imān, the son of a Rānī; he was killed in Chitral, in 1870: Akbar Imān, the son of a goli; he was killed by his nephew, Mulk Imān: Khalīl-i-Imān, the son of a goli; he lives at Tūī, in Yāsīn (1870): Dur-i-Imān; he was killed at Madori: Suja', the son of a goli; he was living in Yāsīn in 1870: Zedulla Khān, the son of a goli; he was killed at Roshan in 1869.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

was a most bloodthirsty man; as much so perhaps, though he 157
had not the same opportunities of killing on a large scale, as Theodore of Abyssinia. There are many tales told of his ferocity and brutality; the Dārds generally are rather careless of life, but with his deeds they were disgusted. I believe it to be a fact that on one occasion at least he killed a young child by throwing it up and cutting it in the air with his sword. And I cannot doubt the truth of this that I heard, that, he stopping at Naupūra, on a village headman being brought before him on some complaint, or else coming to complain of his people, Gaur Rahmān beckoned him near, and then, with his sword, cut the man's head off with a blow; then he would let no one touch the body to bury it, but would have it devoured by the dogs. They say that when he was ill he would have some men killed for *niyās*, that is, as a propitiatory sacrifice. He seems to have had a special enmity and spite against the people of Gilgit, who suffered terribly under his two reigns, but to have spared the Puniāl people.

Gaur Rahmān married first the maternal aunt of Imān-ul-Mulk, ruler of Chitrāl, secondly the sister of the same Imān-ul-Mulk, and, thirdly, the daughter of Āzād Khān, of Puniāl, that is, it would seem, the daughter of the man who killed his uncle. From the first marriage he had two sons, ***Mulk Imān*** (named after his grandfather) and ***Mīr Walī***; from the second marriage he had a son, ***Pahlwān Bahādur***, who is also called Ghulām Mahai-ud-dīn; from the third marriage he had two sons, one was ***Mīr Ghāzī***, the other (whose name I do not know) was killed by his half-brother Mulk Imān.

THE SIKH OCCUPATION; 1842 TO 1847.

Gaur Rahmān, as stated above, coming from Yāsīn, conquered 175
Gilgit and killed the then ruler, Raja Shāh Sakandar. Shāh Sakandar's brother, Karīm Khān, having escaped to Gor, from there sent an agent to the Sikh Governor of Kashmīr imploring aid. The appeal was responded to. A couple of Sikh regiments were sent under Nathū Shāh, a Syed, of Gujrānwāla, who held the rank of colonel. This was about the year 1842. Up to this time the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AV3

175 Sikhs had not occupied the intermediate country of Astor, but they had made it tributary to them; now on advancing they established a post there to make their communications sure.*

Nathū Shāh encountered Gaur Rahmān (who seems to have relinquished Gilgit itself) at Basīn, three miles higher up the valley, and defeated him; Gaur Rahmān retired into Puniāl.

Shortly afterwards, in the same year, one Mathrā Dās, having boasted to the Sikh Governor of Kashmir that he could easily settle the whole country of Gilgit, was sent to supersede Nathū Shāh. Coming to Gilgit, Mathrā Dās went forward to the frontier by Sharot with part of the Sikh force, Nathū Shāh retaining the rest. Gaur Rahmān attacked Mathrā Dās and his force in the stony plain between Sharot and Gulpūr and defeated them with great loss, having here some horsemen to aid him. Mathrā Dās himself ran straight away to Kashmir; but Nathū, who was really a soldier, came up with his reserve from Gilgit and prepared to engage Gaur Rahmān. But before they came to blows negotiations were entered into, and the strange result was that it was agreed the Sikhs should hold Gilgit, the boundary being drawn where the two forces were confronting each other, that being, indeed, the usual boundary of Gilgit, and that Gaur Rahmān should give his daughter in marriage to Nathū Shāh, the commander of the Sikhs. Not only was this done, but the Hunza Raja (Ghazan Khān) and the Nagar Raja, who were there as allies to Gaur Rahmān, did the same thing; each gave a daughter to Nathū Shāh, and peace was made all round.

Of course Nathū Shāh did not give over Gilgit completely to Raja Karīm Khān, who had called in his aid, but there was a kind of joint government established. Karīm Khān had certain dues from the people allotted to him; further imposts were, I think, made for the Sikh Government; a small Sikh force was fixed at Gilgit under a thānadār, and Nathū Shāh himself returned to Kashmir, or rather (for reasons connected with the Sikh troubles which were then brewing) passed through Kashmir, avoiding Sirīnagar, to the Panjāb.

We have seen that Karīm Khān was not of the old rulers of

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* For an incident in the history of Astor near this time, see p. 403.

Gilgit; his father had conquered it; his brother and he himself had been turned out by Gaur Rahmān, who had just the same right to it as the other's father—that is, no right at all, but only the power of acquiring it. Karīm Khān asked the aid of strangers —of the Sikhs—to get back the country; they got it back, but, as was to be expected, held it more for themselves than for him.

Thus were things settled; and this was the state that Maharaja Gulāb Singh succeeded to when he received Kashmir in accordance with the two treaties made by the British, with the Sikh Darbār in one case, and himself in the other.[*]

THE SUCCESSION OF THE DOGRĀS; 1847.

On Kashmir, and with it Gilgit, being ceded to Gulāb Singh, Nathū Shāh left the Sikhs and transferred his services to the new ruler, and went to take possession of Gilgit for him. In this there was no difficulty. The Dogrā troops relieved the Sikh posts at Astor and Gilgit; most of the Sikh soldiers took service under the new rulers; they were few in number, those at Gilgit being perhaps not more than one hundred.

The frontier at this time was between Shakaiot and Gulpūr, in the main valley, and somewhere above Chaprot, on the Hunza stream. Since then, after many oscillations, of some of which an account will be given farther on, the changes made have resulted in this, that Puniāl has been brought within the Maharaja's boundary as a dependent Rajaship, and that his territory in the valley of the Hunza River has been contracted by Chaprot having been wrested from him by the Hunza people.

It has been the subject of remark by some that the words of the treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulāb Singh (see Appendix V.), namely, "the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee," cannot be made to include Gilgit, which indeed is on the north of the Indus.

But the fact is these words will not bear any close geographical examination or application at all. Ladākh, which certainly was

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[*] See Chap. I., p. 20, and Appendix V.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

175 intended to be brought in, is north-east and north of the Rāvī, and not west of it; Kashmir itself, the chief object of the treaty, cannot accurately be said to be west of it either, while it is both east and west of the Indus. The framers did not know very exactly nor care to express very closely how the countries lay; but afterwards, at leisure, a commission was sent by the British Government, which laid down a portion of the boundary, and by that commission both Ladākh and Gilgit were recognized as part of the countries handed over to Maharaja Gulāb Singh. To Gilgit came Lieuts. Vans Agnew and Young,* of the Bengal Engineers. I do not hear how far they went up the main valley; on the Hunza River they went to the frontier, then beyond Chaprot. Also they wrote to the Hunza Raja asking his leave to come there, but he refused it. At this time (which was, I think, in the year 1847) the actual boundary, as before said, was above Chaprot in one valley, and between Shakaiot and Gulpūr in the other.

The state of peace did not long continue. Shortly after the visit of the two English officers, the Hunza Raja made an attack on the Gilgit territory and plundered five villages; he justified his thus breaking peace with Nathū Shāh by saying that Nathū Shāh had broken faith with him in bringing the Farangīs to see the country. Nathū Shāh led a force up the valley of the Hunza River to avenge this attack, but his force was destroyed and he himself was killed, as also was Karīm Khān, the titular Raja of Gilgit, who had accompanied him.†

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* Lieut. Vans Agnew was murdered at Multān; Lieut. Young is now Col. (Ralph) Young, R.E., Commissioner in the Panjāb.

† Karīm Khān was succeeded in the title of Raja of Gilgit by his son, Muhammad Khān. This one, from the troubles that will be described immediately, retired to Kashmir, where he died. Thus when, as will be told, the Maharaja of Kashmir, after losing Gilgit, reconquered it, there was no one to represent the family in whose aid the Sikhs had originally arrived in the country. But the present Maharaja looked about for some one of that family, and then heard of a boy three years old, whose parentage was this—Karīm Khān had married a woman of the old Trakan caste; a daughter of this marriage had married Zafar, the present Raja of Nagar; of these a boy was born, whose name is Alīdād. The Maharaja wrote to the father saying he would like to do something for the boy; thereupon Zafar sent the child, and said the Maharaja might have him for good and all. He lives at Gilgit, with the title of Raja, and with some, not very important, rights to a share of certain dues. When I saw him he was a sharp little boy of thirteen.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AV3

175

Gaur Rahmān, too, who at this time governed Puniāl and Yāsīn, joined in against the Dogrās; the people of Darel joined also; Gilgit Fort fell into the hands of these allies.

To put things right Maharaja Gulāb Singh sent two columns, one from Hasora and one from Baltistān; there was some fighting, and then peace was made on the basis of the former state of things. After this a few years went by without any great disturbances, until events occurred which caused the Maharaja to lose all of Dārdistān that he possessed on the right bank of the Indus.

THE EXPULSION OF THE DOGRAS; 1852.

In 1852 Sant Singh was Thānadār, or Commander, at Gilgit Fort; there was another fort at Naupūra, a couple of miles off, held by a Gurkhā regiment of the Maharaja's, under Rām Dīn, Commandant; and one Bhūp Singh was in command of the reserves at Bawanjī and Astor.

I do not know what it was that made Gaur Rahmān to perceive and urged him to take advantage of his opportunity. He suddenly brought a force that surrounded and separated the two forts.

Bhūp Singh, hearing of this, advanced to their relief with some 1200 men. He crossed the Nīla Dhār, a ridge which separates the Se and Gilgit valleys, and had reached to the bank of the Gilgit River, where there is a narrow space between the water and the alluvial cliff; the path here rises from the level of the stream to an alluvial platform two or three hundred feet above it by a narrow gully. But here he found the road stopped by the enemy; the Dārds had barricaded every possible channel of access, they had built sangars, or stone breastworks, across every gully that led to the higher ground. And the Dārds had also managed, by passing along difficult mountain paths, to get to the rear of the Dogrās, so that their retreat by the way they had come was made equally difficult with their advance. The river by their side was swift and deep, there was no hope to be gained from that; at the same time the Hunza people assembled with adverse intent on the left bank opposite, within gunshot. In short Bhūp Singh was caught in a

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
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trap. Thus encircled he was helpless unless by main force he could push his way up one of the defiles.

The Dārds then began to play the game of double-dealing in which they are such adepts.* They promised Bhūp Singh provisions, for of these he was quite short, and a safe passage back if he would agree to retire. This he consented to do, and he waited for days in hopes of the food coming; the Dārds kept him in expectation, and fed his hopes; one might almost fancy that they had learnt a lesson from Akbar Khān of Kābul. Thus for seven days the Dogrās were kept without food, and only then, when they were so reduced in strength as to be helpless, did the enemy begin their attack. The Hunza people fired from the left bank, while Gaur Rahmān's army sent from the summits of the alluvial cliffs close above a storm of bullets and stones that soon overwhelmed the force. Near a thousand died on the spot; a hundred or two were taken prisoners and sold into slavery.†

I think that Gaur Rahmān himself was not present here, but that the Dārds were led by his brother and his sons.

While the Maharaja's reserve was thus being disposed of, a somewhat similar tragedy was being done upon his troops at Gilgit and Naupūra, who, we saw, had been separately surrounded. Naupūra is on an alluvial or fan plateau, 250 feet above the Gilgit plain. An adjutant with two or three hundred men sallied from Gilgit Fort in order to succour the garrison of Naupūra; they divided into two parties, those who went by an upper path were cut to pieces, the others succeeded in throwing themselves into the fort. But here, too, rations failed, and, besides, the supply of water was cut off by the enemy. Then began negotiations as before, and the force was allowed to retire; they were being passed down, when, as I hear, one of the Dārds made a grab at a gold earring which the Commandant wore; this he resisted, and the affray was the signal for a general assault on the Dogrā troops. These collected themselves into a walled enclosure—the place abounds with such—and defended themselves gallantly for a whole day, but they were at last overpowered; about 300 were killed and a few were made slaves. Eighteen years later I met one of these; he was a Rājpūt, but he had been forced to become a Muhammadan for the sake of his life; he was taken into the household of one of the family of Gaur Rahmān, and grew into a position of great confidence there, and had become bound up in feeling with the Dārds.

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* I do not mean to say that the Dārds are much given to double-dealing; I think that the Dārd character, at all events of the lower classes, is generally straightforward. But in war they would count such a weapon quite a fair one, and certainly they can make good use of it.

† One of these survivors is now, they say, a rich merchant in Yārkand.

Then came the turn of Gilgit Fort. I do not know exactly how it was managed (for where the destruction was so thorough it is not easy to get the evidence of eye-witnesses), but I believe in somewhat the same way all the garrison came into the hands of the Dārds and were killed. The Gurkhā soldiers in the Maharaja's army, as in the British, take their families with them on service; their wives were in Gilgit Fort; these were all killed excepting one, who, throwing herself into the river that flows by the fort, managed to cross it and to reach the Indus, and to cross that also to Bawanjī; they say that she swam the Indus holding on to a cow's tail; at all events she escaped to tell the story, and she now receives a pension in Kashmir.

Thus, as before said, the Dogrās were expelled from all that part of Dārdistān which is on the right bank of the Indus. Gaur Rahmān again ruled in Gilgit.

From the time when these events happened, from the year 1852, onwards for eight years, the Maharaja's boundary, below Haramosh, remained at the Indus; above Haramosh, that is, in Baltistān, he possessed the country on both sides of the river. A considerable force was kept at Bawanjī; a few small raids took place, but no important movement; once by way of reprisal an expedition was made into Se, but none of the country on that side of the Indus was for a long time occupied. It seems to have been Gulāb Singh's fixed policy to advance no farther.

RE-CONQUEST BY THE DOGRAS; 1860.

In 1857 the present Maharaja, Ranbīr Singh, succeeded his father, Gulāb Singh, and he soon formed in his mind the intention

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175 of regaining on the frontier what had been lost, and re-establishing the name and reputation of his army. At first, however, his attention and his resources were employed in the operations attending the Indian Mutiny; it was not until 1860 that he found opportunity for settling the affairs of Gilgit in the way he desired.

A force crossed the Indus and advanced on Gilgit under the command of a man who was a thorough soldier, Colonel (now General) Devī Singh, Narainiā. In the interval of eight years Gaur Rahmān had built the fort described in Chapter XVII., and this was thought by the Dārds to be a work quite impregnable; but the Dogrās determined to attempt its conquest.

It so chanced that just before Devī Singh's force reached Gilgit, Gaur Rahmān himself died; it was, I think, in Yāsīn that he died; the news undoubtedly disheartened his people in Gilgit; they did not make much resistance to the assault; a cannon-ball which passed through the door of the fort killed the Wazīr; this decided them to give in, and Gilgit again belonged to Jummoo, and since then the hold of the Dogrās on the fort itself has never been lost.

Reckoning, doubtless, on a general disorganization of the Yāsīn power from Gaur Rahmān's death, the Dogrā leader determined to advance farther, to follow up the victory. He and his army were actually able to reach Yāsīn, which they took, but to hold it was no part of their plan, so after a few days they retired to Gilgit.

They had, however, placed on the gaddī, or throne, at Yāsīn one Azmat Shāh, a son of Sulaimān Shāh, the old ruler of Yāsīn and invader of Gilgit, this Azmat Shāh being, as near as I can make out, first cousin to Gaur Rahmān. The idea was that Azmat Shāh at Yāsīn would remain on peaceable and friendly terms with the Maharaja's authorities at Gilgit. But the plan would not work; no sooner had the Dogrā force turned their backs than the Yāsīnīs expelled their nominee, and poor Azmat Shāh had to flee for his life. This was all done so quickly that when the Dogrā army on their return reached Gilgit, which is but

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half-a-dozen marches from Yāsin, they found Azmat Shāh already there a refugee, he having come by a mountain path in his flight.

One other political arrangement was then made, which was more permanent—indeed has endured to this day (1874).

Mention has been made of Raja 'Isā Bāgdur, of Puniāl, of the line of the old Rajas of that country. I think it must have been about the time of the Sikh invasion of Gilgit that he incurred the enmity of Gaur Rahmān, and was obliged to leave his home; he took refuge first in Gilgit, then in Chilās, and ultimately he came to Kashmir, and there received a grant of land. When the re-conquest of Gilgit was planned, he accompanied the Maharaja's troops, and as the advance was continued into the country of his hereditary chiefship he was placed in power, and welcomed by the people, who had for some years been subject to the bloodthirsty Gaur Rahmān. Ever since that time Puniāl he has held, aided by and aiding the Maharaja's troops in all the later troubles.

At this time of his reinstatement he acquired a bit of country which had never before been in the hands of his family. This was the valley of Ishkoman, which leads up northward from nearly opposite Gākūj. It was granted to 'Isā Bāgdur by Azmat Shāh, the few-days'-ruler of Yāsin; of old it belonged to Yāsin. Although the grantor almost immediately lost all his power, yet the grant remained for four years (or by one account six years) in the hands of 'Isā Bāgdur; then, in further struggles, he lost it, and at this day it is with Yāsin.

The possession of Ishkoman by the same power that should hold Puniāl and Gilgit might, perhaps, be a source of usefulness, since a road leads from the head of the valley over into Badakhshān; but of the character of this road I know little.

LATER HOSTILITIES; 1863 TO 1869.

At the conclusion of the war, which ended on the withdrawal of the Dogrā force from Yāsin to Gilgit in the same year, 1860, the state of things was this:—One of Gaur Rahmān's sons, Mulk Imān by name, had succeeded him, and was ruler of Yāsin, of the original family possessions, with the exception of the above-mentioned Ishkoman. Raja 'Isá Bágdur held Puniál, and with it Ishkoman, in dependence on the Maharaja. The Maharaja's own officers and troops occupied the country of Gilgit, that which of old belonged to the Rajaship of Gilgit. Nor have many changes taken place since, or rather the result of them has been to bring things nearly to the same state after the various events which we will now speak of. These may seem but petty, yet their relative importance is the greater the nearer they are in time to the present, since from them can be drawn considerations which may tell on the future politics of this frontier.

After the war, though for a time peace prevailed, there was a feeling of stifled enmity between the two sides, which was sure before long to show itself in action. Various events occurred, among them the plunder and detention of a merchant sent by the Maharaja to buy horses, on his way from Badakhshán through Yásin, which determined the Maharaja to send a punitive expedition to Yásin. Early in the year 1863 a force was led by Colonel (now General) Hoshiyára, a bold, dashing, perhaps rash, leader, to Yásin. Little resistance was made at the place itself. But the Yásin people and forces were collected at a place called Marorikot, about a day's march higher up the valley, the women and children also having taken shelter within that fort. Thither the Dográs followed; on their approach the Yásinis came out to give battle in front. The Yásinis were defeated and broken; some fled to the hills, among whom was the Raja, Mulk Imán; others fled to the fort; these the Dográs in hot pursuit followed in before the gates could be closed, and there began first a hand-to-hand fight, and then the indiscriminate slaughter that is so apt to follow the taking a place by assault.

This complete defeat brought down the Yásin leaders, and made them submissive. The Dográs, indeed, at once retired to their old boundary, but for a few years Yásin was in some sense tributary; that is, the chiefs sent their agents to Jummoo with presents, and they were anxious to keep on good terms with the Maharaja; and with good management this state of things might have been kept up till now.

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But the want of political ability in those who were sent in command to Gilgit, as well as circumstances over which they themselves had no control, hindered a good understanding being kept up with the tribes.

I do not know on what special quarrel disturbances again began, but in the year 1866 the Gilgit authorities under the Maharaja found Hunza such a thorn in the side, that they arranged an attack on that place, the Nagar people promising aid so far as to allow a passage through their country. This, indeed, was aid of the greatest importance, for the difficulty of approaching Hunza, on account of certain defiles to be passed, is probably greater than that of taking the forts when you reach them.

The Dogrā force advanced on the Nagar side of the river, the left bank, and reached a place opposite to and within gunshot of one of the Hunza forts. But the way across to it did not seem easy, the river flows between cliffs of some height—probably alluvium or fan cliffs; and it was said that no practicable road could be found down and up them.

After a few days it seemed that the Nagar people were beginning to fall away from the alliance. The Dogrās began to be suspicious of them, and this distrust very likely brought about its own justification. At last, one evening, a report spread among the Dogrās that the Nagarīs were upon them; a panic struck them, and they retreated, or more accurately perhaps fled, though no enemy was attacking them; in this disgraceful way they returned to Gilgit.

Things did not stop here. This display of weakness on the part of the Dogrās caused all their old enemies to combine to try and expel them. A most formidable confederation of all the tribes round was made. Wazīr Rahmat, the Yāsīn Wazīr, was, they say, the soul of this combination. A year or two before he had paid his respects to the Maharaja at Jummoo, coming on the part of the Yāsīn Raja. He had now accompanied the Maharaja's force to Nagar, and for some time after its return had encamped at Gilgit, but one day, leaving his camp standing, he disappeared; he made his way to Yāsīn.

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175 In a month or two a considerable army invaded Gilgit. The Yāsīn ruler had now looked for aid across the mountains to Chitrāl, and from there came a force of horse and foot led by Imān-ul-Mulk, the Raja of Chitrāl. These with the Yāsīnīs and the Darelīs (from Darel, one of the valleys on the south-west of Gilgit) environed Gilgit Fort, while the Hunza and the Nagar people, now in conjunction, occupied the left bank of the river, opposite the fort. The Raja of Chitrāl was the man of most importance of all the leaders.

This invading force, on its way to Gilgit or soon afterwards, reduced most of the forts of Puniāl: that is to say, Gākūj, Bubar, &c., aided, they say, by treachery within them. But the fort of Sher held out. Raja 'Isā Bāgdur himself was within it with 100 of the Maharaja's sepoys; supported by them he even went so far as to expel *most of his own people*, who, they say, went and joined —outwardly, for their own safety, and not heartily—the enemy. These, under Mīr Walī, brother to the then Raja of Yāsīn, besieged Sher with vigour, but they could make little impression upon it.

The mass of the invading force were unable to pass along the usual road on account of the fire from Sher Fort, but they found a way higher up the mountains, and so approached and invested Gilgit Fort, on the fate of which hung the state of the whole valley. The besiegers expected that it soon would fall, for they had heard that it had provisions to last for a week or two only, so they closely blockaded it, and were able to repel all sallies. But, in truth, the fort was better provisioned than they thought.

Meanwhile news of this state had reached Kashmir, and the Maharaja had sent off reinforcements with great expedition under the charge of Wazīr Zurāorū and Col. Bīja Singh. At Bawanjī, on the river, they met with some opposition; but when once they had effected a landing on the right bank of the Indus, and the news had reached Imān-ul-Mulk, he and his troops and allies decamped and got safely back to their own countries.

The whole confederation had melted away. Thus different was the conduct of it from the energetic action of the Yāsīn troops,

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who fourteen years before succeeded in expelling their enemies from the Gilgit Valley.

The Dogrā force now assembled in Gilgit was, for that barren country, very large; there were, I think, 3000 soldiers, and they were accompanied by a great number of coolis to carry supplies. The leaders began to revolve in their minds what should be done, what punishment should be inflicted, and on whom, as a retribution for the late invasion; but it was long before they could come to a decision. Wazīr Zurāorū wished to attempt something, but something that was sure of success; an old and trusted servant of the Maharaja's house, now declining in years, he did not wish that his reputation should be dulled at last by a failure. After much time wasted in hesitation, an expedition to Dārel was determined on.

The expedition started in September (1866).* The main body, under Wazīr Zurāorū and Colonel Bīja Singh, went by the Naupūra ravine, which is almost exactly in front of Gilgit; another division, under Bakhshī Rādha Kishan, went up a side valley from Singal. The only opposition met with was to the main force. This, having crossed the dividing ridge of mountains, was passing down along a ravine, at some distance above the place where that ravine debouches into the main Dārel Valley. A barricade formed of felled trees and stones was met with; this was defended by Mulk Imān of Yāsīn, with some of his own people, who were more used to fighting than were the Dārelis. Bīja Singh, however, an experienced and wary soldier, knew what was the right thing to do; he scaled the heights and turned the position, and the enemy had to flee. In a day or two after this the right column joined. The main column had made six marches to the first village-fort in Dārel, the right column four marches. There was no more opposition, the country of Dārel lay open to the Dogrās.

As will be seen from the map, this Dārel Valley leads southward to the Indus. There are seven village-forts in it; the Dogrās only reached four of them; the one they came to first was the highest in the valley. All the inhabitants had fled to the

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* It was while this expedition was on hand that Dr. Leitner visited Gilgit.

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175 mountains, there was not even a woman or a child to be seen; the cattle even had all been driven off. The Dogrās stayed a week. Some of the chief men of Dārel came in and made their submission; as snow was about to fall on the hills behind, it was convenient to take that as a reason for retiring. So the force returned, with some losses by cold, chiefly of the accompanying Kashmīrī coolis. The Dogrās certainly had shown the Dārelīs that their country was not inaccessible, and doubtless they left their mark on it. After this, a great part of the force returned to Kashmir, and the usual garrison was established in Gilgit.

In the next year, I believe, 1867, the untiring Yāsīn enemies invaded Puniāl, attacking the fort of Bubar; but here were some of the Maharaja's irregulars, and they, with Raja 'Isā Bāgdur, held out and made sallies; so the enemy was held in check until Bakshī Rādha Kishan arrived with some troops from Gilgit and relieved the place, the Yāsīnīs at once retreating.

This was the last conflict that occurred on the side of Yāsīn.

The enmity of the Hunza ruler was no less than that of the Yāsīn Raja. He had, in some of the later wars, taken, and he succeeded in retaining, the village of Chaprot, which village is held by Hunza to this day. From Chaprot, in or about the year 1869, the Hunza people made a raid on the large village of Niomal; they took away all the inhabitants, some 200 in number; those of them who were Kashmīrī Dārds, of the mixed blood, sixty or seventy, they sold to slave-merchants; but the others, after representations made from Gilgit, they sent back.

Other things have been endured from Hunza, and some reprisals have been made by the Gilgit officers, but there has been no fighting on a large scale.

Changes at Yāsīn; 1870–1873.

The list of Gaur Rahmān's sons before given must be referred to, and the names of the three first of them remembered. There are Mulk Imān and Mīr Walī of one mother, and Pahlwān Bahādur (also called Ghulām Mahai-ud-dīn) of another, who was sister to Imān-ul-Mulk, the Raja of Chitrāl. We saw that Mulk Imān,

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Gaur Rahmān's eldest son, succeeded to power on the death of his father, and had, during the later hostilities, led the Yāsīn forces; he is a man, I believe, of small stature, but strong and active, a soldier, but without much head.

Soon after the events last described, Mulk Imān and his brother Mīr Walī fell out. Mīr Walī, getting aid from Imān-ul-Mulk of Chitrāl, expelled Mulk Imān, and himself became ruler in Yāsīn. Mulk Imān took refuge in Darel first; then, strange to say, he came to the Maharaja of Kashmir, was well received by him, and was established at Gilgit with a pension, almost within sight of his old enemy Raja 'Isā Bāgdur, and quite within sight of the agents of his inimical brother, who now and then used to come to Gilgit.

Mīr Walī became a tributary to, or, more than that even, a dependent on, the Raja of Chitrāl. Pahlwān Bahādur received from the same chief the governorship or rajaship, whichever it may best be called, of Mastūj on the Chitrāl side of the mountains. Thus Chitrāl, Mastūj, and Yāsīn became bound up together. The relation of all these to the Maharaja's officers at Gilgit consisted in keeping and being kept at arm's length. As a rule, the Maharaja's agents could not safely enter the other territories, but some messengers from Yāsīn or Chitrāl used to come to Gilgit, knowing they need not fear for their lives, and hoping to carry away some present worth having in return for the smooth messages they delivered.

The next thing that brought about any change was, curiously enough, the visit of an Englishman.

In the beginning of the year 1870, Lieut. George W. Hayward came to Gilgit. He had been sent out by the Royal Geographical Society of London with the object of exploring the Pāmir Steppe. In prosecution of this object he had gone to Yārkand and Kāshgar, from which places he had, in the previous year, returned to the Panjāb unsuccessful as to his main end, not having been allowed to approach the Pāmir from the side of Yārkand, but with a store of information about Eastern Turkistān. With an enthusiasm for his purpose that was characteristic of him, he determined

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to run the risk of a journey through Yāsīn and Badakhshān to the place which was his goal. Though warned by many of the danger of putting himself in the power of such people as the Yāsīn and Chitrāl rulers—I myself introduced to him men who knew the ways of them, and declared them to be utterly devoid of faith—he started on the journey. What followed is told in the Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings for 1870, partly by his own pen, and partly, the final scenes, by mine. As that publication may not be available to all my readers, and as the story of the endeavours of a brave rash man may have interest and value to them, I will here put down a short account of Mr. Hayward's doings, by the repetition in part of the substance of what I had before written to Sir Roderick Murchison, President at that time of the Royal Geographical Society.

The first thought was that there would be difficulty in entering the Yāsīn country, that the chief would refuse admission to Hayward, as the Hunza ruler had done to Lieuts. Vans Agnew and Young twenty years before. But it did not turn out so. It chanced that an agent of Mīr Walī's had on some pretext come to Gilgit, and was there on Hayward's arrival; by his hands he sent a letter and presents, and in due time an answer came from Mīr Walī to the effect that he would be glad to see him. So Hayward went, was hospitably received, was taken about to some of the valleys for sport, and was made much of, in fact was won over by Mīr Walī. This was in the winter when the snow was on the ground; there was no prospect for three months or more of the road to Badakhshān being open. Hayward, though on good terms with the ruler, did not think it wise to wear out his welcome by staying all that time, but determined to return to the Panjāb, and make a fresh start in the early summer. And did Hayward give nothing in return for this attention from such a known avaricious man as Mīr Walī? He gave almost all he had with him that was suitable for presents, and he promised what was of more value. And this it is that shows the astuteness of the ruler. Mīr Walī interested Hayward in what he himself counted, and persuaded Hayward to consider, his rightful claims to Gilgit,

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and engaged his guest to represent these to the Governor-General, in order that the Maharaja might be forced to withdraw to the Indus.

The reader of the preceding pages will at once see that Mīr Walī had no more original right to Gilgit than the Maharaja had; that his father, Gaur Rahmān, had conquered it from some one who had conquered it from some one else; and that, although some four dynasties back (about one reign goes to a dynasty here) a relation of Gaur Rahmān's possessed Gilgit, yet he also only gained it by the same means as those by which his successor wrested it from him. The Sikhs, the Maharaja's predecessors, had conquered Gilgit from Gaur Rahmān, and, after more struggles between the two powers, neither of whom had any better claim to it than the sword, it had finally remained with the Maharaja.

But little of this did Hayward know. He adopted the views of Mīr Walī, promised his aid in getting them brought before the British Government. In fact, he himself brought them before the Governor-General; nothing was done about it; nothing could have been done about it. But Mīr Walī meanwhile was sanguine. He had, I believe, put down Hayward for a British agent, and he built upon his endeavours.

Hayward returned to Yāsīn in July (1870), and at once it was clear that the former cordial terms would not prevail. Mīr Walī was vexed at his having effected nothing for him, was vexed to see the now large mass of baggage, containing untold wealth in the very things he would like to have (for they had been provided as gifts for the people *beyond Yāsīn*), going out of his grasp, was vexed at Hayward's not agreeing to the route (through Chitrāl) that he was desired to take; lastly he was enraged at an encounter of words that took place between guest and host. For one used to have his own way within his own little country all this was sure to be more than annoying. For Mīr Walī, a man who thought little of taking life, it was enough to decide him to murder his guest and take possession of the baggage.

Hayward had started from Yāsīn, and had made three short

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175 marches on the road to Badakhshān, had reached a place called Darkūt, when he was overtaken by fifty or sixty men sent by Mīr Walī. These, however, gave no signs of enmity; their leader said he had been sent to see the camp safe across the Pass. But the next morning they took Hayward in his sleep, bound his hands, led him a mile into the pine forest, and killed him by a blow from a sword. His five servants, Kashmīrīs and Pathāns, met with the same fate.

Three months afterwards I recovered Hayward's body, sending a messenger with presents and promises from Gilgit, where I lay. We buried him in a garden not far from Gilgit Fort.

It was said that this visit of Hayward's caused the next political changes in Yāsīn. This is what happened.

Wazīr Rahmat was still in the position of chief adviser of the Yāsīn ruler; but this thing Mīr Walī had done against his advice; it became a cause of distrust between them, and led each to plot against the other. It was Wazīr Rahmat's plot that succeeded. He sent his son to Pahlwān Bahādur of Mastūj, with whom a scheme was made up, that received the sanction of Imān-ul-Mulk of Chitrāl, to displace Mīr Walī. Pahlwān Bahādur came suddenly to Yāsīn with a few hundred men; Mīr Walī would not oppose them, but fled into Badakhshān; Pahlwān Bahādur reigned in his place.

This was about August, 1870, very shortly after the murder of Hayward. Mīr Walī, repulsed from Badakhshān, came to Chitrāl and threw himself upon the mercy of Imān-ul-Mulk, who relaxed his anger and allowed him to remain at his Court.

For the last three years, from the end of 1870 onwards, the further course of events has not been exactly known, but I believe that by 1873 Mīr Walī regained his position in Yāsīn, and that things had returned to about the same state as they were before the visit of Hayward. Efforts have been made by the British Government and by the Maharaja of Kashmir, by application to Imān-ul-Mulk and otherwise, to get hold of Mīr Walī and the actual murderers, but success has attended none of them; the murder remains unavenged.

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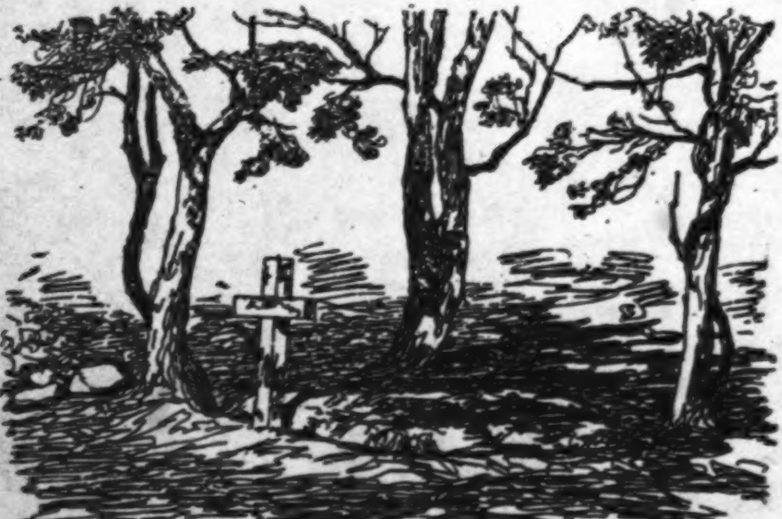
I cannot end this subject without saying something more of George Hayward. He was led to geographical exploration by the journeys he had made among the Himalayas in search of sport while he was in the army. A keen sportsman, and a hardy, energetic, and courageous traveller, he had many of the qualities that make a good explorer. But he was more fitted to do the part of an explorer of a continent like Australia than in Asia, where nearly every habitable nook is filled up, and where knowledge of human nature and skill in dealing with various races of men are at least as much wanted as ability to overcome physical obstacles. He was a man whose many friends admired him for his pluck and his warm enthusiasm in his pursuit, and liked for the agreeableness that they always met with in him. His fate, the fate of being at an early age barbarously, almost wantonly, murdered by the order of one whom he had made a friend of and tried to benefit, filled all with indignation, a feeling that has not as yet been calmed by punishment reaching the offenders.



GEORGE W. HAYWARD; KILLED AT DARKŪT IN YĀSĪN, JULY 18, 1870; BURIED AT GILGIT, OCTOBER 27, 1870.

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CHAPTER XX.

DĀRDISTĀN: COUNTRIES AROUND GILGIT.

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631 Fragments of information got from hearsay of countries that are
642 inaccessible to one, when they can be verified by comparison, are
563 not without value. I will therefore put down a few notes, which,
564 as far as they go, are likely to be correct, on those parts of Dārd-
567 istān which cannot at present be reached by Europeans.

795 But first I will show, in a tabular form, the several divisions
B of Dārdistān which have in any way come within my notice, in-
cluding those which have already been treated of. These divi-
642 sions are in some cases separate valleys, in other cases parts of the
564 same valley. The Table includes a statement of their form of
567 government, of the races or castes that inhabit them, and of the
795 sect or religion prevailing, as well as the practice that may hold
as regards slavery.

DĀRDISTĀN.

	Government.	Prevailing Races or Castes.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
Gilgit ..	Governed directly by the Maharaja's officers.	A few Ronū; more Shin; most Yashkun.	Half Suni, half Shia.	In these neither is there now, nor was there of old, either slavery or slave-trade.
Sai		Shin and Yashkun	Mostly Suni; a few Shia.	
Haramosh		Shin and Yashkun	Shia.	
Hasora ..		Shin and Yashkun	Suni.	
Punīāl ..	Ruled by Raja 'Isā Bāgdur, in dependence on the Maharaja. (Raja's caste or family is called Burshe.)	Yashkun	Molāi; and a few Suni.	
Nagar ..	Ruled by Raja Zafar. (Raja's family, Moguluts.)	Yashkun	All Shia.	

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

Dard AV5
Burusho AV7

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DĀRDISTĀN—*continued.*

	Government.	Prevailing Races or Castes.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
HUNZA ..	Ruled by Raja Ghazan Khān, son of Ghazanfar. (Raja's family, Ayeshia.)	Yashkun	All Molāī.	Here slaves are both kept and dealt in.
ISHKOMAN, or CHATARKUN	Belongs to Yāsin	Yashkun	Molāī.	
YĀSIN ..	Ruled by Raja Mir Walī, son of Gaur Rahmān. (Raja's family, Bakhte.)	Yashkun	Molāī and Sunī, the former predominating; no Shia.	
CHITRĀL and MASTŪJ.	Ruled by Raja Imān-ul-Mulk. (Raja's family, Katori.)	Yashkun	Sunī.	
GOLJĀL in BADAKHSHĀN	Dependent on the Mīr or Prince of Badakhshān (tributary to Kābul).	Wākhik*	Molāī.	
DĀREL ..	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun	Sunī.	In these, captives of war are kept as slaves; slave-dealing is not practised.
TANGĪR ..	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun		
GOR	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun	Sunī.	
THALĪCHA ..	Republic.			
CHILĀS ..	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun		
KOLĪ	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun		
PĀLUS ..	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun		

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The first five divisions I have already treated of as fully as I was able. We now come to the countries that surround Gilgit.

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Maharaja, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

The people of Nagar are called Khajanī.

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Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Maharaja, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Raja sent an agent to Sirīnagar to open friendly relations, who was well received; I do not know

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* I have never met any of these people, but I believe them to be Dārds. Golje is another name by which they are called; that is the territorial name, while Wākhik is the caste name.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B 648 what since has occurred, but there seemed to me to be no likelihood of close friendship.

B 101 The people of Hunza are called Hunzīje.

D 101 The people of *Ishkoman*, or *Chatarkun*, are called Ishkomanīje, or Chatarkune.

As to *Yāsīn*, the most that we know of it has been told by Mr. Hayward [*]; I can add little to that. The people of Yāsīn are called Pure.

D 487 Here are some notes, taken from hearsay, of the roads that lead out of Yāsīn:

Yāsīn to Mastūj; Three Roads.

(1) By Shaver, five or six marches; it can be traversed by men all the year round; for horses it is difficult in winter, but is not altogether closed for them, or if it is, then only for fifteen days or so at a time, until the snow has hardened; also it is bad for horses for a fortnight in spring.

(2) By Tūī, three marches; the Pass crossed the second day.

(3) By Nazba, three marches; the Pass crossed the second day.

Both these are closed for traffic by the end of October.

Probably the marches are of 20 miles each.

Yāsīn by Shaver and Tangīr to Swāt;

A five days' journey they say; but I think these are long marches: it may be 120 miles.

Yāsīn to Badakhshān.

This road is the one which Mr. Hayward was taking when he met with his death.

The Pass closes for horses at the end of October, while for two months it remains closed for all traffic. There is a glacier on the north side, but horses can go over it, avoiding the crevasses.

D 101 The people of Chitrāl are called Katare.

361 642 *Dārel.* This has seven fort-villages in a valley about a mile and a half wide; the cultivation, I was told, is continuous along

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[*] Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, 1870.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV5

the whole length of it. Vineyards abound. Kine and goats are 101
plentiful. Deodar, pine, and oak grow on the hill-sides. Most of 361
the people during summer time live up on the hills, where pasture 642
is to be found. This is a federal republic; but the federal bond
seems weak. The people are called by their neighbours Dārele.

Tangir, a republic. It has of old been tributary to Yāsīn; but there is no close connection.

Gor, a republic; it has three forts or villages. It sends a few goats to the Maharaja by way of tribute, and leaves hostages in Astor, but it is practically independent. The people are called Gūrīje.

Thalicha; a small village of seven houses. It is the smallest independent state that I have ever heard of. Its government is republican.

Chilās. This is one of the larger of these republics; its [175]
people are called by the other Dārds "Bhute." Some account
of the way in which the Chilāsīs used to make raids on their
neighbours has been given in Chapter XVII. The Sikhs sent
an expedition to Chilās under one Sūja Singh, but it was re-
pulsed; this was when Mīān Singh was the Sikh Governor of
Kashmir, about the year 1843. The expedition sent by Maha-
raja Gulab Singh (in 1850 or '51), and its good effects, have
already been spoken of. Since that time the Chilāsīs have been [648]
in a sense tributary; they now pay yearly to the Maharaja a
tribute of 100 goats and about two ounces of gold-dust; otherwise
they are free.

Beyond these, down the Indus Valley, are some places of which 101
I know almost nothing but the name, they are—

Hudar, whose people are called Hudare.
Bunar.
Thak, „ „ Khane.
Harban, „ „ Bhije.
Thur, „ „ Thorīje.
Sāzīn.
Kolī, „ „ Kolūche.
Pālus, „ „ Palāoche.

131 101 A few miles below Kolī is Batera; beyond that Dārdistān ends and the Pathān country, where the Pashtū language prevails, begins. The Kolī people are Dārds; they know both the Dārd and Pashtū languages.

642 646 Many places have been put down as republics; what I have been able to find out about the way of their government will apply to them generally. There is a general assembly of the people, called Sigās, which decides on almost every matter.
[562] It is called together by beat of drum; men, old and young, attend it, but not women; none who have the right to attend are allowed to be absent, under pain of fine. In this assembly the rights of a minority are carefully guarded. I have been told that if even one man, supposing him to be of any consideration, object to a policy, it cannot be carried out; the assembly is adjourned for a few days, and in the interval effort is made either to convince the objector or to modify the proposal; then meeting, they may perhaps have again to adjourn; but in time something or other is sure to be arranged.

643 The executive consists of a few men, may be five or six, chosen by the people in their assembly. These are called *Joshtero* in the Dārd language. They are chosen for their wisdom; but here as elsewhere wealth seems to have influence to convince the people of the wisdom of those who possess it. The office of Joshtero is not hereditary; the Joshteros must be in general accord with the assembly else they will be displaced. The Joshteros deliberate together on a policy, but cannot carry it out without the consent of the assembly of the people, which they themselves call
[692] together. The Joshteros are also arbitrators to settle disputes of water and wood, and what not.

623 Where the valley is large, like, for instance, Dārel, each village has its own Sigās, or assembly, which settles the particular affairs of that village, while for matters of more general policy the Joshteros of all the villages first meet, and make among themselves a plan to propose, and then a general parliament is called; that is, the people themselves of all the villages together meet to hear and decide. If all of the villages cannot agree on one policy, then

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 ~~Kashmir~~
Dard AV3,
Burusho AV7

D 623

each is free to pursue its own without severing the federal bond. Thus I have heard that some villages have joined with one power—have agreed to pay tribute—while others of the same valley have done the same to the rival power. But there must be some limit to this. They could not, of course, actively join on opposite sides.

D 642 626

My knowledge of the working of these institutions is very incomplete; on the whole I incline to think that with the republics there is less of wars of ambition than with those valleys that are governed by an hereditary ruler, less of bloodshed on a large scale, such as is brought about by or for the dispossession of dynasties. But I do not think that the internal state is so secure and quiet as under a Raja; in the republics personal independence and liberty of action are so much the rule, that no one interferes to prevent even violence.

D 567

In the Table given at p. 456, the last column shows the custom of the various states with respect to slavery. There are three categories. The first includes Gilgit, Astor, Nagar, &c.; in these places not only is slavery unknown now that some of them are under the rule of the Maharaja of Kashmir, but, according to my information, it was not the custom before.

Another category includes the Republics; in these, slaves when captured in a foray are kept as servants, as we saw was the case in Chilās with those they brought away from Astor; but they are not used as a commodity to be bought and sold.

B 567

Thirdly, in the Rajaships of Hunza, Yāsīn, and Chitrāl, slaves are openly bought and sold; the Rajas themselves are the chief dealers—that is to say, they are sellers—while merchants, generally from Badakhshān, are the buyers. The greater expense of sustaining these governments, as compared with the republics, has probably been the cause of the Rajas entering on this trade, in which they will sell, in default of others, their own subjects even. Many are the people, and of races various—Dārd and Dogrā, Panjābī and Pathān—whom the fortune of war has allowed to fall into the hands of one or other of these rulers, and who, having been bartered by their avaricious captor, are passing their lives as exiles and slaves in Badakhshān or in Turkistān.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

CHAPTER XXI.

LANGUAGES.

DOGRĪ — CHIBHĀLĪ — THE PAHĀRĪ DIALECTS AND KASHMĪRĪ — DĀRD DIALECTS — THE TIBETAN — USE OF PERSIAN — WRITTEN CHARACTERS.

197 I GIVE below an enumeration of thirteen languages, or dialects, spoken within the Jummoo and Kashmir territories. It would be possible, no doubt, to make a greater number of subdivisions, since the speech is apt to vary in these mountain countries within very short distances; the greater number of subdivisions one makes, the less, of course, will be the difference between any two adjoining ones; in the present list, between most of those named, the differences are very marked indeed. It will be seen that for the Language Map I have massed some of the dialects into groups, for each of which groups I have used one tint. These tints may be taken as showing what languages or groups of dialects so far differ as to be mutually incomprehensible. On that principle the thirteen dialects are classed under five different languages. This classification is practical and useful, and the marked geographical boundaries of those groups enabled me to ascertain their distribution with accuracy. But, to show out the relationship of the fourteen dialects, the classification is better which is indicated by the bracketing on the left-hand side of the list, where, all the Pahārī dialects and Kashmīrī being put together, *four* great groups are constituted.

The following is the list:

ARYAN (SOUTHERN DIVISION).

DOGRĪ .. .. .. CHIBHĀLĪ	One colour on the Language Map.
RĀMBANĪ .. .. BHADARWĀHĪ .. .. PĀDARĪ .. .. .. DIALECT OF DODĀ .. KISHTWĀRĪ	One colour on the Language Map, under the name Pahārī.
KASHMĪRĪ	One colour on the Language Map.

197

ARYAN (SOUTHERN DIVISION)—*continued.*

DĀRD .. { DIALECT OF DĀH .. / DIALECT OF ASTOR, GUREZ, AND DRAS / DIALECT OF GILGIT } One colour on the Language Map.

TURANIAN (SOUTHERN DIVISION).

TIBETAN { LANGUAGE OF BALTISTĀN AND LADĀKH .. .. / LANGUAGE OF THE CHĀMPĀS } One colour on the Language Map.

DOGRĪ.

Dogrī differs considerably from Hindostānī (that dialect of India which has, under British rule, become the most diffused of all), but whether or not in such a degree as would justify us in calling it a distinct language I can hardly say. If a native of Hindostān, who had never come farther north than Ambāla, were to go where pure Dogrī is spoken, into the heart, say, of the Outer Hills, he would not be able to understand any but the shortest sentences, and by no means all of these; with some difficulty he would make himself understood for simple matters.

The relationship of Panjābī to Hindostānī is very similar, while there is a difference between Dogrī and Panjābī which is not so great as that between either of them and Hindostānī. Many [194] points of difference from this last are common to Dogrī and Panjābī; for instance, the use of the short *a* in several words which in Hindostānī would have the long *ā*, thus the Hindostānī *hāth* (hand) and *kām* (work) become in both Dogrī and Panjābī *hath* and *kam*; the not unfrequent use in these last dialects of *v* where Hindostānī would have *b*, as in *vī*, twenty (in Hindostānī *bīs*), is another instance. Of those *grammatical forms* in Dogrī that 193 vary from Hindostānī about half are the same as Panjābī and half 197 are different from either. In some points (as in the imperfect of the verb *to be*) Dogrī resembles Hindostānī where Panjābī differs from it.

In Appendix I. I have given a Grammar of Dogrī.[1] The structure of that language is such that it is possible to take a Hindostānī grammar, and, without recasting it, replace the Hin-

[Cf. category 116, pp. 513-515 -- Analyst]

1t Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

193 dostānī with Dogrī forms. This indeed is very nearly what I have
197 done in making this short grammar, taking Forbes' Hindostānī
Grammar as the model.*

197 I am unable to compare with any exactitude the Dogrī with the other languages in respect of their vocabularies as a whole. In Appendix II. a few words are given in Dogrī and some other dialects; these are some of those recommended by Sir George Campbell (in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), as well fitted to try the relationship of various languages.

191 This Dogrī is spoken by the village people of the Outer Hills and of the strip of plain at their foot, from the Rāvī to a little west of the Chīnāb.† It is spoken purest by those who have not come much into contact with other races; especially is it to be heard pure and unmixed from the mouths of the women, who, from their seclusion and little intercourse with strangers, are the most likely to preserve the indigenous speech. In the towns, but especially in Jummoo, one hears a mixture of Dogrī, Panjābī, and Hindostānī. Of the officers of the Maharaja's Court, very few, if any, speak pure Dogrī; some, indeed, hail from the Panjāb, and speak their own Panjābī with some Dogrī mixed; others have by contact with those who live in the British territory (where Hindostānī is sure to be much heard, even where it is not the vernacular) got an admixture of Hindostānī; indeed almost every one of the Court speaks a mixture of the three above-named dialects, in proportions varying for each person.

CHIBHALI.

197 The Chibhālī dialect differs from Dogrī by no means so much as Dogrī does from Hindostānī, but perhaps in the same degree as it does from Panjābī. One would not, indeed, on looking over the few words I have put down in Appendix II., think that there was any important difference between Dogrī and Chibhālī, but

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* I have been much helped by Sonū, Brahman, who has a critical knowledge of Dogrī. The incompleteness and imperfections of the grammar are due to my not having taken as much advantage of his assistance as I should like to have done.

† Eastward of the Rāvī, the people of the Outer Hills have a speech closely allied to if not identical with our Dogrī.

these two languages *in motion* have a greater amount of difference, 197
one that is very striking to the ear.

Chibhālī is closely allied to that form of Panjābī which is spoken west of the Jhelam, in the country called Pothwār;* this latter (which the natives call Pothwārī) I shall speak of as Western Panjābī.

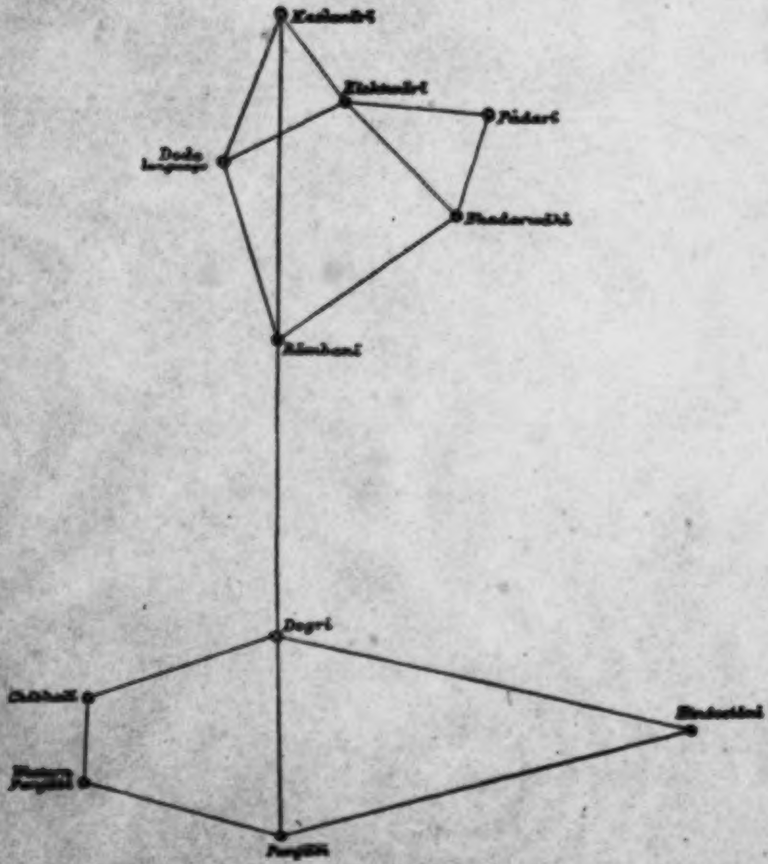
Kashmīrī
Kishtwārī
Pādarī
Doda language
Bhadarwāhī
Rāmbanī
Dogrī
Chibhālī
Hindustānī
Western Panjābī
Panjābī

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONSHIPS OF CERTAIN LANGUAGES.

Some of the most striking differences between Chibhālī and 193
Western Panjābī on the one hand, and Dogrī or Panjābī on the 197
other, consist in the use of *nā*, *ne*, and *nī* in the genitive instead of

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* In this word the *t* and the *r* are both cerebral.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

193 *dā*, *de*, and *dī*; and in the termination of the present participle,
197 which seems always to be *nā*, while in Hindostānī it would be *tā*
and in Dogrī and Panjābī *ndā*. Also there is a tendency for the
[194] vowel *a* (short) to become in Chibhālī *u* (short). Thus—

Dogri :	lakri, *wood.*	Chibhālī :	lukri.
"	chham, *waterfall.*	"	chhum.
"	chalnā, *to go on.*	"	julnā.

197 The change from Dogrī to Chibhālī in the hills corresponds with that from Panjābī to Western Panjābī in the plains; but there is less difference between Chibhālī and Western Panjābī than there is between Dogrī and Panjābī. These relationships (and others that will be spoken of farther on) I have tried to illustrate by the diagram on the preceding page, in which the length of the lines joining the points marking the various dialects is intended to represent proportionately the differences between them.

The lower part shows Dogrī and Panjābī equidistant from Hindostānī, and at a less distance from each other than either is from Hindostānī. Chibhālī and Western Panjābī are shown at equal distances respectively from Dogrī and Panjābī, but with a less distance between them than there is between those two.

THE PAHARI DIALECTS AND KASHMIRI.

Those philologists who have paid attention to the Kashmīrī language have found it one of great interest, for its elaborate inflexions and for the relation, both in vocabulary and grammar, which it bears to the Sanskrit. It is still, however, as regards its construction, so little known that there is a probable yield of more material of value and interest for anyone who should, equipped with the requisite philological knowledge, seriously undertake the analysis of it. I subjoin in a note a list of the writings on the Kashmīrī language, chiefly vocabularies, that have been published.*

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* Grammar and Vocabulary of the Cashmīrī Language, by M. P. Edgeworth. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. x., pt. ii., 1841, p. 1038.

A Grammar of the Cashmeeree Language, by Major Leech. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. xiii., pt. i., 1844, p. 397.

I myself never learned to speak Kashmîrî; it is never heard 197 in the Jummoo darbâr; for the purposes of a traveller through Kashmir either Hindostânî or Panjâbî will serve; since Kashmîrî is a language not easily acquired, one is not likely to master it who is not for long tied to Kashmir proper. Having allowed this, it may seem presumptuous for me to say anything about the connection of Kashmîrî with other languages; but there are some characteristics of it so marked that they can be traced by one who knows but few words of it, and since I believe that in travelling over little-frequented parts I have been able to find out certain facts of interest connected with the subject, I shall not refrain from stating them.

Kashmîrî has hitherto been spoken of as a language quite by itself, unlike any other spoken tongue, and not allied, except in the distant way in which all the Aryan tongues of India are allied to one another, with any neighbouring speech. But in travelling in the Middle Mountain region I found several dialects (which I have classed together under the name *Pahârî*) allied in different degrees to Kashmîrî, having, in these differing degrees, those characteristics by which Kashmîrî is so easily recognised. These intermediate dialects are Râmbanî, Bhadarwâhî, Pâdarî, the language of Dodâ, and Kishtwârî. There is a gradual passage to be traced from Dogrî (which we saw to be closely allied with the Hindî dialects of the plains of India) up through these Pahârî dialects to Kashmîrî. Râmbanî may be taken as the half-way stage between Dogrî and Kashmîrî; while Bhadarwâhî, Pâdarî, the Dodâ language, and Kishtwârî show marked advances from that stage towards Kashmîrî.

* The vocabularies in Appendix II. will illustrate this to a 194 certain extent. Some of the most noticeable characters of Kash- 197 mîrî are the possession of the sound *a* and the use of it where a

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A Vocabulary of the Kashmîrî Language, by L. Bowring. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1866, p. 227.

List of Kashmîrî Words, by Dr. W. J. Elmslie. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 98.

Vocabulary of the Kashmîrî Language, by Dr. Elmslie. London: Church Missionary House. 1872.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

194 Hindī dialect would have *j*, and of the sound *ts* where in Hindī there
197 would be *ch*. These occur to some degree in all the above dialects. I am not able to any extent to compare their *structures*,* but something can be gathered from the way in which natives of the different parts find the other dialects to be comprehensible or incomprehensible; from observations on this I infer that Rāmbanī is about equidistant from Kashmīrī and Dogrī and is not to be understood either by a Dogrā or by a native of Kashmir who has had no experience of any other Pahārī dialect. Those dialects, as of Dodā or Kishtwār, which are between Rāmbanī and Kashmīrī, may be understood by a Kashmīrī, and possibly also by a native of Rāmban. If the reader will refer again to the diagram on p. 465 he will see an attempt to express all this graphically. There the length of the line between Dogrī and Rāmbanī equals that between Rāmbanī and Kashmīrī. The group of five dialects above are more closely allied together. Of course this diagram is but tentative; if one knew accurately the proportion of the differences between any set of languages it might, in order to represent them diagrammatically, be necessary to construct a *solid diagram*, which would, more completely than one made on the flat, illustrate the relationships in all directions; such a diagram again might be stereoscopically presented.

DARD DIALECTS.

197 In Dr. Leitner's 'Dārdistān,' before quoted, are vocabularies, phrases, and a comparative grammar that give an insight into the character of several of the Dārd dialects. I am unable to add anything to his information. All I can do is to put (as I have done in Appendix II.) those words which were used to compare the other languages into the dialects of the Dārd language which I have had an opportunity of hearing. This I have done from my own observations; on comparing the words as I took them down with the same picked out from Dr. Leitner's vocabularies, &c.,

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* A few phrases in Rāmbanī and Bhadarwāhī will be found in Appendix III. The English of them is from the model phrases recommended by Sir George Campbell. See Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1866.

I find them to differ exceedingly little when allowance has been made for the different system (chiefly affecting the consonants) according to which he has written them.

The three Dárd dialects of which some words are given in the Appendix are those of Astor, Gilgit, and Dáh. The Astor dialect includes or coincides with the speech of Drás and of Gurez; I had made separate lists in those two valleys, but find them so nearly to agree with what is spoken in Astor that it did not seem worth while to print them.

What I have given of the Dáh dialect is new. That place, it will be remembered, is inhabited by Dárds who have become Buddhist; from their complete (and probably early) separation from other Dárd communities one would expect differences in their language. In the vocabulary given some are to be observed, but I confess that this is too meagre to be of much value, only the drawing attention to this separate dialect may be of some use.

THE TIBETAN.

Of the varieties of the Tibetan language spoken in these territories I have in the list named but two, that spoken by the Chámpás, or nomads, and that of the settled Ladákhis. There are, I believe, local differences within this latter division; the Zánskár people speak somewhat differently, and also the people in the neighbourhood of Kargil; but I am not able to give any detailed information on this subject.

The Tibetan has been so thoroughly studied that the best thing I can do here is to name some of the publications which might best, or most easily, be consulted by anyone wishing to acquire a knowledge of it. These are:

A Grammar of the Tibetan Language, in English, by Alexander Csoma de Körös. Calcutta, 1834.

Essay towards a Dictionary, Tibetan and English, by A. Csoma de Körös. Calcutta, 1834.

A Short Practical Grammar of the Tibetan Language, with special reference to the Spoken Dialects, by H. A. Jaeschke. Kyelang, 1865.

197 A Tibetan Dictionary, by the last author, in the Roman character, has also, I believe, been published.

Use of Persian.

198 With all these different languages current in the territories it
212 can be understood that in carrying on the Government some difficulties occur through their variety. It is not easy to say whether these difficulties have been increased or lessened by the use for official documents of yet another tongue, one not spoken in any part of those territories either by the commonalty or as the Court language. The official written language is Persian.* Orders given by the Maharaja are written in Persian—character and language. In the British province of the Panjāb the Persian character is employed for writing the Hindostānī language, but here in Jummoo none of the vernaculars are written in that character, the Persian language itself is employed. Under the Maharaja the Government accounts are kept in Persian, and in almost every case that language is the medium of official communication, though it is true that the Dogri, as will be shown below, is in some cases used.

Though Persian is so commonly written that all who would aspire to an office of any estimation must become familiar with it, yet it is very seldom spoken in Jummoo, only, indeed, when some trader or other traveller from Kābul or from Yārkand comes, unacquainted with our familiar dialects, and makes himself understood with Persian, which is the French of Asia.

This use of Persian for Government writings is to be traced back to the Court of the Delhi Emperors. There Persian had always been the polite, and it remained to the last the official, language; for long had it been the practice of those classes of men who were likely to have a hand in the civil affairs of Government early to acquire Persian, and so, on the formation of Ranjīt Singh's kingdom in the Panjāb, it naturally became the official written language of his Court, although Ranjīt Singh himself was unacquainted with it. Persian still had that position when the British came into the

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* Persian is called in India by the names Fārsī and Īrānī.

Panjāb, and it held its place for some little time after, until 198 the system was changed to that in use in the North-west Pro- 212 vinces, where the Persian alphabet is used for the Hindostānī dialect—a plan that has evident advantages (since Hindostānī is becoming familiarly spoken by many of the Panjāb people), advantages which would be increased were the writers of Hindostānī to make use of a less elaborate idiom and less recondite words. The adoption of Persian in the Jummoo Court came about from similar causes; but I cannot say whether its use dates from an earlier period or from the time of the connection of the country with Ranjīt Singh's Court.

WRITTEN CHARACTERS.

Besides the Persian character, which in these territories is 212 hardly ever applied to any but the Persian language, there are three written characters used for the languages here spoken. These are Dogrī, Kashmīrī, and Tibetan. They are all derived from the Devanāgarī or Shāstrī, the character in which Sanskrit is written.

In its old form the Dogrī alphabet was imperfect and not easy to read either accurately or quickly. For this reason, a few years ago, the Maharaja caused to be invented a modification of it; by this it was brought nearer to Devanāgarī, so near that the system is quite one with that, though the forms are somewhat different. It may be questioned whether it would not have been better to adopt the Devanāgarī alphabet itself, which is known to certain classes all over India; the difference already made is so great as to keep those who have learnt but one of the two Dogrī alphabets from being able to read in the other. However, the subject of what is the best alphabet to make general is a wide one, and must be considered in connection with the question of what dialect is to prevail and what languages are to be generally taught.* The

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* With a mixed population of Hindūs and Muhammadans, such as occurs in the [563] Maharaja's country no less than in the British, it is difficult to pitch upon an alphabet likely to be willingly adopted by people of both religions. All those alphabets which are founded on Devanāgarī are disliked by the Muhammadans as being the vehicle by which Hindū idolatry is taught. Hindūs often fear to have their sons taught

212 New Dogrī is used for the petitions that are read before the Maharaja; for this purpose it has replaced Persian, in which petitions were written when I first came to Jummoo; but it has not generally displaced either Persian or the Old Dogrī. The Old Dogrī character is made use of only for writing the Dogrī language; it is allowed in certain official documents, as in reports from officers of the army, who are of a class by whom Persian is hardly ever acquired; also many accounts are kept in duplicate—in Persian and Dogrī; the accountants of one class are considered a check on the others, a continuous side-by-side system of audit being thus carried out.

[563] Chibhālī is an unwritten dialect. This is accounted for by the reason that the Chibhālis, being Muhammadans, will not learn the use of the Dogrī character, in which their own dialect might be written, but, if they learn anything, learn Persian, both writing and language; and the Persian writing does not well fit, and has never been used, for these dialects. But since for a knowledge of the Persian alphabet and language an amount of time must be spent beyond what most of the people can afford, the Chibhālīs are far more illiterate than their Hindū neighbours the Dogrās.

None of the Pahārī dialects are written. Kashmīrī is written, but seldom only. There is, as before said, an alphabet fitted to it, founded on the Devanāgarī, but this is almost entirely disused; Kashmīrī is sometimes, but not I think often, written in the Persian character; Kashmīrīs of any education—whether they be Mussulmān or Hindū—are sure to know the Persian language, and they seem to prefer communicating in writing by that medium. 212

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[563] to know Persian, since with the alphabet and language the children are sure to acquire something of the tone of its literature, which may give them a tendency towards Muhammadanism. In my opinion, the best cure, in the present state of both British India and the Maharaja's territories, is to be found in the adoption of the Roman character for whatever languages are used. It has been proved to be very applicable to all the Hindī dialects and to the Persian and Arabic words that are found in Hindostānī. It is quicker to write than the Devanāgarī, and better to read than the Persian, and it can much more easily be put in type than either. And it is not so essentially "Christian" as to hurt the susceptibilities of people of the other faiths.

I may here draw attention to a paper on the subject of the applicability of the Roman alphabet to the languages of India which I read before the Society of Arts. It will be found in the Journal of that Society for February 19, 1875.

None of the Dārd dialects are ever written.

Of the people who speak Tibetan, the Baltīs are without an alphabet by which to write their own language. For reasons exactly parallel to those explained as affecting the Chibhālīs, the introduction of Muhammadanism has made the Baltīs also more illiterate. The Champās not often learn to write. The Ladākhīs, as before told, very commonly are able to write their own language in the Tibetan character well and freely.[1]

These alphabets are used by natives of the country; four have been enumerated, viz. Persian, Dogrī, Kashmīrī, and Tibetan. People who come to Jummoo from other parts not uncommonly have some other character which they write, specially applicable probably to the vernacular of their native place. Thus Sikhs from the Panjāb have their Gurmukhī writing, Hindūs from the centre of Hindostan will write either in Devanāgarī or in some allied form of character, Bangālīs will have their own Bangālī writing, and so on. I have known, besides the four first mentioned, as many as seven other alphabets in use by people who have settled at Jummoo. 563

[1] [Cf. category 116, p. 253 -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

CHAPTER XXII.

IN EXPLANATION OF THE MAPS AND SECTIONS.

MAP OF INDIA — GENERAL MAP — THE FIVE MAPS — ALTITUDES — SNOW MAP — RACE MAP — LANGUAGE MAP — FAITH MAP — POLITICAL MAP — SURROUNDING STATES — THE BOUNDARY LINE — INTERIOR DIVISIONS — ROUTES — ISOMETRIC VIEWS AND SECTIONS.

MAP OF INDIA.

102 THIS is inserted in order to give the reader, at a glance, a right impression of the relationship, in size and position, of the countries here dealt with to those with which he is likely to be more or less familiar. The adjoining sketch map of England, drawn to the same scale, will show the proportion which the Indian Peninsula bears to them, while the rectangle drawn shows what area is represented in the maps which follow. This rectangle includes the whole of the Jummoo and Kashmir territories, with small portions of the adjoining countries.

The scale of this map is $\frac{1}{19008000}$, or an inch to 300 miles. The colouring on it shows first, by the red tint, the part that goes by the name "British India," that is to say, what is directly administered by the Government of India; secondly, by the green, the Native States other than the one we are dealing with; third, by the yellow tint, the Jummoo and Kashmir territories themselves.

GENERAL MAP.

This map (which will be found in the pocket) is on a scale of $\frac{1}{1013760}$, or an inch to 16 miles. The selected names make it a complete map of reference for the text; but another object of it is to give, by means of a careful arrangement of outline and hill-shading, a good and true impression of the physical features. While carefully and without exaggeration representing the inequalities of the ground, we have done our best to make it a picture of the country. /02

The authority for by far the greater portion are the published maps of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India. These are on a scale of an inch to four miles, with the exception that the Survey Map of part of Ladākh, not being yet ready, has been anticipated by a rougher map (a photozincograph) on the scale of an inch to eight miles; this last map (as has been mentioned in Chapter xv.) takes in a portion of country which had not been systematically surveyed; for some of this, as well as for the ground which is beyond the scope of the G. T. Survey Map, we have also consulted Mr. Hayward's Turkistān map published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* in which the valuable results of his journey to Yārkand are expressed. To the same traveller we are indebted for our knowledge of the geography of the Gilgit Valley; the information contained in his map of that country, published also by the Royal Geographical Society,† has here been incorporated. For the ground at the north-eastern part of our map, Mr. W. H. Johnson, who explored it on his way to Khutan, is the authority; the Survey zincograph map above mentioned gives the results of his exploration.

In looking at the maps of the Great Trigonometrical Survey one is apt to consider them as in some way produced by a great machine, and to pass over the individual energies that have been expended in their construction. The organization, both scientific and practical, of such a department as the Survey of India has exercised the best faculties of many minds, many minds of a high stamp, and its productions are a lasting monument to those whose lives were passed in the work. For the carrying on of the Trigonometrical observations and the mapping of the topographical details in a country of which so many parts are difficult or impossible of access, one whose most difficult places are often those most desirable to attain to for the work in hand, there has been room for the display of, and there has been displayed, by the officers of the Survey an admirable degree of perseverance and

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* Journal Royal Geogr. Soc., vol. xl., 1870.

† Ibid., vol. xli., 1871.

102 endurance, and, most difficult of all, of care exercised under the endurance of the hardships of climate. The result has been a map whose foundation, of triangulation, possesses an exceeding degree of accuracy, and whose topographical detail, though in some few cases not quite exact, makes it a map of extreme value and usefulness.

To return to our own map. The eye will at once perceive that certain portions of it have been drawn in from less detailed information than the rest; these parts (which are, indeed, sufficiently marked by the difference in the style of the hill-shading) are the Chinese territory to the south-east, and a broad strip along the north of the map. It is this which was beyond the reach of the Survey for topographical examination, though even there trigonometrical observations have reached and have fixed the places of many peaks. The authorities for these outlying portions have been mentioned above, and it must be remembered that the map has there a much lower degree of accuracy, since the result of a quick journey of exploration is a very different thing from that of the systematic and long-continued work of the Survey department.

For the line denoting the boundary of the Maharaja of Kashmir's dominions I have incorporated with what has already been published some information of my own on the subject. Since this can best be discussed in conjunction with the question of the political relations of the neighbouring states, I will defer speaking in detail about it until after the consideration of the Political Map, when, under the heading "Boundary Line," the present map will again be referred to.

THE FIVE MAPS.[1]

133* A series of five maps on one scale I have designed to illustrate different branches of the geography of the territories. Their scale is [illegible], or an inch to 32 miles; this is half the scale of the General Map. A feature which is common to all is the marking of the heights above the sea *in thousands*; that is to say, each whole number represents the number of thousands of feet that the place marked by it stands above the sea level. Thus 12 denotes

[1] [Cf. category III, End Maps II-VI -- Analyst]

1a Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

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12,000 feet, and 9·1 denotes 9100 feet above the sea. For summit heights, including Passes, a dot is placed to represent the exact spot, but for valley-heights the number alone stands. Beneath the title of each map is an explanation of the way in which the three classes of heights—valleys, summits, and Passes—are expressed. A character common to the first four of these maps is that the colouring extends only to the boundary of the Maharaja of Kashmir's dominions, the blankness of the space beyond does not imply the absence of the characteristics denoted by the tints, but only that the representation of them has not been attempted. In the fifth map of this series, however, the Political Map, the colouring, the meaning of which will be fully explained below, extends to the neighbouring countries.

ALTITUDES.

We may examine the figures that have just been mentioned, as denoting the altitudes, on any of the five maps, but perhaps it can most conveniently be done on the first of them, the Snow Map. They afford an epitome of the information as to the form of the ground which has been given in detail in many of the preceding chapters. It may be well, by way of summary, to go over the facts so represented, even though it may involve some repetition.

The valley-heights given are, for the most part, along the courses of the great rivers. We can take in succession the Rāvi, Chināb, Jhelam, Indus, and Shāyok, and, following them up into the mountainous country, trace the gradual rise of their beds. For the first three the level of 1000 feet occurs at points which are in one line, and this almost corresponds with the line of the beginning of the hills. Thus these three rivers—Rāvi, Chināb, and Jhelam—debouch into the plain of the Panjāb, and reach the less confined and more spreading part of their course, at nearly the same level. From the sea, upwards, to this level of 1000 feet, the rivers are navigable; above, the current is too powerful, and the course is too much broken by rapids, for navigation to be practicable. The 2000 feet level of the Rāvi is about where the Outer Hills end and the region of the

133* Middle Mountains begins; the place is 24 miles in a straight line above the 1000 level, but more than that along the course that the main stream of the river takes. Above this the Rāvī flows in the Chamba country, where I have not followed it. The course of the Chīnāb is through the country described in Chapter VI. Following this river up from the 1000 feet level, we have to pass over a far greater distance than in the case of the Rāvī before coming to the level of 2000 feet. Then successive thousands are reached in gradually diminishing distances; especially from 4000 to 6000 the rise is more sudden. Above 6000 I have not followed the main stream of the Chīnāb; the figures I have laid down along the Bhutnā tributary show, however, how quickly that valley rises to 11,000 feet; above this height we come on to glaciers, on which, within a very few miles 15,000 is reached, while 17,300 is the height of the Pass, which is a narrow gap in the thin rocky ridge that divides the Chīnāb drainage from that of the Indus. Taking now the Jhelam River, we see that a great space has to be traversed between the 1000 and 2000 feet levels; but 3000, 4000, and 5000 are more quickly attained; along this latter part of the course numerous rapids occur, the surmounting of which soon brings one to a high level. Just above the level of 5000 feet we reach the high and wide and flat valley of Kashmir, where the river again becomes navigable, and so it continues as one follows it to the south-east, for some 60 miles (as measured nearly direct, without the windings), up to the level of 5500 feet, and there the streams divide and the volume of water in each is not enough to sustain navigation. The branch of the Jhelam called the Sind joins it in the flat part of the valley of Kashmir, but as one traces that branch upwards one sees, by the figures 6, 7, and 8 closely following one another, that we are again among the mountains, that the bed is rising quickly as we advance. Nearly at the head of this stream occurs the Pass, height 11,300 feet, the lowest gap through this ridge of the Himalayas.

Of the Indus, the lower portion that our map takes in is one unexplored by Europeans, and nearly unknown. Our definite

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

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information begins where it is already at the level of 4000 feet. It is characteristic of this river that the steepness of its fall varies, now becoming greater, now less; that as one ascends one gets to where the slope is more sudden and again flatter, and so on. The varying distances at which are placed the figures denoting each thousand feet illustrate this clearly. Some of the longer distances, as between 7 and 8 and between 10 and 11, include spaces of several miles in which the river flows through an alluvial flat with a comparatively low slope, the intermediate parts being mostly in a narrow channel between rocks. At the highest portion of this river's course, as far as it lies within the Maharaja's boundary, at a level of 13,800 feet, is a long flat of alluvium, through which the river flows sluggishly.*

Of the branches of the Indus, there is first the Gilgit River, flowing from the north-west; along this there are a few observations noted, some made by myself, the higher ones by Mr. Hayward, which tell of its course up to 9500 feet. The fall of the Shāyok River corresponds for some distance with that of the Indus; it afterwards divides, within a short distance, into three branches, that which flows from the north, and bears the name of Shāyok, along which I have no height recorded; the Chāngchenmo stream, on which the level of 15,000 feet is marked, where it flows quietly over a pebbly bed; and, lastly, the Tānktse stream, the valley of which leads up to the long stretch of the Pāngkong Lake, at the level of 14,000 feet. Along other tributaries of the Indus—the Zānskār River, and others—certain heights are marked, but the series of figures is not complete. The figure 15, in two places, denotes the altitude of the high-level flat valleys of Rupshu, which lie between the upper branches of the Zānskār River and the Indus.

So much for the valley-heights; we now come to the summits. The figures that mark the height of the peaks are obtained almost entirely from the G. T. Survey, and, being de-

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* I am inclined to connect this character of inequality of slope in the Indus bed with the changes that occurred in the glacial period from the damming of the river by great glaciers and the formation of great thicknesses of lacustrine deposit.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

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rived from Trigonometrical observations, have the highest degree of accuracy. For the heights of Passes I have relied on my own Boiling Point observations where they have been taken under favourable circumstances, always reckoning from the nearest trigonometrically-determined datum; where I have not made such observations, the maps of the Survey and of other authorities, as Johnson and Hayward, have been followed, whose altitudes for Passes were obtained in the same way.

The outermost hills are ranges between 2000 and 3000, or 3000 and 4000 feet high, with parallel valleys between them. This outer hill region is ended, in some parts distinctly, in others more indefinitely, by the branched mass of higher hills which I have called the "Middle Mountains." The figures varying from 6 to 10, or sometimes 12, are placed at summit-points on the ranges of these last; these mountains are indented by innumerable ramifying valleys, and are cut through by the deeper ones of the great rivers. Behind these mountains, rise up, still in continuation of or connection with them, the lofty ranges whose course has been pointed out in detail. Those encircling Kashmir have, it will be seen, many summits that reach 15,000 feet. Of the Passes into that country there are several at an elevation between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, but the valley of the Jhelam gains an approach into it at 5000. The watershed between the Chināb and Jhelam on the north-west and the Indus on the north-east is in a great mass of mountains, in whose summit-altitudes there are large variations. Beginning in the south-east, 20,000 and 21,000 is not an uncommon height; more to the north-west 16,000 and 15,000 is the height of the ridge; last of all, however, rises the great mass of Nangā Parbat, reaching nearly to 27,000 feet. The Passes across this watershed are first, on the south-east, above 17,000 feet, then comes one at 14,300, and then the lowest at 11,300, while farther on, where the ridge itself is least elevated, there are none less than 13,000. From the line of this watershed on to the Indus River itself a large area is occupied by mountain masses branching in such complicated fashion that one cannot attempt

1₂ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir A VI

to describe their direction in words, only the General Map will give to the mind an idea of them. The heights of the peaks may be said to be, in the south-eastern part, a little more or less than 20,000 feet; in the north-western part from 17,000 to 19,000; the levels of the valleys that cut in among them have already been recited, while numbers showing the height of certain cross Passes give the minimum height of the branching ridges. Then between the Indus and Shayok valleys comes the Leh Range, whose summit-ridge is from 18,000 to 20,000 feet, with Passes through it at about 17,000 feet. Beyond the line of the Shāyok is the lofty ground which separates the drainage to the Indian Ocean from that which flows to the plains of Turkistān. On the east are the plateaus at 16,000 and 17,000, backed by the Kuenlun Mountains on the north, and by a less important range on the south. These plateaus, being isolated areas of drainage, constitute the watershed at this part. West of them the two systems of drainage have a simple line of separation. The space between the Shāyok and the watershed is occupied by very lofty mountain ranges, where peaks of 24,000 and 25,000 feet are not uncommon; the occurrence of these great altitudes for such a length and width as they are found in makes this tract one of the most considerable mountain-masses in the world. 133Y

SNOW MAP. ¼

In this map the area of country within the Maharaja's boundary is tinted in four different ways. One colour shows where no snow falls in ordinary years; another shows the parts over which snow falls and stays less than three months; a third colour shows where it stays more than three months, but does not produce glaciers; the fourth is the glacier-area. 132

I must be careful to explain what I mean by "glacier-area." It is the area from which the drainage of snow or of rain reaches to glaciers. I should like, instead of this, to have mapped out the area of perpetual snow, but I found I had not the data for it. The glacier-area, as above defined, is far wider than that of per-

¼ [Cf. category III, End Map II--Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

petual snow, but at the same time we may know that (with very few, if any, exceptions) where glacier-area is marked there is perpetual snow within it, that the glacier-area is an extension of the area of perpetual snow.

The lines that bound the different areas must not be too much reckoned on as exact. The snow-fall is apt to vary in different years; I have endeavoured to represent a mean; the information was derived partly from my own observation, but chiefly from what was told me by the people; since the duration of snow much affects their occupations it is closely observed by them; this refers to the inhabited parts, which are mostly the valleys; where a line runs along the side of a mountain it cannot be taken as closely accurate, for a varying aspect towards the sun will cause differences which it would be almost impossible either to ascertain or to represent on a map. So the lines are only true as representing *in a general way* what they are designed for. The uppermost line, that which limits the glacier-area, is obtained from the larger map by marking off those parts from which snow falling and slipping, or rain falling and flowing, reaches to glaciers below.

The plain of the Panjāb is free from snow,* and so are the first ranges of the hills; but when we reach those which are nearly 4000 feet in height we find that snow falls upon them in the coldest part of the year, in January. Thus nearly all the Outer Hill region is left free, though some of the higher points of it catch the snow in ordinary years, and lower ones occasionally. It is on the outermost slope of the Middle Mountains that regularly every year a fall of snow occurs, and as the top of this slope is from 6000 to 8000 feet high, while the snow falls down to as low as 4000 feet or lower, a great vertical height of snow is to be seen on it after a winter's storm; but with the first sun the level of the lower edge rises, and the snow only stays in the higher parts where it fell thicker.

Thus the line that ends the area of no snow roughly coincides with the boundary, as far as a boundary can be defined, of the

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* Since this was written news has reached us of snow having fallen at Lāhor and Jālandhar (winter of 1873-4). This I believe to have been perfectly unprecedented.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

Middle Mountain region. But it will be seen that the general run of that ~~line is~~ indented in two or three places, especially along the line of the Chināb; this denotes that the deep valley of that river, cutting through the mountains, reaches down below the level at which snow usually falls. The Jhelam Valley again (of which only one side is shown in the colouring) carries the no-snow area far among the hills. On the Indus, only the very lowest spot of the portion of its valley which comes within our ken is free from snow. Since this place is 4000 feet in altitude, and is more than two degrees higher in latitude than the parts we first touched on, the cause of the absence of snow can only be the greater dryness of the air, the smaller amount of precipitation.

The line that divides the less-than-three-months area from that where snow stays for three months or more is for the most part drawn along the face of mountains at a height of at least 10,000 feet. Something like that height is wanted for such an amount of snow to fall as will last for three months on the slopes exposed to the sun; but in the valleys (which are often deeply sheltered from the rays of the winter sun) a much lower altitude suffices. Thus in Pādar, in the Chīnāb Valley, at a level of a little over 6000 feet, snow stays for four or five months. The great inlet of the above line along the upper course of the Jhelam River denotes that the Vale of Kashmir is covered with snow during a less time than three months; the head of the valley, however, and the higher parts of the karewas, come on the other side of that limit. In the valley of the Indus, Skardū has snow for about two months, as I learn from Dr. Thompson's 'Western Himalaya.' In the Gilgit Valley I ascertained that its duration was less than three months until Gākūj was reached, where it lasts for the whole of that time.

We next see that beyond the boundary lines pointed out there is an enormous area of country where snow stays for more than three months. In many parts of this five months is not an uncommon time for snow to cover the fields; in the upper villages of the Bhutnā Valley six months is the duration; and at the village of Karim, near the head of the Hasora Valley, it lasts on

1t Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVl Kashmir AV/

the fields for seven months; this is the longest on any cultivated ground.

The whole of Ladākh has been put in as under snow for more than three months; for certain portions of that country this is only true in the sense that snow falls and does not melt within three months; it happens that in parts of Rupshu snow falls so lightly, the covering of it is so thin, that before long, partly by evaporation and partly by the drifting of it by the wind, the valleys, even at the level of more than 13,000 feet, become free. This it is which enables the Rupshu nomads, the Chāmpās, to keep their herds and flocks through the winter without a store of fodder; their winter encampment is on the flat alluvium of the Indus, at a level of 13,800 feet, in a position where, though the cold is intense, snow does not fall thick, and it disappears by the twofold action of the air. In Nubrā also the snow is apt thus to disappear, and in the lowlands of that valley some pasturage can be got in the winter time. Still all these places I include in the area of more than three months, since melting of the snow does not take place.

It is characteristic of the snow in Ladākh generally that it is *fine-grained* and *dry*; the first quality must be due to the small absolute amount of moisture in the air at the time of precipitation, the second to the intensity of cold.

We now come to trace the highest of our lines, that which marks out the glacier-area, and at the same time we will consider the distribution of Perpetual Snow.

It has been explained in Chapter IX., that the Panjāl Mountains, though rising above 15,000 feet, are free from snow that permanently lasts, and no glacier now occurs among them; only signs occur that tell of the former existence of glaciers. The first line of mountains where glaciers occur is the Watershed Range. In the south-east part of this the great width marked with the tint of our glacier-area shows that here the glaciers are many and large. Going north-westwards we see that the width lessens; then isolāted spaces only occur, which tell of small scattered glaciers lying in the hollows of the highest of the mountains; then comes

1t Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

a long space without any glaciers at all, which is where the height of the ridge has fallen to 15,000 feet; but at last, in the great mass of Nangā Parbat, is a wide and lofty area of glacier-making snow. Between this watershed and the range that makes the Turkistān watershed, is a wide space where glaciers occur but here and there by the highest peaks, and not over any great area. But on reaching the last-mentioned range we come to the widest part of the glacier-area. Here the mountains are of the most lofty, and the glaciers they give rise to the largest, in the world. Some account of one or two of them has been given in Chapter XVI., under the headings *Bāsha* and *Brāldū*. In the eastern part of this watershed, where the ground is more in plateaus, glaciers cease, and a way can be found from one drainage-basin to another without traversing glaciers or snow.

As to the height of the snow-line—the height at which the supply and the waste of snow balance one another—it has long been known that on the Himalayas it varies much.

Many years ago Lieut. R. (now General) Strachey,* established the facts that for the portion of those mountains between the Sutlej and the north-west frontier of Nepal the snow-limit was at these different levels for the three following positions:

On the south of the snow-belt	15,500 feet.
" north " "	18,500 "
" southern face of Kailas (which is farther within Tibet)	19,500 "

He showed also that this was due to the less amount of snow that fell on the inner side of the range, as compared with the outer.

In these westernmost Himalayas which we are dealing with, we find quite corresponding differences in the snow-limit, though on the whole, in spite of a higher latitude by from 2° to 5°, the level of it is still higher. In estimating the level of the snow-limit it is necessary, as pointed out by General Strachey in the paper just referred to, to strike an average of the inequalities of the line,

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* See Journal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, vol. xviii.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

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which are caused by such accidents as the steepness of slope of the mountain and its aspect to the sun. In order to fix the limit for the largest possible area, I have, in addition to my own observations as to the occurrence of snow (which indeed are not numerous enough for the object in view, as they are only good for this purpose when made in the autumn—after the summer melting and before the fresh falls), drawn upon the G. T. Survey Map for information, going on this assumption, that where a glacier exists some of the mountain which gives rise to it must have perpetual snow.[*]

Let us now, for the purpose of following this subject over the large area before us, divide it into Zones, and consider each in succession.

1st Zone: the country outside, that is to the south-west of, the watershed of the Chinàb and Jhelam on one hand and the Indus on the other.

2nd Zone: the mountains of that same watershed.

3rd Zone: between that watershed and the line of the Shâyok with its continuation along the Indus.

4th Zone: between the Shâyok-Indus line and the high land which makes the Turkistân watershed.

In the centre of the 1st Zone we have the Panjâl Range without perpetual snow, and this has several points between 15,000 to 15,500. To the north-west, on the ridge that separates Kashmir from Khâghân, it seems that there are heights a little over 16,000 without glaciers, while 17,000 produces them. Thus it would seem that for the 1st Zone 16,500 feet may be taken as the snow-limit, and this is supported by the facts of the range on the south-east, dividing Chamba from Pâdar.

For the 2nd Zone, after the great mass of Nangâ Parbat, we have a long gap without glaciers, where the watershed is made by

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[*] Even if this assumption is not exactly correct we shall not be far wrong in following it. It is true one sometimes sees little glaciers in the bottom of amphitheatres of mountains which do not bear snow on their summits, but then one is almost sure to find snow-taluses at the foot of the cliffs, which must be continually reinforced, and perhaps never entirely melt; these cannot, therefore, be far from the limit.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

a ridge that averages less than 15,000 feet. As we come south-eastward the peaks on the Watershed Range rise, and when they reach the height of 17,000 feet glaciers originate from them; something under that, therefore, may be taken as the lower limit of perpetual snow, and thus we must conclude that there is, if any, little difference between the height of this in the 1st and in the 2nd Zones.

In the 3rd Zone we see a great difference, going from north-west to south-east, within the zone itself. At first the gap of the Indus Valley, and probably the comparative lowness of the range between Nangā Parbat and Tilel, and again the Pass of Drās, have their influence in admitting moisture-bearing winds to that tract; so that between the Hasora Valley and Skārdū the snow-level is yet not more than 17,000. But beyond Suru, opposite to which the Watershed Range is lofty and can intercept the most of the moisture, we find peaks of 18,000 without any glaciers coming from them. Around Leh 18,500 on north aspects and 19,000 on southern ones is the height of the snow-line. Farther on, in the eastern parts of Rupshu and around Pāngkong, the height of it is 20,000 feet.

In the 4th Zone there is a variation corresponding pretty closely with that observed in the last. At the north-west portion the snow-line seems to be about 18,000 feet. As one goes south-eastward, especially when Nubrā and its great ridges are passed, the mountains must be at least 20,000 feet high, if not more, to retain snow continuously. And this would seem to be about the limit on the Kuenlun Mountains as well.

9

It follows from these last facts—of the snow-limit varying along the length of each of the last two zones—that the changes of the snow-line do not quite correspond with the different parallel ranges from which our zones were taken, that, for the part north-east of the Jhelam and Indus watershed, lines more nearly north and south would best divide the areas of different snow-line level. For although that Watershed Range is a great obstacle to the arrival of moisture-bearing, snow-precipitating, clouds, and the part within is far drier, and has a far higher snow-limit than

/32 that outside, yet, from the gaps and partial gaps before mentioned, there is a wheeling round of the moist winds and clouds, which thus to some extent find their way round the flank of the range to the inner region, so far at all events as to affect its north-western portion.

Although, from the small area they occupy, the *snow-beds* which have been described in a previous chapter (Chapter XV., *General Observations*) have not on this map found a place, yet, in connection with the other snow phenomena, it may be well here to mention them and to state that they are found at about the level of 16,000 feet.

[192] I will now put down, for the convenience of travellers, the words representing, in some of the languages used among the mountains, the various states of snow:

	DOGRI.	PĀHARI.	KASHMĪRĪ.	GILGITI.	LADAKHI.
snow	barf.	dang.	shīn.	hin.	khā.
ice	kakar.	dangoth.	yakh.	ase.	chhāring.
glacier ..	..	saryūn.	handar.	hamuk.	kīn or kāns.
avalanche ..	..	hiwān.	mānl.	hināl.	rud.
crevasse ..	..	..	..	hip.	

Glaciers and avalanches not occurring in Dugar, the words for them are wanting in Dogri. The *d* in *dang* and the *d* and *t* in *dangoth* are cerebral; the *n* in *saryūn*, *kīn*, and *kāns* is nasal.

RACE MAP.[1]

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563
This map shows the geographical distribution of the various nations that have been described in the different chapters of the book.

One of the tints given in this Race Map, and repeated in the two succeeding maps, denotes the portion of the Maharaja's territories which is quite uninhabited, and, with little exception, uninhabitable. This includes the great spread of the Kuenlun and Lingzhithang plains and all that width of mountain country which, continuous with it, extends to the north-west. Then there is the mass of mountain between the Shāyok and Indus rivers, the higher parts of which are quite unfrequented.

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[1] [Cf. category 11C, End Map III -- Analyst]

Ia Drew G-2 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

Then, on the other side of the Indus, is the broad space of lofty ground—penetrated indeed by valleys which are more or less populated, and which on the map are withdrawn from the uninhabited space—that reaches to the borders of the more favoured tract of Kashmir and its neighbouring valleys. It was a question with me whether the summits of the Panjāl Mountains and of those east of Kashmir should be marked as uninhabited; against their being so marked there was this, that the people, especially the Gujars, in summer take their flocks and herds high up on the mountains from both sides, so that there is but a small width, of the loftiest mountains between, that is left unfrequented. 101 131 563

The remaining portion of the country is coloured as inhabited by the various races or nations which have been enumerated in the Introductory chapter and described in succeeding ones; the list is here repeated, with a reference to the parts of the book where details about the people will be found:

Aryan.	Turanian.
Dogrā (Chap. III.).	Tibetan; subdivided into—
Chibhālī (Chap. III.).	Baltī (Chap. XVI.).
Pahārī (Chap. VI.).	Ladākhī (Chap. XII.).
Kashmīrī (Chap. VIII.).	Chāmpā (Chap. XII.).
Dārd (Chap. XVIII.).	

The *Chāmpās*, the only nomads of the list, occupy the tract called Rupshu, in the south-eastern portion of the country, as far as it is habitable; their tents are pitched in the high-level valleys at elevations varying from 15,700 feet down to 13,700 feet; below this they do not come. Lower down in the same valleys the *Ladākhīs* have settled, who are agricultural. Their villages are found even at the high level of 14,000 feet, and at every altitude from that down to about 9000 feet do they live. Besides the Indus and Shāyok Valley, Ladākhīs occupy the whole of Zānskār, and they have made a small settlement at the head of the Bhutnā River on the other side of the snowy range. At the line of their contact with the Baltīs they intermingle geographically, the two at some parts inhabiting alternate villages, at some occupying different portions of one and the same village. Thus the two squares of the Ladākhī tint within the Baltī area denote outlying

Ia Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AV/

101 communities of Ladákhis, and such squares might be increased in
131 number if the degree of detail of the information possessed and the
563 scale of the map would allow it. The next race, the *Balti*, occupy, either partly or wholly, the valleys of certain southern tributaries of the Indus and a considerable length of the Shâyok Valley and of the Indus Valley itself, down to 6000 feet above the sea. The outlying square of their colour near Leh marks the colony of Baltis at Chachot.

The reason of my putting such patches as this in squares is to denote that they are conventional representations, to show that there are within that spot some of the race represented, and not that the area of their occupation is exactly represented by the patch of colour. This remark applies as well to the Language Map and the Faith Map.

Passing on to the Aryan Races, we find the *Dârds* occupying the north-western corner of the territories; within the boundary it is chiefly in these places that they live—the Gilgit Valley, the Astor Valley, the Dras Valley, and some spots in the Indus Valley; also they occupy the head of the Kishangangâ Valley, there approaching to but a short distance from Kashmir. The *Kashmiris* constitute the whole population of Kashmir, the most thickly peopled part of all the territory we are dealing with. They have spread also beyond the bounds of Kashmir into some of the neighbouring valleys, and have made scattered colonies, usually flourishing, in many other parts, among races strange to them. The squares of the Kashmiri colour denote some of these, and beyond the reach of our map, in the Panjâb itself, are they to be found. The *Pahâris* are the next neighbours of the Kashmiris to the south; they live in the eastern part of the Middle Mountains. The *Chibhâlis* occupy both the Middle Mountains and the Outer Hills on the north-west and west. That name, as I have used it, includes tribes who differ somewhat among themselves, but I have not been able to divide them accurately; I think that there is a rather marked difference between the Bambâs, in the northern part of the Chibhâli tract (in the valleys of the Kishangangâ and the

Jhelam above Muzafarābād), and those Chibhāli tribes south of 101
them. The *Dogrās* are in the eastern part of the Outer 131
Hill region. 563

LANGUAGE MAP.[1]

The languages spoken have been the subject of a separate 197
chapter; here, therefore, a very few words will suffice to explain 563
this map, which shows the distribution of them. The principle applied has been to mass dialects, and separate only such languages as are mutually incomprehensible. The number is thus reduced to five. The tint for "uninhabited country" stands as before. The *Tibetan* language here marked out is that which is spoken, with not much difference, by the three Tibetan races who were distinguished in the last map; the area of it also includes a part of what in the Race Map is coloured "Dārd"; the reason of this is that the people of some few villages of the Dārd race (those situated in the Hanū Valley) have lost their own language and adopted the Tibetan.

The area of the *Dārd* language is the same as that of the Dārd race exhibited in the Race Map, with the exception just noted, and with the other exception that the colony of Kashmīrīs in Gilgit are not here shown as separate, on account of their having adopted the Dārd tongue.

The *Kashmīrī* language has nearly the same bounds as the Kashmīrī race, for these are a people who are apt to keep up their national characteristics. The only exceptions to this which I have noted are, first, that case of the Kashmīrī colony at Gilgit, and, secondly, the colony at Akhnūr, who have adopted the language of the Dogrās they have settled amongst.

The *Pahārī* dialects, which are allied to the Kashmīrī, which are intermediate between that language and the Dogrī, occupy the same area as the Pahārī race itself.

The *Chibhālī* and *Dogrī* dialects are here put together and represented under one colour, the two being mutually comprehensible; they occupy the combined area of the Dogrī and Chibhālī race of the last map.

[1] [Cf. category 111, End Map IX -- Analyst]

197 563 Thus we have mapped five tongues of undoubtedly so much difference between each other as to deserve the name of separate languages, not merely of dialects. Of each, with the exception of Kashmiri, there are dialectic subdivisions, but these I have not attempted to map; I have here represented the great and striking divisions only.

Faith Map.[1]

563 779 795 There are four religions, the geographical distribution of whose followers is represented on this map. Only three, indeed, are of much importance as regards this country. These are the three wide-spread religions of Buddhism, Hindūism, and Muhammadanism. The fourth is the Sikh sect of the Hindūs, which is very sparingly represented.

The Buddhists comprise two out of the three Tibetan races who were represented on the Race Map—the Chāmpās and the Ladākhīs. They comprise also the inhabitants of several Dārd villages, who, while retaining certain rites of their own, have adopted Buddhism. It should be noted that not only those Dārd villages follow this religion who, it was shown, have acquired the Tibetan tongue and lost their own, but several others also who retain their own Dārd speech.

The Muhammadans include the Baltīs, who, as before said, are but Ladākhīs converted to Islām; nearly all the Dārds; the Kashmīrīs (taking them generally); and the Chibhālīs.

Of the Hindū faith are the Pahārīs and Dogrās.

Of Sikhs but very few are to be met with in these territories. There are some villages of comparatively old colonisation in the Jhelam Valley—more probably than I have marked, but only of those have I a record; and there is a Sikh temple and *Granth* or Book on the banks of the Chināb.

563 779 It is the case that within the Hindū area are many Muhammadans, not only colonies from other races, but also natives of the same part who have at different times been converted; this is especially the case in the towns. I have not attempted to represent these exceptions on the map, but have remained content with

[1] [Cf. category 116, End Map V -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

drawing a line to separate the tract where the majority of the inhabitants are Hindūs from that where the majority are Muhammadans. On the other hand, in every town in the Muhammadan country, Hindūs are settled, chiefly as traders; and again, in Kashmir, a proportion of the inhabitants retain their old Hindū faith; these are the Kashmīrī Brahmins; but neither of these classes has one been able to distinguish on the map on account of their being geographically so mixed up with the Muhammadans. In Appendix VII.* will be found some statistics of the proportions of Hindūs, Muhammadans, &c., in the different parts of the country. 563 779

Here in these territories is the spot where the three great Asiatic faiths meet. From the neighbourhood of the Brama Peaks, *and from no other spot in Asia*, one may go westward through countries entirely Muhammadan, as far as Constantinople, eastward, among none but Buddhists, to China, and southward over lands where the Hindū religion prevails, to the extremity of the Indian peninsula.

POLITICAL MAP.2

The objects of this map are the showing, first, by what Governments the Maharaja of Kashmir's territories are surrounded, who are politically his neighbours; secondly, the subdivision of these territories themselves for administrative purposes; and, thirdly, the most practicable lines of routes that exist through them. These subjects will be briefly treated of under the headings, Surrounding States, Boundary Line, Interior Divisions, and Routes. 131 631

SURROUNDING STATES.

The Political Map then shows that on the south and the south-west the Maharaja's country is bounded by some of that portion of the British dominions which is under the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb. This includes two tracts—Chamba and Khāghān—which are not ruled directly by the British, but are held by native rulers tributary to and quite dependent on them; the greater part, however, is British territory, pure and simple.

On the north-west is the tract called Yāghistān, or rebel-

*[cf. category 116, pp. 553-554 --Analyst]

2[illegible]

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631

land; this name it has acquired from the combined lawlessness and independence of the people who inhabit it. This Yāghistān I have again divided into the space ruled over by Rajas and the space where the Government is republican. The Rajas are four—those of Chitrāl, Yāsīn, Hunza, and Nagar. Of Republics I have got the position of several, as Tangīr, Dārel, Gor, Thalīcha, and Chilās, and others exist lower down the Indus. Some little information on these States has been given in Chapter xx. At the extreme corner of our map there comes in, but it nowhere touches the Maharaja's boundary, a portion of Badakhshān, a State tributary to the Amir of Kābul.

On the north-east and north are the dominions of the ruler who till lately was called Atālīq Ghāzī, but who now bears the title of Amīr, and is called by the English "Amīr of Kāshghar"; he is the ruler of Eastern Turkistān, whose capital at this time is Kāshghar.

On the south-east we have Chinese Tibet, which is governed by the Grand Lāmā at Lhāsa, who himself is tributary to the Emperor of China.

The Boundary Line.

Though the above divisions are expressed by the tints in the Political Map, yet the details of the boundary between each of them and the Maharaja's territory are best shown by the line drawn on the General Map, which should be referred to as well as the other for any point connected with the absolute boundary. Although I have given this with all the accuracy possible for me, yet in different parts there are many degrees of certainty about it. Hence a detailed statement on the subject becomes necessary.

Let us commence at the most southern corner, near Mādhopūr. From that point north-westward to the river Jhelam, the boundary, with the British districts of Gurdāspūr, Syālkot, Gujrāt, and Jhelam, is defined by pillars, and has been carefully mapped. From near Duliāl on the Jhelam upwards to the falling in of the Khāghān River, the Jhelam River itself is the boundary; the right and left banks respectively belong to the British and the Maha-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir A V/

raja's Government. From the last-named point the boundary 131
line, still fixed and undisputed, follows the ridge which divides the 631
drainage of Khāghān from that of the Kishangangā.

After this I have put it down as following the ridge between the country of Chilās on the one hand and the higher part of the Kishangangā Valley and the Astor Valley on the other. But we have here reached a part for which there is no authoritative map to follow for the boundary; it is therefore necessary to state the principles on which I have proceeded.

In the first place I do not here consider any question—if there be one—of theoretical right to the countries in question. I am only depicting the state of occupation, the political state, of the countries as they are. Now as to Chilās; that country, as was told in Chapter xx., has once been occupied by the Maharaja's troops, who went there on a punitive expedition.[1] On their retiring, an arrangement was entered into with the Chilāsī leaders for certain tribute to be paid to, and for hostages of good conduct to be held by, the Maharaja. The conditions have been kept to for more than twenty years. But I do not consider that this is enough to constitute Chilās as even a dependency of the Maharaja. His people cannot come and go freely; for messengers he is obliged to choose men who by some reason of connection or acquaintanceship are more sure to be well treated than can be reckoned on for his nearer and more trusted officials. Thus so slight is the connection that it would not fairly represent the present political status of Chilās to bring it within the boundary. My line, down to the Indus, represents exactly where the Maharaja's direct authority ends and the ground frequented by Chilāsīs begins. The same relationship exists between the Maharaja's Government and the independent village of Thalīcha, which therefore I have excluded from the territories.

With the other neighbouring Yāghistān republics there is less connection still; they are necessarily put outside the boundary. The line is a natural one, following a watershed.

With Yāsīn and Hunza I have carefully depicted the boundary as it actually was in 1870, and as now, in 1874, I believe it re-

[1] [Cf. category III, pp. 398-399 -- Analyst]

mains. In 1870 I was on the spot myself, and found the boundary as I now put it.

From Nagar for the most part, and from the upper part of the Hunza Valley, the separation is effected by a great and almost impassable ridge of mountains.

We now come to the Yārkand territory, under the rule of the Amīr of Kāshghar. As to the boundary with this, from the Mustāgh Pass to the Kārākoram Pass, there is no doubt whatever. A great watershed range divides the two territories. But it will be observed that from the Kārākoram Pass eastward to past the meridian of 80°, the line is more finely dotted. This has been done to denote that here the boundary is not defined. There has been no authoritative demarcation of it at all; and as the country is quite uninhabited for more than a hundred miles east and west and north and south I cannot apply the principle of representing the actual state of occupation. I have by the dotted boundary only represented my own opinion of what would be defined were the powers interested to attempt to agree on a boundary. At the same time this dotted line does not go against any actual facts of occupation.

These last remarks apply also to the next section, from the Kuenlun Mountains southward to the head of the Changchenmo Valley; for that distance the boundary between the Maharaja's country and Chinese Tibet is equally doubtful.

From the Pass at the head of the Changchenmo Valley southwards the boundary line is again made stronger. Here it represents actual occupation so far that it divides pasture-lands frequented in summer by the Maharaja's subjects from those occupied by the subjects of Lhāsa. It is true that with respect to the neighbourhood of Pāngkong Lake there have been boundary disputes which now may be said to be latent. There has never been any formal agreement on the subject. I myself do not pretend to decide as to the matter of right, but here again I can vouch that the boundary marked accurately represents the present state. For this part my information dates from 1871, when I was Governor of Ladākh. This applies also to all the rest of the boundary between the Maharaja's and the Chinese territories.

1₂ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir A√1

/31 631 Where the British district of Spiti comes on there has been a boundary dispute, which was lately decided. From the point marked "Gya St" 22309" to a little farther west than the Bāra Lācha Pass my line is different from what will be found on any published map. It expresses the result of the late negotiations on that boundary dispute, in which at one time I was concerned as Boundary Commissioner for the Maharaja, and though on one particular point this had not been settled when I left the country, I have since ascertained that the line has been marked out as is here depicted.

From near the Bāra Lācha Pass westward, and round to the corner we started from, the line, I believe, accurately represents an undisputed boundary.

INTERIOR DIVISIONS.

631 For the representation of the administrative division of the Maharaja's country I have adopted on the Political Map three tints or shades.

One of these marks the tracts near Jummoo, or the Home Districts as they may be called. These are seven *zila's* or Districts—Jummoo, Jasrota, Rāmnagar, Udampūr, Riāsī, Mināwar, and Naushahra—whose government has been arranged on a plan like that of the Districts in the Panjāb. Over each is a civil officer (sāhib-i-zila') corresponding to the Deputy Commissioner of the British system, with an assistant (nāib-i-zila'); these are at the head-quarters; and there are three or four Tahsīldārs, each over a subdivision of the District that is called a Tahsīl.

[636] Part of this area coloured as "Home Districts" is a tract marked *Rajaship of Pūnch*, lying north of the Naushahra District.[a] This is governed by Raja Motī Singh, first cousin to the Maharaja; it is held by him in close dependence on, and indeed obedience to, the Maharaja, who, however, interferes but little with its internal management.

631 The next division is Kashmir proper, which is managed by an officer of considerable rank and powers. The separation of the government of Kashmir from that of the other divisions is almost

[a] [cf. category 116, End Map VI -- Analyst]

631 complete; the country is treated as a separate *sūba* or province in the same way as it was when the Emperors of Delhi ruled over it, who governed it by an officer who was called *sūbadār*, or, for short, *sūba*. This is the most important separate charge under the Maharaja. Kashmir (with the Jhelam Valley from Bāramūla to Muzafarābād) is now divided into six districts, Kāmrāj, Patan, Sirīnagar, Shapeyan, Islāmābād or Ānat Nāg, and Muzafarābād, which are administered by a staff on nearly the same plan as the Home Districts, but whose officers report to the Governor of Kashmir, and not to Jummoo direct.

The third division, separately coloured, I have marked "Outlying Governorships." It includes the country of the Indus basin, with the exception of Zānskār, which is a part of Ladākh geographically but is attached to the Udampūr District. The three Governorships (the separation of which is marked by a line, though not by colour) are Gilgit, Baltistān, and Ladākh; these correspond to the "Non-regulation Provinces" of India as they were before legislation welded them into a more nearly homogeneous mass with the others; that is to say, special rules are issued for each according to its circumstances, and on account of the distance from and difficulty of communication with the Court more latitude is allowed to and more independent power is exercised by the Governors.

ROUTES.

487 The most frequented routes through the country are also expressed on the Political Map,[1] where the numbers accord with those put in the list of routes in Appendix IV. The roads are described so systematically and in such detail in the Appendix that it is unnecessary to say anything about them here, except a few words as to the order in which they are put.

The first eight are routes from the lower parts to Sirīnagar. Then there are five roads which lead out from Sirīnagar respectively to Gilgit (No. 9), Skārdū (Nos. 10 and 11), Leh (No. 12), and Kishtwār (No. 13). Nos. 14 to 17 are other roads that from various parts unite at Kishtwār. Nos. 18 and 19 are two routes

[1] [cf. category IIb, End Map VI -- Analyst]

1, Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

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from Kishtwār to Leh; No. 20 is the route from Pālampūr in the Kāngrā Valley to Leh; and No. 21 the route from Simla by Spiti to Leh. No. 22 is a road that unites Leh and Skārdū. Then come five routes (Nos. 23–27) from Leh onwards to Yārkand. No. 26 is from Leh to Gar. No. 29 is the new trade-route, as originally planned, from Pālampūr by Chāngchenmo to Yārkand, avoiding Leh. No. 30 is a possible alternative, from Pālampūr by Kārakoram to Yārkand, avoiding Leh.

ISOMETRIC VIEWS AND SECTIONS.[1]

135

The object of these is to convey to the reader an idea of the vertical geography of the country. I here attempt to do so by means of three isometric views and four sections drawn transversely, at right angles to the former. These must be examined in conjunction with the General Map,[2] the hill-shading on which will show the extension in plan of the raised masses represented in profile on the views and sections before us.

In the isometric views, I have, for the sake of showing some detail, exaggerated the vertical scale as compared with the horizontal 2½ times. In order to correct what false impression may be made on the mind by this, I have attached below each view an outline of the same mountains on a true scale, equal to the horizontal one used above, namely, the scale of an inch to 10 miles. These outlines attempt an undistorted representation of the inequalities of ground; their datum-line is drawn on a curve which exactly proportionally represents the curvature of the earth. The views are isometric projections of the mountains as seen along three different parallel lines, the direction of which is north-west and south-east. No. 1 shows the various ranges of hills that lie between the plain of the Panjāb and the Vale of Kashmir. There are first the long lines of the Outer Hills, less than 5000 feet in elevation, then the Middle Mountains that rise to 8000 and 10,000 feet or so, and, lastly, the Panjāl and the Kāj Nāg ranges which make the boundary of Kashmir to the south-west. The second isometric view, parallel as beforesaid to the last, is taken along a line drawn through the Vale of Kashmir in its length,

[1] [Not processed for the file -- Analyst]

[2] [Cf. category III, End Map VII -- Analyst]

133 represented by a line on the Snow Map.[1] The shaded part gives a section through the Vale and the Khāghān and Kishtwār valleys; the outlines show those mountains which bound Kashmir on the north-east, which lie between the valley and the Indus watershed. The third shows the country that lies to the north-east of the Indus River. The inclination of the bed of that river is shown, and beyond it, north-eastwards, some of the many ranges and branch ranges. At the right-hand end of this view I have made a shifting back of the representation, so as to get a section through the high plateau of Lingzhīthang, in order to show the relationship of that table-land to the Indus on the one hand, and to the Kuenlun Mountains on the other. The position of this last section is shown on the Snow Map.

The transverse vertical sections will, I think, explain themselves. They are plotted on a true scale (that of an inch to 10 miles), and since their datum-line is accurately curved in representation of the actual form of the earth, we can here acquire some idea of the size of this Himalayan Range in relation to that of our planet. All four sections are taken at right angles to the line of the sectional views above described, their direction being from south-west to north-east in parallel lines, which are marked on the Snow Map. No. 1 goes through Muzafarābād and Nangā Parbat. No. 2 runs, at a distance of 90 or 100 miles from the first, from Bhimbar, through Islāmābād and Kargil, to the high mountains at the head of the Nubrā Valley. No. 3, at a distance of 80 miles from the last, starts from the plains by Jasrota and passes through Zānskār and Leh on to the beginning of the Kārākāsh drainage. No. 4, which is taken at a distance of 60 miles to the south-east of the preceding one, runs from near Hoshiyārpūr in the Panjāb through Kāngrā and Lāhol and Rupshu, &c., to the Lingzhīthang and Kuenlun plains, and ends at the Kuenlun Mountains.

A consideration of that which these sections depict will give, I think, a true idea of what a great mountain-chain or mountain-mass really is; it will show what the phrase "inequalities on the

[1] [cf. category 11c, End Map II -- Analyst]

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earth's surface" really means; it will perhaps correct false notions of the suddenness and the separateness of mountain ranges which some may have acquired, while it should, by showing the enormous space over which great elevations of land exist, increase the impression of their real grandeur.

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[p. 502 is blank]

APPENDIX I.

DOGRĪ GRAMMAR.*

104 **Note.**—The following special marks have been adopted in Appendices I., II., and III., and for the native words and names of places given in the Index:—The cerebral *t*, *d*, and *r* are distinguished from the dental t, d, and r, by being put in Italics where the rest of the word is in Roman character, or by being put in Roman character if the rest of the word is in Italics: thus both tusā*r*a and *tusā*r*a* would imply that the *t* is dental and the *r* is cerebral. Again, the nasal *n* is expressed by n with a dot over it, thus, ṅ.

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Nouns Substantive.

1st Class: Masculine nouns ending in ā.

Singular.

Nominative	lauhrā	*a boy.*
Genitive	lauhre-dā, -de, -dī	*of a boy.*
Dative	lauhre-kī *or* lauhre-ī	*to a boy.*
Accusative	lauhre-kī, *or* lauhre-ī, *or* lauhrā	*a boy.*
Ablative and Locative	lauhre-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on a boy.*
Agentive	lauhre-ne	*by a boy.*
Vocative	lauhre-ā *or* ā lauhrā	*O boy!*

Plural.

Nominative	lauhre	*boys.*
Genitive	lauhreṅ-dā, -de, -dī	*of boys.*
Dative	lauhreṅ-kī *or* lauhreṅ-īṅ	*to boys.*
Accusative	lauhreṅ-kī, *or* lauhreṅ-iṅ, *or* lauhre	*boys.*
Ablative and Locative	lauhreṅ-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on boys.*
Agentive	lauhreṅ-ne	*by boys.*
Vocative	ā lauhreṅ	*O boys!*

2nd Class: Masculine nouns not ending in ā.

Singular.

Nominative	daṅgar	*a cow or ox.*†
Genitive	daṅgare-dā, -de, -dī	*of a cow.*
Dative	daṅgare-kī *or* daṅgare-ī	*to a cow.*
Accusative	daṅgare-kī, *or* daṅgare-ī, *or* daṅgar	*a cow.*

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* For some preliminary remarks, see Chap. XXI.

† This is the general word for the species; cow, ox, and bull have their different names.

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Ablative and Locative	**daṅgare-thwāṅ, -vich, -par**	*from, in, on a cow.*
Agentive	**daṅgar-ne**	*by a cow.*
Vocative	**daṅgarā** *or* **ā daṅgar**	*O cow!*

Plural.

Nominative	**daṅgar**	*cows.*
Genitive	**daṅgareṅ-dā, -de, -dī**	*of cows.*
Dative	**daṅgareṅ-kī,** *or* **daṅgare-īṅ**	*to cows.*
Accusative	**daṅgareṅ-kī,** *or* **daṅgare-īṅ,** *or* **daṅgar**	*cows.*
Ablative and Locative	**daṅgareṅ-thwāṅ, -vich, -par**	*from, in, on cows.*
Agentive	**daṅgareṅ-ne**	*by cows.*
Vocative	**ā daṅgareṅ**	*O cows!*

3rd Class: Feminine nouns.

Singular.

Nominative	**bakrī**	*a she-goat.*
Genitive	**bakriā-dā, -de, -dī**	*of a she-goat.*
Dative	**bakriā-kī** *or* **bakriā-ī**	*to a she-goat.*
Accusative	**bakriā-kī,** *or* **bakriā-ī,** *or* **bakrī**	*a she-goat.*
Ablative and Locative	**bakriā-thwāṅ, -vich, -par**	*from, in, on a she-goat.*
Agentive	**bakriā-ne**	*by a she-goat.*
Vocative	**bakriyā** *or* **ā bakrī**	*O she-goat!*

Plural.

Nominative	**bakriyāṅ**	*she-goats.*
Genitive	**bakrieṅ-dā, -de, -dī**	*of she-goats.*
Dative	**bakrieṅ-kī** *or* **bakrieṅ-īṅ**	*to she-goats.*
Accusative	**bakrieṅ-kī,** *or* **bakrieṅ-īṅ,** *or* **bakriyāṅ**	*she-goats.*
Ablative and Locative	**bakrieṅ-thwāṅ, -vich, -par**	*from, in, on she-goats.*
Agentive	**bakrieṅ-ne**	*by she-goats.*
Vocative	**ā bakriyāṅ**	*O she-goats!*

ADJECTIVES.

1st Class: Adjectives ending im ā.

Singular.

Nominative, masculine	**kālā**	*black.*
feminine	**kālī**	
All other cases, masculine	**kāle**	
feminine	**kāliā**	

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Plural.

Nominative, masculine	kāle
feminine	kaliyāṅ
All other cases, masculine	kaleṅ
feminine	kalieṅ

But when the substantive takes in the accusative the third, that is the nominative, form, the adjective will be in the corresponding form.

2nd Class: Adjectives not ending in ā;
as *chel* handsome, *jangalī* wild.

These undergo no change.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

First Person—Singular.

Nominative	maiṅ *or* auṅ	*I.*
Genitive	merā, mere, merī	*of me, my.*
Dative	mi-kī *or* mī	*to me.*
Accusative	mi-kī *or* mī	*me.*
Ablative and Locative	mere-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on me.*
Agentive	maiṅ	*by me.*

Plural.

Nominative	as		*we.*
Genitive	sārā		*of us, our.*
Dative	aseṅ-kī	sometimes the *kī* is left out, and sometimes the *k* alone is left out	*to us.*
Accusative			*us.*
Ablative and Locative	sāre-thwāṅ, -vich, -par		*from, in, on us.*
Agentive	aseṅ		

Second Person—Singular.

Nominative	tūṅ	*thou.*
Genitive	terā, tere, terī	*of thee, thy.*
Dative	tu-kī	*to thee.*
Accusative	tu-kī	*thee.*
Ablative and Locative	tere-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on thee.*
Agentive	toh	*by thee.*

Plural.

Nominative	tus		*you.*
Genitive	tusārā, tusāre, tusārī		*of you, your.*
Dative	tuseṅ-kī	sometimes the *kī* is left out, and sometimes the *k* alone is left out	*to you.*
Accusative			*you.*

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Ablative and Locative	tusen̈-thwān̈, -vich, -par	*from, in, on you.*
Agentive	tusen̈	*by you.*

thwārā is sometimes used for *tusārā*, chiefly I think in the part of Dugar at the very foot of the hills.

Third Person—Singular.

Nominative	o	*he, she, it.*
Genitive	us-dā, -de, -dī	*of him, of her, of it, his, her, its.*
Dative	us-kī *or* us-ī	*to him, to her, to it.*
Accusative	us-kī, us-ī, *or* o	*him, her, it.*
Ablative and Locative	us̈-thwān̈, -vich, -par	*from, in, on him, her, it.*
Agentive	us-ne	*by him, her, or it.*

Plural.

Nominative	o	*they.*
Genitive	un-dā *or* une-dā, de, dī	*of them, their.*
Dative	une-kī *or* une-ī *	*to them.*
Accusative	une-kī *or* une-ī *	*them.*
Ablative and Locative	une-thwān̈, -vich, -par	*from, in, on them.*
Agentive	une	*by them.*

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

o *this* or *these* is declined in a way corresponding to the personal pronoun third person, making is-dā, &c., *of this*, and in-dā *of these*, while the declension of o *that* or *those* is identical with it.

The demonstrative pronouns īā *or* iyā *this same*, and ūai *that same*, corresponding to yihī and wuhī in Hindostānī, are thus declined:

Singular.

Nominative	īā *or* iyā	*this same.*
Genitive	isse-dā, -de, -dī	*of this same.*
Dative	isse-kī	*to this same.*
Accusative	isse-kī	*this same.*
Ablative and Locative	isse-thwān̈, -vich, -par	*from, in, on this same.*
Agentive	isse-ne	*by this same.*

Plural.

Nominative	iai	*these same.*
Genitive	indāī, indeī, indīī	*of these same.*
Dative	inneīn̈ *or* inneīn̈-kī	*to these same.*
Accusative	inneīn̈ *or* inneīn̈-kī	*these same.*
Ablative and Locative	inneīn̈-thwān̈, -vich, -par	*from, in, ou these same.*
Agentive	inneīn̈	*by these same.*

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* Query, une-īā.

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Singular.

Nominative	ūsi	*that same.*
Genitive	usse-dā, -de, -dī	*of that same.*
Dative	usse-kī or usse-ī	*to that same.*
Accusative	usse-kī or usse-ī	*that same.*
Ablative and Locative	usse-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on that same.*
Agentive	usse-ne	*by that same.*

Plural.

Nominative	ūsi	*those same.*
Genitive	unneīṅ-dā, -de, -dī	*of those same.*
Dative	unneīṅ-kī	*to those same.*
Accusative	unneīṅ-kī	*those same.*
Ablative and Locative	unneīṅ-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on those same.*
Agentive	unneīṅ	*by those same.*

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

koi, *some one*, *anyone*, or *any* applied to persons.

Singular.

Nominative	koī	*anyone or any.*
Genitive	kuse-dā, -de, -dī	*of any.*
Dative	kuse-kī	*to any.*
Accusative	kuse-kī, kuse-ī, koī	*any.*
Ablative and Locative	kuse-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on any.*
Agentive	kuse	*by any.*

Plural.

Nominative	koī	*any.*
Genitive	kune-dā, *or* kun-dā, de, dī	*of any.*
Dative	kune-kī, *or* kune-īṅ	*to any.*
Accusative	kune-kī *or* kune-īn	*any.*
Ablative and Locative	kune-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on any.*
Agentive	kune	*by any.*

kichh, *something*, *anything*, or *any* applied to things.

Singular.

Nominative	kichh	*any.*
Genitive	kuse-dā, -de, -dī	*of any.*
Dative	kuse-kī	*to any.*
Accusative	kuse-kī, kuse-ī, *or* kichh	*any:*
Ablative and Locative	kuse-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on any.*
Agentive	kuse	*by any.*

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Plural.

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Nominative	kichh	*any.*
Genitive	kine-dā, -de, -dī, *or* kinie-dā, -de, -dī	*of any.*
Dative	kiniāṅ-kī	*to any.*
Accusative	kiniāṅ-kī	*any.*
Ablative and Locative	kinie-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on any.*
Agentive	kiniāṅ	*by any.*

jo koi *whoever,*

is declined as *jo* and *koi* are declined separately. For *jo* see next page.

For *whatever* jo kichh is used.

Masculine	kitneiṅ *or* kineiṅ	*several or many.*
Feminine	kitniāiṅ or kiniāiṅ	

Singular.

Masculine	kitnā *or* kinā	*how much.*
Feminine	kitnī *or* kinī	

Plural.

Masculine	kitne *or* kine	*how many.*
Feminine	kitniāṅ *or* kiniāṅ	

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

Singular.

kun *who?*

Nominative	kun	*who?*
Genitive	kus-dā, -de, -dī	*of whom? whose?*
Dative	kus-ī (*usual*) *or* kus-ki	*to whom?*
Accusative	kus-ī (*usual*) *or* kus-ki	*whom?*
Ablative and Locative	kus-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on whom?*
Agentive	kus-ne	*by whom?*

Plural.

Nominative	kun	*who?*
Genitive	kun-dā, -de, -dī, *or* kune-dā, -de, -dī	*of whom? whose?*
Dative	kune-ki *or* kune-iṅ	*to whom?*
Accusative	kune-kī *or* kune-iṅ	*whom?*
Ablative and Locative	kune-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on whom?*
Agentive	kune	*by whom?*

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keh *what?*

Singular.

Nominative	keh	*what?*
Genitive	kus-dā, -de, -dī (*usual*) *or* kis-dā, -de, -dī	*of what?*
Dative	kus-kī (*usual*) *or* kis-kī	*to what?*
Accusative	kus-kī (*usual*) *or* kis-kī	*what?*
Ablative and Locative	kus-thwāṅ, -vich, -par (*usual*) *or* kis-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, or on what?*
Agentive	kus-ne (*usual*) *or* kis-ne	*by what?*

Plural.

Nominative	keh	*what?*
Genitive	kune-dā, -de, -dī	*of what?*
Dative	kune-kī *or* kune-īṅ	*to what?*
Accusative	keh	*what?*
Ablative and Locative	kune-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on what?*
Agentive	kune	*by what?*

kokā *which?*

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Masculine	kokā	koke
Feminine	kokī	kokiyāṅ

RELATIVE PRONOUN.

Singular.

Nominative	jo	*he who.*
Genitive	jis-dā, -de, -dī	*he whose, or he of whom.*
Dative	jis-ki *or* jis-i	*he to whom.*
Accusative	jis-kī *or* jis-ī	*he whom.*
Ablative and Locative	jis-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*he from, in, on whom.*
Agentive	jis-ne	*he by whom.*

Plural.

Nominative	jo	*they who.*
Genitive	jine-dā, -de, -dī	*they whose, or they of whom.*
Dative	jine-kī *or* jine-īṅ	*they to whom.*
Accusative	jine-kī *or* jine-īṅ	*they whom.*
Ablative and Locative	jine-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*they from, in, on whom.*
Agentive	jine-eṅ *or* jineṅ	*they by whom.*

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REFLECTIVE PRONOUNS.

First, Second, and Third Persons—Singular and Plural.

Nominative	apūṅ	*self or selves.*
Genitive	apnā, apne, apnī	*of self or selves, or own.*
Dative	apūṅ-kī	*to self or selves.*
Accusative	apūṅ-kī	*self or selves.*
Ablative and Locative	apne-thwāṅ, -vich, -par	*from, in, on self or selves.*
Agentive	apūṅ	*by self or selves.*

VERBS.

The verb *hoṇā*, to be.

Indefinite Tense.

aūṅ	hundā	*fem.* hundī	*I*	*am, may be, had been, &c.*
tūṅ	hundā	*fem.* hundī	*thou*	
o	hundā	*fem.* hundī	*he, she, or it*	
as	hunde	*fem.* hundiyāṅ	*we*	
tus	hunde	*fem.* hundiyāṅ	*you*	
o	hunde	*fem.* hundiyāṅ	*they*	

The verb agrees in gender with the subject.

*Compound Present.**

aūṅ	hundā hāṅ	*I am.*
tūṅ	hundā haiṅ	*thou art.*
o	hundā hai	*he is.*
as	hunde hāṅ	*we are.*
tus	hunde ho	*you are.*
o	hunde haiṅ	*they are.*

If the subject is feminine, the participle becomes *hundī* in the singular, and *hundiyāṅ* in the plural.

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* There is also a simple present of the verb to be; it has been written for me in two ways, the one *hāṅ, haiṅ, hai, hāṅ, ho, haiṅ*, the other the same with the aspirate left out. In Dogrī the aspirate is often pronounced very lightly indeed, and it is not unlikely that in that tense it has come to be left out in writing, but still exists in the sound.

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Imperfect.

aũh	thā	*fem.* thī	*I was.*
tūh	thā	*fem.* thī	*thou wast.*
o	thā	*fem.* thī	*he, she, or it was.*
as	the	*fem.* thiyāñ	*we were.*
tus	the	*fem.* thiyāñ	*you were.*
o	the	*fem.* thiyāñ	*they were.*

Compound Imperfect.

aũh	hundā thā	*fem.* hundī thī	*I was (continuative).*
tūh	hundā thā	*fem.* hundī thī	*thou wast.*
o	hundā thā	*fem.* hundī thī	*he, she, or it was.*
as	hunde the	*fem.* hundiyāñ thiyāñ	*we were.*
tus	hunde the	*fem.* hundiyāñ thiyāñ	*you were.*
o	hunde the	*fem.* hundiyāñ thiyāñ	*they were.*

Simple Preterite.

aũh	hoā	*fem.* hoī	*I was (past definite).*
tūh	hoā	*fem.* hoī	*thou wast.*
o	hoā	*fem.* hoī	*he, she, or it was.*
as	hoe	*fem.* hoiyāñ	*we were.*
tus	hoe	*fem.* hoiyāñ	*you were.*
o	hoe	*fem.* hoiyāñ	*they were.*

Compound Preterite.

aũh	hoā	hāñ	*we have been.*
tūh	hoā	hain	*thou hast been.*
o	hoā	hai	*he has been.*
as	hoe	hāñ	*we have been.*
tus	hoe	ho	*you have been.*
o	hoe	hain	*they have been.*

The participle being changed for the feminine, as before.

Pluperfect.

aũh	hoā	thā	*I had been.*
tūh	hoā	thā	*thou hadst been.*
o	hoā	thā	*he had been.*
as	hoe	the	*we had been.*
tus	hoe	the	*you had been.*
o	hoe	the	*they had been.*

Here both hoā and thā will change their termination for the feminine.

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Aorist.

aũh	hoāh	*I may be.*
tūh	hoeh	*thou mayest be.*
o	hoe	*he may be.*
as	hochai *	*we may be.*
tus	ho	*you may be.*
o	hon	*they may be.*

Future.

aũh	hoing	*I shall be.*
tūh	hogā (hogī in *fem.*)	*thou will be.*
o	hog	*he will be.*
as	hoge (hogiyāh in *fem.*)	*we shall be.*
tus	hoge (hogiyāh in *fem.*)	*you will be.*
o	hoigan	*they will be.*

Imperative.

tuh	ho	*be thou.*
tus	ho	*be you.*

Verbal Noun.

honā	*being.*
hone-dā, -de, -dī	*of being.*

and so on.

Noun of Agency or Condition.

hone-wālā	*that which will become* (the final *a* changing its termination like an adjective).

Conjunctive Participle.

hoi-kai	*having been.*

Adverbial Participle.

hunde-hī	*on the point of being.*

As in Hindostani, there is but one conjugation, and the formation of it proceeds in nearly the same way as in that language; we will take, as an example, the verb *galnā*, to speak.

Root	galā	
Infinitive	galnā	*to speak.*
Present participle	galindā	*speaking.*
Past participle	galiya	*spoken.*

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* This form has been given me, but I am not familiar with it; it wants confirmation.

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Indefinite.

asāṅ	galāndā	*fem.* galāndī	*I*	*speak, &c.*
tūṅ	galāndā	*fem.* galāndī	*thou*	
o	galāndā	*fem.* galāndī	*he or it*	
as	galānde	*fem.* galāndiyāṅ	*we*	
tus	galānde	*fem.* galāndiyāṅ	*you*	
o	galānde	*fem.* galāndiyāṅ	*they*	

Present.

asāṅ	galāndā hāṅ	*I am*	*speaking.*
tūṅ	galāndā haiṅ	*thou art*	
o	galāndā hai	*he or it is*	
as	galānde haṅ	*we are*	
tus	galānde ho	*you are*	
o	galānde haiṅ	*they are*	

The participle taking ī (*sing.*) and *iyāṅ* (*pls.*) when the subject is feminine.

Imperfect.

asāṅ	galāndā thā	*I was*	*speaking.*
tūṅ	galāndā thā	*thou wast*	
o	galāndā thā	*he or it was*	
as	galānde the	*we were*	
tus	galānde the	*you were*	
o	galānde the	*they were*	

With a feminine subject it will be *galāndī thī* in the singular, and *galāndiyāṅ thiyāṅ* in the plural.

Simple Preterite.

maiṅ	galāyā	*I*	*spoke.*
toṅ	galāyā	*thou*	
us-ne	galāyā	*he or it*	
asāṅ	galāyā	*we*	
tusāṅ	galāyā	*you*	
uno	galāyā	*they*	

In this and the next two tenses the participle varies so as generally to agree in gender and number with the *object*; the rule here is the same, and is subject to the same qualifications, as in Hindustani.

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Compound Preterite.

maiṅ	**galāyā hai**	*I have*	*spoken.*
toh	**galāyā hai**	*thou hast*	
us-ne	**galāyā hai**	*he or it has*	
aseṅ	**galāyā hai**	*we have*	
tuseṅ	**galāyā hai**	*you have*	
une	**galāyā hai**	*they have*	

Pluperfect.

maiṅ	**galāyā thā**	*I had*	*spoken.*
toh	**galāyā thā**	*thou hadst*	
us-ne	**galāyā thā**	*he or it had*	
aseṅ	**galāyā thā**	*we had*	
tuseṅ	**galāyā thā**	*you had*	
une	**galāyā thā**	*they had*	

In the above two tenses the auxiliary also may vary with the gender and number of the object.

Aorist.

auṅ	**galāāṅ**	*I*	*may speak.*
tūṅ	**galāe**	*thou*	
o	**galāe**	*he, she, or it*	
as	**galāeṅ**	*we*	
tus	**galāo**	*you*	
o	**galāeṅ**	*they*	

Future.

auṅ	**galāāngā**	*I shall speak.*
tūṅ	**galāegā**	*thou wilt speak.*
o	**galāegā**	*he, she, or it will speak.*
as	**galāenge**	*we shall speak.*
tus	**galāoge**	*you will speak.*
o	**galāenge**	*they will speak.*

Imperative.

tūṅ	**galā**	*speak.*
tus	**galāo**	

Verbal Noun.

galānā	*speaking.*
galane -dā, -de, -dī	*of speaking.*

And so on.

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Noun of Agency.

Mas. sing.	galāne-wālā	*speaker.*
Fem. sing.	galāne-wālī	
Mas. plu.	galāne-wāle	*speakers.*
Fem. plu.	galāne-wāliyāṉ	

Conjunctive Participle.

galāī-ke	*having spoken.*

The passive voice is made by conjugating the verb *jānā*, to go, with the past participle; as from *jalānā*, to set fire to, comes *jalāyā jānā*, to be set on fire.

Irregularities in the verbs seem to be very few; *jānā*, to go, makes *giyā* in the past participle, except in certain combinations, when it forms the participle according to the usual rule, as *jāyā karnā*, to continue going; *karnā*, to do, makes *kītā*, done; and there are a few other exceptions.

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APPENDIX II.

VOCABULARIES COMPARED. (For Remarks, see Chap. XXI.)

ENGLISH.	DIALECTS OF THE OUTER HILLS.		DIALECTS OF THE MIDDLE MOUNTAINS.				KASHMIR.
	Dogri.	Chibhāli.	Rāmbani.	Bhadarwāhi.	Pā*d*ari.	Kishtwā*r*i.	Kashmiri.
one	ek	ek	ek	ek	ek	ak	āk
two	do	do	dī	dūi	dū	tsī	zö ‖
three	tre	tre	cheī	klai	klai	tre	tre
four	chār	chār	chār	tsor	tsūr *or* tsor	tsor	tsor
five	panj	panj	pānts	pānts	pānz	pānts	pānts
six	che	che	shā	shā	tse *or* tsa	she	she
seven	sat	sat	sāt	sat	sat	sat	sat
eight	a*t*h	a*t*h	a*t*h	a*t*h	a*t*h	e*t*h	öth
nine	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau	nauṅ	nau
ten	das	das	das	das	dash	dā	dā
twenty	vī*	bī	bī	bī	bī	ū	wū
fifty	panjā	panjā	panjā	pantsā	—	pāntsā	pāntsā
hundred	sau	sau	sau	sau	—	hath	hath
I	maiṅ *and* auṅ	maiṅ	mī	auṅ	auṅ	bū *or* bo	bo
my	mera	mā*r*ā	menū	merū †	men *and* hen	meaun	mion
we	as	—	as	as	as	asī	as
our	sā*r*ā	—	asoṅ	isho	henan	asūnder	son
thou	tuṅ	tū	tū	tū	tū	tū	tsö
thy	terā	tūrā	tenū	terū	tenan	—	chon
you	tus	—	tus	tū (?)	tus	—	tse
your	tusā*r*ā	tusā*r*ā	tusoṅ	tusho	tenan	tsūāṅ §	chon
he	o	o	sū	—	o	hor	sū
his	usdā	usdā	tesoṅ	userū	tasar	hūsan	humsun ¶
they	o	o	sū	en *or* in ‡	—	yum (?)	
their	undā	undā	ane	userū	tenkar	yumanun	

hand	hath	hath	hāth	hath	hath
foot	pair	per	khur	pāo	khur
nose	nak	nak	nāk	nak	nak
eye	akhī	akh	achī	atsī	ach o
mouth	—	mūh	āshū	*ūt*	as
tooth	*dand*	*dand*	dānt	*dand*	*dand*
ear	kan	kan	kan	kan	kan
hair	vāl	bāl	kesh *and* paphariāō	bāl	sharv
head	sir	sir	shir	dog	*rot*
tongue	jīb	jīb	jīb	zib	jīb
belly	*did*	*did*	pet	*did*	pet
back	pith	kand	pith	pith	pith
iron	lohā	lohā	loh	lohā	lohā
gold	sonā	sonā	sunā	sonū	sunā
silver	chāndī	chāndī *and* rūpā	chāndī	ropo	rup o
father	pyū	pyū	bābā	boā	bābā
mother	māī	mā	ammā *and* iyā	haiyā	ijā *or*
brother	brā	brā	bhūā	gīā	bāū o
sister	bahiā	bahn	bahin	bahin	ded o

---

* Often used in the plural, thus: *atā vīpāh*, eight score.

† Fem. sing., *mori*;

‡ *ou* = those, *in* = these.

§ I am not sure whe

‖ There is a vowel-sound in Kashmiri which is not provided for in the alphabetical s
eu in French, or *ö* in German; or it may be said to be like *a* in Hindostānī, elongated, but n
I have provisionally put *ö* to represent it.

¶ For "his" I have also *tasme*, and for "theirs" I have *tasm hond*.

** The character *á* used in the Kashmiri vocabulary, denotes a very broad sound, as
that of *ā*; Sir G. Campbell makes the same distinction.

†† The side-locks are called *pāthri*.

‡‡ *bāū* = elder brother;

§§ ded = elder sister; bahiā = younger sister.

‖‖ bhāijī = elder brothe

¶¶ bhingedī = elder sister; bahiā = younger sister.

*** *ö* for the Kashmiri la

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hath	hathi	hath
khur	khor	khor
nak	nast	nast
ach *and* akh	ach	ach
as	aus	âs **
dand	*dand*	*dand*
kan	kan	kan
sharwár ††	ki	wál
rot	loth	kal
jib	zeo	zeo
pet	*yad*	*yad*
píth	shána	shána
lohá	shistar	shistar
suná	shongo	son
rup *and* rupá	sún	rup
bábá	bábá	bab, mol, *and* bábá
íjá *or* íj	ammá	mál, dod,*** *and* ápá
báá *and* bhâí ‡‡	bhâiji *and* bhâí ‖‖	bâí
ded *and* bahiá §§	bhingedi *and* bahiá ¶¶	bain *and* bendâni ***

, *meri*; mas. plu., *merâ*; fem. plu., *meriyâñ*.
ure whether this is not *thy*.
betical system used for the other dialects; it is like the
d, but not elongated in such a way as to make it like *â*;

und, as in the English "awl," somewhat different from

rother; *bhâî* = younger brother.
r brother; bhâî = younger brother.
hmiri language denotes a sound like that of the *e* in *then*.

VOCABULARIES COMPA

ENGLISH.	DIALECTS OF THE OUTER HILLS.		DIALECT	
	Dogri.	Chibhālī.	Rāmbanī.	Bhad
man	ādmī	ādmī *and* janā	mānū	mahān
woman	janānī	trimat	zanān	kwañe
wife	istrī	—	—	kwañe
child				
son	putar	pūtar	lokā	ko
daughter	dhī	dhī	kūrī	koi
slave	ghulām, banda	—	pālak *and* kamā	
cultivator	jamīndar	zamīndār	zamīndār	zamīñd
shepherd	—	pālā *and* gwālā	gwāl	gaddi
God	parmeshwar	khudā	parmeshar	parme
devil	—	shaitān	masān	sowr
sun	sūraj	dī	sūrj	dibāro
moon	chand	chan	chāndnī	chāndi
star	tārā	tārā	tārā	tārā
fire	ag	ag	āg	āg
water	jal	pānī	pānī	pānī
house	ghar	ghar	ghar *and* gī	ghar
horse	ghorā	ghorā	ghorā	ghoro
cow	gāe	gā	gāo	gau *a*
dog	kuttā	kuttā	shūnā	kuttar
cat	billī	billī	bilār	billū (
cock	kukar†	kukar	kukar	kukar
duck	batak	batak	batak	batak
ass	khotā	khotā	khotā	khoto
camel	ūṅṭ	uṅṭ	—	ūṅṭ
bird	pakru	pakrū	pakrū	pakrū
go	jā	{ juliyā *and* gachiyā‡ }	gā	gā
eat	khā	khā	khā	khā

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COMPARED—*continued.*

DIALECTS OF THE MIDDLE MOUNTAINS.			KASHMĪR.
Bhadarwāhī.	Pā*d*ari.	Kishtwā*r*i.	Kashmiri.
malhānū	mān	mān	mānyu
kwańsh	giūn	—	zenān
kwańsh *and* klī	zal	zanāń	kulai *and* āshaṇ
ko	kwā	shūr	nichu *and* gubar
koi	kūi	ko*r*i	kor *and* kūr
—	—	—	ghulām
zamīńdār	jamīńdār	zamīńdar	gurust
gāddi *and* puhāl	gwāl *and* phāl	gwāl	phāl
parmeshar	parmesar	—	*kh*udā
none	*none*	—	masharān
dihāro	dis	akhtāb	ākhtāb
chāndni	chandni *	tsandar	zūn
tārā	tārā	tārak	tārak
āg	āg	nār	nār
pāni	pāni	pāiń	āb
ghar	obar, ghar, *and* gi	gharo	ghör *and* lör
ghoro	gho*r*ā	gū*r*	gu*r*
gau *and* balai	gā	—	gāo
kuttar	kuttar (*f.* kuttari)	hon	hūn
billū (*f.* billī)	balā (*f.* balāi)	brār	brer
kuka*r*	kuka*r*	koka*r*	koka*r*
batak	—	—	batak
khoto (*f.* khoti)	—	khar	*kh*ar
ūń*t*	—	—	ūńt
pakrū	pakrū		
gā	gā	gais	gais
khā	khā	khīū	khe

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sit	boh	bij	bime	bish	bish	biūn-be	be
come	ā	achcā	je	ei	illa	yo*r*i	wolo
beat	mār	{ māriyā *and* kutiyā‡ }	mār	mār *and* ku*t*	mār *and* ku*t*	tsots	lāyus
stand	khalā ho	khalā ho	uthe ka*r*ū	kharo-bove	kha*r* bho	hoshwat	{ wadani ros *and* wazanī ros
die	mar	mar	mar	mar	mar	mar	
give	de	de	de les	do	de	dīūs	dis
run	dau*r*	dau*r*	dau*r*	dau*r*	dau*r*	doro	dö*r* *and* tikh
up	ūpar	ūpar	ūbū	bāgā	khāri	hosh	heri *and* pö*t*
down	khal	bun	khalo	undoī	ūn	bön	bön
before	āge	āge	āgaro	agarī	āgar	broṅ*t*	bont
behind	piche	pīche	pato	patar	{ pathonher *and* patlakher }	poth	pa*t*
near	nehrī	nehre	neri	ne*r*ū	ner *and* negihana	—	nazdīk
far	dūr	dūr	dūr	dūr	dūr	dūr	dūr
who	kun	kon	kus	kaserū	kān	kon	kus
what	keh	ke	kū	kun *and* kunen	ki	kyā	kyā
why	kiāṅ	kiṅ	ki	koyā	kyas	—	kyāzī *and* kyūṅ
and	hor *and* te	hor	or	—	—	—	be
but	par	—	par	—	—	—	lekin
if	jekar	jiāṅ	ze	—	—	—	hargāh
yes	āho	ahāṅ	halā	hāṅ	hāṅ	—	
no	na	nāṅ	nahīṅ	nā	nā	noe	na
good	{ chaṅgā *and* kharā }	—	jawān	kharū	che*r* *and* kharā	—	zabar *and* jān
bad	mā*r*ā *and* burā	—	—	burū *and* mā*r*ū	—	—	yĕch
high	uchā	—	ūka*r*ū	uchu	adham	—	*t*ud *and* *t*hud

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* In the upper part of the B[illegible]tnā Valley in Pā*d*ar the word for moon is *sosam*.

† hen = kuka*r*i.

‡ These are past participles.

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ENGLISH.	DARD DIALECTS.		
	Dialect of Astor.	Dialect of Gilgit.	Dialect of Dāh.
one	ek	ek	ek
two	dū	du	dū (like *u* in French).
three	*t*re	*t*che *or* che*	trā
four	chār	chār	chor
five	push	poiṅ	poṅsh
six	shā	shā	shā
seven	sat	sat	sat
eight	āsh*t*	a*t*ch*	ā*t*h
nine	nauṅ	nau	nūṅ
ten	daī	dāī	das
twenty	bī	bī	bijhā
fifty	du bī ka daī	dū bī ka dāī	dū bī jhū dāsh
hundred	shal	shal	sho
I	mo	mā	mo
my	meo *or* mio	mai	mī bet
we	bo	charbīō †	asī mush
our	—	asei	
thou	tū	tū	tī
thy	toṅ	thāī	
you	—	tso	tsī mush
your	—	tsāī	tsī bun
he	*zh*o	ro	pho
his	—	rnāī	tes
they	—	āī (far) anī (near)	pho
their	*zh*no	rinei (far) aninei (near)	tenbun
hand	hath	hath	hath
foot	pā	pā	kūtī
nose	nuto	nato	noto
eye	achī	atchī	āthī
mouth	āīzo	āī	āzī
tooth	donī	donī	danī
ear	kun	kun	kanī
hair	jāko	jakur	zhākur
head	shish	shish	shish
tongue	zip	jip	gip
belly	*d*er	*d*er	war
back	*d*āk	dāki	puth
iron	chimar	chimar	chingar

ENGLISH.	DARD DIALECTS.		
	Dialect of Astor.	Dialect of Gilgit.	Dialect of Dāh.
gold	son	sun	ser *or* sir
silver	rūp	rūp	mul
father	bābo	bābo, mālo	bo
mother	ājī	ājī, mā	āye
brother	kāko (elder) *zh*ā (younger)	jā	baio (elder) vā (younger)
sister	kākī (elder) sas (younger)	sā (*to call*, kākī)	kākī (elder) sas (younger)
man	manū*zh*	manu*zh*o‡	mush
woman	cheī	cheī	*t*chigā
wife	gren	gren	*t*chigā
child	—	pu*t*ch	
son	puch (bāl = boy)	pu*t*ch (baby-boy = shū)	biyū
daughter	mulāī	di (baby-girl = molaī)	muleī
slave	bādo	maristan	satukspo
cultivator	grasti	grasto	
shepherd	paiyāl	paiyālo	
God	khudā	khudā	khudā
devil	shaitān	shaitān *or* iblis	shaitān
sun	sūri	sūri	sūri
moon	yūn	yūn	gyun
star	tāro	tāro	tūri
fire	phū	agār	*gh*ul
water	woī	woī	wūā
house	gosh	go*t*	go*t*
horse	ashp	ashpo	āpsh
cow	gāo *or* gau	go	go
dog	shū	shūṅ	shūā
cat	pushī *and* pishū	būshī	billū
cock	koko = cock kokoī = hen	karkū-mash	byāpo,§ byāmo = hen
duck	batak	bārash	
ass	*zh*ākun	jakun	*kh*ar

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* The consonantal sound in these words has the same relation to the ordinary sound of *ch* as the cerebral *d* or *t* has to the dental *d* or *t*, it is *ch* sounded far back on the palate; in default of a recognised character for it I provisionally use *tch*.

† I have this down, but consider that it wants to be verified.

‡ For *man*, as distinguished from *woman*, the word is *mushā*.

§ These terminations are Tibetan.

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ENGLISH.	DARD DIALECTS.			ENGLISH.	DARD DIALECTS.		
	Dialect of Astor.	Dialect of Gilgit.	Dialect of Dāh.		Dialect of Astor.	Dialect of Gilgit.	Dialect of Dāh.
camel	ūn*t*	ūn*t*		behind	pāto	pha*t*ū	*zh*akunā
bird	—	bring*		near	ele	kachi	āboni
go	bo	bo	byun	far	dūr	dūr	dur
eat	khā	kha	khā	who	koi	ko	kyāno bet
sit	bet	bei	bāsh	what	yok	jek	ye bet
come	e	wa	ye, āni	why	—	ke	
beat	ku*t*e	shida	kūti	and	ka	ka	
stand	hunbo	hunbo	ūthe	but	—	akhan	
die	mū	mu	mu, mulā	if	—	—	
give	de	de	dī	yes	āwā	āwā	bet
run	logobo	haita	bīhyon	no	ne	nush	nish
up	prāde	ajā	onār	good	mish*t*a	—	
down	kūlī	khiri	kharā	bad	katse	kach	
before	mu*t*ro	mutcho (near) yar (far)	yārbū	high			

* *bring* is a general word for bird; *chāī* = sparrow.

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APPENDIX III.

PHRASES IN RĀMBANĪ AND BHADARWĀHĪ.

ENGLISH.	RĀMBANĪ.	BHADARWĀHĪ.
What is your name?	Tenū kū nām chu.	Tero kun hai (?) nao.
How old is this horse?	Kitā variyāṅ sānū gho*r*ū chu.	E gho*r*a katar varichi rue.
How far is it from here to Kashmir?	Itāātā Kashmír kitī dūr chi.	Itthe keta katari dūr hai (?) Kashmir.
How many sons are there in your father's house?	Tenū bābā sane gi kitā putar chā.	Tashū boāre ghare katar ko han.
I have walked a long way to-day.	Ādz as dūr ātā āwa sam.	Ādze auṅ ba*r*ī dūr jo.
The son of my uncle is married to her sister.	Mine patriye sanū lokū tesā zanānī saniyā bahinī sāthī byātu matū cho.*	
In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	Gī antar sufed gho*r*e sanī kā*r*ī chī.	Ghar antar zan gho*r*e dī kāti ahe.
Put the saddle upon his back.	Kā*r*ī lāgo.†	Gho*r*e par tsā*r*ā kāti.
I have beaten his son with many stripes.	Tesue loke matī mān datī am.	Esrū ko glābū māro miṅ.
He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Phā*r* shire beṅ māl tsārte chā.‡	Es dhār ūpar māl tsarne lagarūe.
He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	Is butū khal ghore beṅ cho.	Es bu*t*e het gho*r*e ūpar bishnū.
His brother is taller than his sister.	Tesoṅ brā teshuā (? teshuā) bahinī ātā ūkarū chu.	Esrū glā bahiṅ kar ba*r*ī ahe.
The price of that is two rupees and a half.	Teson mul rupeya *d*hāī chu.	Esrū mul *d*hāī rupeye āhe.
My father lives in that small house.	Menūbāl is mate gharū mads rānchu.	Merū boa es nika*r*i ghar bishi.
Give this rupee to him.	Yū rupeyū tes dāt.	Ese rupeya de.
Take those rupees from him.	Yū rupeyū tesātā genī ānū.	Eskar rupeya ānā.
Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	Tes dabī tā mār dāt gazrā sāthī gant thas.	Es glab kūt dangari kar kinū bāndas.
Draw water from the well.	Khūā ātā pānī kā*r*ū.	Divarī kar pānī ān.
Walk before me.	Mī agar agar chalo.	Mere agari gā.
Whose boy comes behind you?	Kusoṅ lokū tī patā patā en chut.	Kaserū ko magar lagerū tūī.
From whom did you buy that?	Kasātā tī mule gin chut.	Teṅ eskar kiskar ahnū.
From a shopkeeper of the village.	Gāmū sane hattīwāle ātā.	Glonerū hattīwale kar āhnū.

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* "to the sister of that woman."

† "place the saddle."

‡ *tsārte chā* is plural.

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APPENDIX IV.

ROUTES.

LIST OF THE ROUTES GIVEN.

N.B.—The number to each route corresponds with that attached to the same route in the Political Map. 487

1. From Jummoo by Banihāl to Sirinagar.
2. From Jummoo by Budil to Sirinagar.
3. Cross route from Jummoo to Rājāori.
4. From Bhimbar by Rājāori and the Pīr Panjāl to Sirinagar.
5. Cross route from Rājāori to Pūnch.
6. From Jhelam by Pūnch to Sirinagar.
7. From Mari to Sirinagar.
8. From Abbotābād by Muzafarābād to Sirinagar.
9. From Sirinagar to Gilgit and beyond.
10. From Sirinagar by Deosai to Skārdū.
11. From Sirinagar by Drās to Skārdū.
12. From Sirinagar to Leh.
13. From Sirinagar to Kishtwār.
14. From Jummoo by Chanenī to Kishtwār.
15. From Jummoo by Bhadarwāh to Kishtwār.
16. From Mādhopūr by Bhadarwāh to Kishtwār.
17. From Chamba by Bhadarwāh to Kishtwār.
18. From Kishtwār by Kargil to Leh.
19. From Kishtwār by Zānskār to Leh.
20. From Pālampūr in Kāngrā by Kulu to Leh.
21. From Simla by Wāngtū and Spiti to Leh.
22. From Leh by Chorbat to Skārdū.
23. From Leh by Kārākoram to Yārkand; summer route.
24. From Leh by Kārākoram to Yārkand; winter route.
25. From Leh by Chāngchenmo to Yārkand; western route.
26. From Leh by Chāngchenmo to Yārkand; middle route.
27. From Leh by Chāngchenmo to Yārkand; eastern route.
28. From Leh to Gar.
29. From Pālampūr by Chāngchenmo to Yārkand, avoiding Leh.
30. From Pālampūr by Kārākoram to Yārkand, avoiding Leh.

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Route 1.—*From Jummoo by Banihál to Sirinagar.*

(12 marches: 177 miles.)

Jummoo is 90 miles from Láhor and 80 miles from Amritsar; the road from those two places can be traversed by carts and by camels as far as Jummoo, but not beyond.

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Jummoo	0	1200	
Dansál	1	1840	17
Kiramchi	2	2500	16
Mír	3	4800	13
Lándar	4	4700	11
Bilaut	5	5150	14
Rámban	6	2535	10
Rámsú	7	4070	19
Deogol	8	5560	14
Vernág	9	6000	15
Islámábád	10	5600	15
Avantipúr	11	5250	16
Sirinagar	12	5235	17
			177

Between stages 4 and 5 the Láru Lári Pass, height 8200 feet, and between 8 and 9 the Banihál Pass, 9200 feet, are crossed. Between 5 and 6 the Chináb is crossed by a wooden bridge.

This road can be traversed by laden ponies, but in many places the way is difficult for them. It is closed for all horses for two months or so from Christmas onwards, on account of the depth of snow on Banihál Pass. For two or three days together it may be closed for men, who cannot cross that Pass when the wind is violent and the snow is deep.

Route 2.—*From Jummoo by Budil to Sirinagar.*

(12 marches: 129 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Jummoo	0	1200	
Akhnúr	1	1142	19
Kapoyanki Bauli	2	.. ..	7
Pauni	3	.. ..	8
Chola	4	.. ..	9
Nár	5	.. ..	12
Bhagali	6	.. ..	8
Budil	7	.. ..	5
Dolhi	8	.. ..	11
Nasim Gali	9	.. ..	14
Shopeyan	10	6715	11
Kalampúr	11	.. ..	13
Sirinagar	12	5235	12
			129

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This is a foot-road, seldom or never used for laden ponies. Akhnūr is the more usual starting point for it than Jummoo. Between stages 8 and 9 the Budil Pass, a high Pass, is crossed. It is open for about seven months in the year. 487

ROUTE 3.—*Cross route from Jummoo to Rājāori.*

(6 marches: 77 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Jummoo	0	1200	
Akhnūr	1	1142	18
Chauki Chorā	2	2150	13½
Thandāpāni	3		13
Dharmsāla	4		9½
Syālsūi	5		9
Rājāori	6	3094	14
			77

The Chināb is crossed by boat at Akhnūr, which is on left bank. The road is fit for laden ponies. At Rājāori we come to stage No. 4 of route 4. By combining the two routes we find that from Jummoo by Rājāori and the Pīr Panjāl to Sirīnagar is 14 marches, 169 miles.

ROUTE 4.—*From Bhimbar by Rājāori and the Pīr Panjāl to Sirīnagar.*

(12 marches: 148 miles.)

Bhimbar is 30 miles from Gujrāt on the Grand Trunk Road. Gujrāt is 71 miles from Lāhor.

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Bhimbar	0		
Saidābād	1		15
Naushahra	2		12½
Changas Sarāe	3		13½
Rājāori	4	3094	15
Thannā	5		14
Barangalā	6		10
Poshiāna	7		10
Alliābād Sarāe	8		11
Hirpūr	9		14
Shapeyan	10	6715	6
Khānpūr	11		15
Sirīnagar	12	5235	12
			148

Between stages 5 and 6 the Ratan Pass, 8200 feet, and between stages 7 and 8 the Pīr Panjāl, a Pass 11,400 feet high, are crossed. The road is passable for laden ponies, though in some places rather difficult for them. It is open for about seven months in the year.

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Route 5.—*Cross route from Rājāori to Pūnch.*

(3 marches: 44 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Rājāori	0	3094	
Thanna	1		14
Sūran	2		16
Pūnch	3	3300	14
			44

Between stages 1 and 2 the Ratan ridge is crossed at about 8000 feet altitude. Laden ponies can go by this road.

By combining route 3, route 5, and route 6 from stage No. 8 onward, we get this—From Jummoo, by Rājāori and Pūnch, to Sirinagar, 15 marches, 209 miles. By combining the first four marches of route 4 with route 5 and the last seven marches of route 6, we get—From Bhimbar, by Rājāori and Pūnch, to Sirinagar, 14 marches, 155 miles.

Route 6.—*From Jhelam by Pūnch to Sirinagar.*

(15 marches: 186 miles.)

Jhelam is on the Grand Trunk Road, 100 miles from Lāhor.

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last Stage.
Jhelam	0	827	
Chechiān	1		11
Mīrpur	2	1236	11
Chaomuk	3		10
Bāri	4		7
Sensār	5		14
Kotli	6		13
Saira	7		14
Pūnch	8	3300	16
Kahūta	9		9
Aliābād	10		8
Ūri	11		17
Naoshahra	12		16
Bāramūla	13		9
Patan	14		14
Sirinagar	15	5235	17
			186

This road is usually practicable for laden ponies. Between stages 10 and 11 the Hājī Pass is crossed, 8500 feet high. On this the snow in winter would render it difficult, if not impassable, for ponies. For the two marches from Bāramūla to Sirinagar, boats are commonly taken.

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ROUTE 7.—From *Marí* to *Srínagar*.

(13 marches: 155 miles.)

Marí, or Murree, the well-known hill-station in the British territory, is 40 miles from Rával Pindí, which is on the Grand Trunk Road. Camels, post carriages, and perhaps carts, can come as far as Marí.

Stage.	No.	Height above Sea-level in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Marí	0	7457	
Dewal	1		12
Kohála	2		9
Chattar-Kalas	3		9
Dhárí	4		13
Tandalí	5		12
Garhí	6		13
Hattí	7		12
Chakotí	8		12
Urí	9		13
Naoshahra	10		14
Báramúla	11		9
Patan	12		14
Srínagar	13	5235	17
			159

Between stages Nos. 2 and 3 the *Jhelam River* used to be crossed by boat; a bridge was being constructed, which may now be ready. The road is good for laden ponies, and is always, or nearly always, open. From 8 to 13 the marches are the same as in route 6.

Till a few years ago, the road from Kohála to Chakotí took a different line; the following were the stages:

Kohála to
Dunah
Maira

Chikár
Hattí
Chakotí

A day may thus be saved, but at the expense of some labour in going over some high hills.

ROUTE 8.—From *Abbottábád* by *Muzaffarábád* to *Srínagar*.

(11 marches: 135½ miles.)

Abbottábád is a Cantonment and Civil Station among the hills in the Hazára District, in the British territory.

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487 From Rawal Pindi, on the Grand Trunk Road, to Abbottábád, *viâ* Haripúr, is 61 miles.

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Abbottábád	0	4120	
Mánsera	1		13½
Garhí	2		17
Muzaffarábád	3		9
Hattián	4		17
Kanda	5		11
Kathai	6		12
Shádra	7		13
Gíngal	8		14
Báramúla	9		19
Patan	10		14
Srínagar	11	5235	17
			156½

This is the easiest route from the Panjáb to Kashmir. Laden ponies can go over it without difficulty, and it is never stopped by snow.

The last two stages are usually done by water.

ROUTE 2.—*From Srínagar to Gilgit and beyond.*

a. *Srínagar to Gilgit.*

(22 marches; 228½ miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Srínagar	0	5235	
Sumbal	1	5200	17
Bandipúr	2	5200	15
Trágbal	3	9100	9
Zotkusu	4		9
Kanzalwan	5		[illegible]
Gurais	6	7800	11
Gúrikot (of Gurais)	7	8870	11
Mini Dha	8		15
Camp	9		11
Pakarkot	10	9000	11
Chagám	11	8300	12
Gúrikot (of Astor)	12	8150	13
Astor or Hasora	13	7853	7
Harcho	14	6700	11
Mushkin	15		8
Dóyian	16	8720	8½
Rámghát	17		12
Bawanji	18	4645	8
Jagot	19	4800	15
Camp	20		7
Minawar	21		9
Gilgit	22	4890	11
			228½

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These are the stages adopted by the Maharaja's troops. Travelling lightly one may make the distance in fewer days. Thus, No. 4 may be left out; from No. 7 to No. 10 these stages may be adopted—Rasbát 16, Pakarkot 18; from No. 13 to No. 16 these—Dashkin 15, Dôiyán 12½; and from No. 19 to No. 21 the two marches can be made into one. In this way there would be 18 stages instead of 22. I have myself done the distance in 11 days.

The first two stages are usually done by boat in one night and day.

The greater part of this road, especially after No. 7, is bad for laden ponies; still they commonly traverse it as far as 17. Between Jagrot and Miniwar there are some bits that would be dangerous, but a horse without a load may be led over them.

The road is closed by snow for near six months—from the middle of November to the middle of May.

Between Nos. 3 and 4, the Rájdiángan Pass, 11,800 feet, and between Nos. 7 and 8, the Kamri Pass, 13,100 feet, are crossed. Hatú Pír is a spur that the road goes over between Nos. 16 and 17; it is about 10,000 feet high; the descent from it to Rámghát is steep and difficult.

b. *Srinagar to Gilgit; alternative route.*

(23 marches: 235½ miles.)

Stage	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Srinagar	0	5235	
To Gurais (as in last route)	6		79
Bangla	7	8725	11
Mirpanni	8	10130	9
Burzil	9	10740	9
Camp	10		13
Chila	11	[illegible]	9
Godhai	12		12
Naugam	13		8
Astor or Hassora	14	7853	13
Astor to Gilgit, as in last route, 9 marches.			
Gilgit	23	4890	[illegible]
			235½

Between Nos. 9 and 10 the Dorikun Pass is crossed, 13,500 feet.

This road remains open a few weeks later, and re-opens in the spring a little earlier, than the last; it is closed for about five months for horses. During the winter even, with a favourable opportunity, it is possible for men without loads to cross the Pass.

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c. *Gilgit to Yāsīn.*

(5 marches: 80 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Gilgit	0	 4800	
Shakaiot	1	.. .. 5560	18
Singal	2	.. .. 5770	15
Gākūj	3	.. .. 6020	8
Roshan..	4	.. ..	19½
Yāsīn	5	.. .. 7765	19½
			80

This is from my own observation as far as Gākūj; beyond, from Mr. G. W. Hayward's account. The Maharaja's frontier is crossed a few miles beyond Gākūj.

From Yāsīn a road leads northwards into Wākhān, part of Badakhshān, which crosses the watershed at the third or fourth march from Yāsīn. Darkot is the last village this side the Pass.

Another road from Yāsīn leads first a little way down the Yāsīn River, and then westward over the Shandur Pass to Mastūj and Chitrāl.

ROUTE 10.—*From Sirinagar by Deosai to Skārdū.*

(14 marches: 158 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Sirinagar	0	 5235	
Sumbal	1	.. .. 5200	17
[illegible]	2	.. .. [illegible]	18
Trāgbal	3	.. .. 9160	9
Zotkusu	4	.. ..	9
Kanzalwan	5	.. ..	6
Gurais	6	.. .. 7800	11
Bangla..	7	.. .. 8725	11
Mapanun	8	.. .. 10130	9
Burzil	9	.. .. 10740	9
Sikbach	10	.. .. 13160	15
Lālpāni	11	.. .. 12000	13
Usar Mar	12	.. .. 12970	12
Karpitū	13	.. .. 7836	16
Skārdū..	14	.. .. 7440 (town) ..	3
			158

Up to No. 9 the stages are the same as in Route 9 b, and up to No. 6 they are the same as in Route 9 a. Between Nos. 9 and 10 the Passes called Stakpila (12,900 feet), and Sarsingar (13,860 feet), are traversed. Between Nos. 12 and 13 the Burji Pass, 15,700 feet, is crossed.

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Fourteen marches are here put down, but the distance may, without difficulty, be done in twelve, by passing over stage No. 4 or No. 5, and by gaining a march between 10 and 14.

This road is fit for laden ponies; it is closed by snow for about six months from October or November.

ROUTE 11.—*From Sirinagar by Drās to Skārdū.*

(19 marches: 242 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Sirinagar	0	5235	
To Tashgām, as in Route 12	9		115
Karkitchu	10		14
Gangani	11		10
Olting Thang	12		12
Tarkūti	13		14
Kartākshō	14		17
Tolti	15		12
Parkūta	16		14
Gol	17		13
Kepchung	18		17
Skārdū	19	7440 (town)	4
			242

Up to stage No. 9 the road is described under Route 12. The remainder of the road is in many parts bad; it is difficult to lead a horse along it. The closing of this road by snow depends on the Drās Pass, the condition of which is spoken of in the route next below.

ROUTE 12.—*From Sirinagar to Leh.*

(19 marches: 259 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Sirinagar	0	5235	
Gānderbal	1	5280	14
Kangan	2		12
Gūnd	3		14
Gagangīr	4		9
Sonamarg	5	8650	10
Bāltal	6		10
Matāyan	7		16
Drās	8	9825	15
Tashgām	9	9090	15
Chanegund	10	8675	18
Kargil	11	8787 (fort)	6
Carried forward			139

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Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Brought forward			139
Shargol	12	10,290	20
Kharbū	13	11,890	18
Lāmayūrū	14	11,520	16
Nurla	15		18
Sāspūl	16		17
Nimū	17		13
Pitak	18		13
Leh	19	11,500	5
			259

The first stage from Sirīnagar may be reached by boat.

Between Nos. 6 and 7 the Drās or Zojī Pass, 11,300 feet, is passed. Between Nos. 12 and 13, the Nāmika Pass, 13,000 feet, and between Nos. 13 and 14 the Fotū Pass, 13,400 feet, are crossed. The Indus River is crossed by a wooden bridge between stages 14 and 15.

The road is fit for laden ponies during the summer, but for four or five months from December the snow on the Drās Pass renders it impassable by any but men, and makes it difficult for them.

From stage 14 to stage 19 there is an alternative route thus:

	No.	Miles.
Lāmayūrū	14	
Khalsi	15	12
Timisgām	16	10
Tārutse	17	17
Nimū	18	10
Leh	19	18

ROUTE 13.—*From Sirīnagar to Kishtwār.*

(7 marches: 102 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Sirīnagar	0	5235	
Avāntipūr	1	5350	17
Islāmābād	2	5600	16
Wangām	3		17
Wankringi	4		9
Singpūr	5		16
Mughal Maidān	6	4140	16
Kishtwār	7	5450	11
			102

The first two stages may be done by boat.

Between Nos. 4 and 5 the Marbal Pass, 11,570 feet, is crossed. Between 6 and 7 two rivers (the Wardwan River and the Chināb) have

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to be crossed by rope bridges. Horses are made to swim across, but the passage is perilous for them. But for this danger the road would do for laden ponies. It is closed in the winter.

ROUTE 14.—*From Jummoo by Chanenī to Kishtwār.*

(11 marches: 139 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Jummoo	0	1200	
Dansāl	1	1840	17
Ūdampūr	2	2500	14
Ballī	3		7
Chanenī	4		14
Batotī	5		12
Asan	6		16
Kullen	7		15
Bheli	8		10
Jangalwār	9	4100	14
Kanani	10	3085	10
Kishtwār	11	5450	10
			139

Parts of this road are bad for horses. It is open all the year round.

ROUTE 15.—*From Jummoo by Bhadarwāh to Kishtwār.*

(11 marches: 129½ miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Jummoo	0	1200	
Tūtānwālī Kūī	1		9
Saroin Sar	2	1825	8
Chian	3		10
Rāmnagar	4	2700	15
Korta	5		13
Dūdar	6		14
Āsmās	7	9500	10
Bhadarwāh	8	5500	13
Jangalwār	9	4100	17½
Kanani	10	3685	10
Kishtwār	11	5450	10
			129½

Between Nos. 5 and 6 a ridge 8000 feet, and between Nos. 7 and 8 Seojī Pass, over 10,000 feet, are crossed.

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487 The road is difficult for ponies. It is closed by snow for three months.

From No. 9 to No. 11 the route coincides with Route 14, same numbers.

ROUTE 16.—*From Mádhopúr by Bhadarwáh to Kishtwár.*

(10 marches: 129½ miles.)

Mádhopúr is on the left bank of the Rávi, at the Bári Duáb Canal Head. It is 74 miles from Amritsar, with a good cart-road to that place.

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Mádhopúr	0		
Thein	1	.. ..	15
Basoli	2	.. ..	12
Pud	3	.. ..	13
Hartli	4	.. ..	16
Lohâng	5	.. ..	8
Camp	6	.. ..	16
Bhadarwáh	7	5300	14
Kishtwár (see Route 15, Nos. 9 to 11)	10	5450	37½
			129½

The Rávi River is crossed, by ford or by ferry, on the first march. Or by another route on left bank it is crossed at Basoli. Between 3 and 4 a ridge is crossed, and at 6 the Chatardhár Pass, 10,100 feet. The road is fit for Indian ponies.

ROUTE 17.—*From Chamba by Bhadarwáh to Kishtwár.*

(8 marches: 92½ miles.)

Chamba is in the narrow valley of the Rávi, on right bank; it is the residence of the Raja of the Hill principality of Chamba, who is under the British.

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Chamba	0	3033	
Manjere	1	.. ..	14
Digi or Kirah	2	.. ..	10
Prungal	3	.. ..	10
Camp	4	.. ..	9
Bhadarwáh	5	5300	12
Kishtwár (see Route 15, Nos. 9 to 11)	8	5450	37½
			92½

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ROUTE 18.—*From Kishtwár by Kargil to Leh.*

(23 marches: 306 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Kishtwár	0	5450	
Phalma	1		6
Khali	2		14
Sangur	3		16
Hanja	4		15
Petgám	5		13
Camp	6		11
Inshin	7		9
Sukhnes	8		15
Dumhal	9		9
Moskola	10		12
Camp	11		12
Suru	12		10
Sankho	13		18
Camp	14		13
Kargil	15	8787 (feet)	13
Leh (see Route 16, Nos. 13 to 19)	23	11500	120
			306

Between Nos. 10 and 11 we cross the Bhotkol Pass, 14,370 feet. At Kargil the route from Srinagar to Leh (Route 16) is joined.

From Kishtwár to Kargil the road is not fit for laden animals, but a horse can be led. The road is closed *for* about six months by the snow on the Bhotkol Pass.

ROUTE 19.—*From Kishtwár by Zanskár to Leh.*

(27 marches: 298 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Kishtwár	0	5450	
Bagul	1	6150	13
Piyás	2	6820	11
Sirí	3	8700	9½
Atholi	4	6800	14
Kundhel	5	7900	11
Machel	6	9700	11
Bujwás	7	11570	8½
Bugján Hiwás	8	13800	7
Gaurá	9		12
Ating	10	12000	16
Carried forward			113

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Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Brought forward			108
Sani	11	11,500	9
Padam (chief place of Zanskar)	12	11,370	9
Thondhe	13		9
Zanglā	14		12
Namtse	15	13,000	13
Pāngātse	16		10
Nirā	17	11,850	10
Yalchung	18	12,730	6
Phutāksa	19	13,900	16
Honupatta	20	12,400	12
Wanla	21	10,900	12
Lāmayūrū	22	11,520	6
Leh (see Route 11, Nos. 15 to 19)	27	11,500	66
			298

The following Passes are crossed:

Between stages	8 and 9, Umási La or Bardhár	..	17,370 feet.
"	14 " 15, Chelang Lobbe	..	14,850 "
"	16 " 17, Nirā Pass	..	16,000 "
"	18 " 19, Singhe Pass	..	16,600 "
"	19 " 20, a Pass	..	16,200 "
"	21 " 22, a Pass	..	12,300 "

The road is not fit for laden animals, and it would be difficult to lead a horse along it, but this has been done. It is open for four or five months of the year only.

Route 20.—*From Pālampūr in Kāngra by Kulu to Leh.*

(28 marches: 357 miles.)

361 [543] Pālampūr is a newly-founded town, about 4000 feet above the sea, in the centre of the Kāngra tea-district. A fair is there held each autumn, which was established to attract Yārkandī merchants from Leh by this route. In some years it has been attended by them, but, partly from irregularity in the arrival of the Yārkand caravan at Leh, and partly that this road is not open late in the year, the fair has not answered this purpose so well as was expected by its founders; still it remains a local fair of some importance.

Pālampūr is about 96 miles from Jālandhar, the nearest railway station; a cart-road joins the two places.

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Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Pālampūr	0		
Baijnāth	1		10
Dalu	2		12
Jutingri	3		14
Budwani	4		15
Karam	5		10
Sultānpūr (the chief place in Kulu)	6		10
Nagar	7		14
Jagat Suk	8		8
Pulchan	9		10
Rahla	10		12
Kok Sar	11	10,261	16
Sisu	12		11
Gandla	13		10
Kardong (Kailang)	14		12
Kulang	15		13
Darcha	16		10
Patsio	17		9
Zingzingbar	18		9
Kanunor Kilang	19		17
Sarchu	20		11
Sumdo	21		18
Sumkiel	22		15
Rukchin	23	15,000	18
Debring	24		12
Gyā	25	13,500	16
Māchalong	26		23
Chushot	27	10,500	12
Leh	28	11,500	10
			357

The following Passes are crossed:

Between stages 4 and 5, the Bubu Pass .. .. 10,000 feet.
" 10 " 11, the Rotang Pass.
" 18 " 19, the Bāra Lācha Pass .. 16,200 "
" 21 " 22, the Lāchalong Pass .. 16,600 "
" 24 " 25, the Toglung Pass .. 17,500 "

The Chināb River is crossed by bridge between 10 and 11, and the Indus between 27 and 28.

This road is fit for camels during the months it remains open; it is closed by snow for about seven months in the year.

It is not till between stage 10 and stage 11 that the road enters our maps. At stage 20 the road enters the Maharaja's territory.

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Route 21.—*From Simla by Wāngtū and Spitī to Leh.*

(34 marches: 430 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Simla	0		
Wāngtū	11		121
Dankar in Spitī	18	12,774	81
Kaja	19		16
Kiwar	20	13,400	12
Jughtha	21	16,000	12
Dutung	22	16,000	10
Umdung	23		17
Narbū Sumdo	24	15,300	20
Kyangdum (S. end of Tso-moriri Lake)	25	14,900	11
Karzok	26	14,900	13
Pūga	27		17
Camp	28		13
Thugjī	29	14,900	12
Debring	30		14
Gyā	31	13,500	16
Māchalong	32		28
Chushot	33		12
Leh	34	11,500	10
			430

This road enters our maps at stage 21. From there the Passes crossed are:

Between stages 21 and 22, the Pārang Pass .. .. 18,300 feet.
„ 26 „ 27, the Dabashi Pass .. about 16,500 „
„ 27 „ 28, the Folokonka Pass .. 16,300 „
„ 30 „ 32, the Toglung Pass .. .. 17,500 „

The first twenty-four marches are in British territory; afterwards the road lies in the Maharaja of Kashmir's territory. On account of the difficulty of the Pārang Pass it cannot be traversed by horses. For the same reason it is only open for a few months in the summer. The last four marches are the same as the last four of Route 20.

Route 22.—*From Leh by Chorbat to Skārdū.*

(16 marches: 209½ miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Leh	0	11,500	
Nimū	1		18
Tārutse	2		10
Timisgām	3		17
Carried forward			45

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
	Brought forward		45
Khalsī	4		10
Skirbichan	5		16
Goma Hanū	6		17
Camp	7		10
Piun	8		21
Dau	9		9
Sirmū	10		10
Khapalū	11		7½
Karkū	12		8
Kurū	13		16
Kiris	14		9
Narh	15		14
Skārdū	16	7440	17
			209½

The Chorbat Pass, 16,700 feet, is crossed between Nos. 7 and 8.

This is a summer route. In winter the valley of the Indus is followed, but the road is not so good.

ROUTE 23.—*From Leh by Kārākoram to Yārkand; summer route.*

(35 marches: 515 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Leh	0	11,500	
Camp	1	15,000	12
Khardong	2	13,500	15
Khartsar	3	10,430	12
Tigar	4	10,090	13
Pānimik	5		14
Chonglung	6	11,500	13
Tutiyalak	7	13,000	13
Sar-i-Hauz-i-Khoja	8	15,500	12
Brangsa Saser	9	15,400	9
Bulak-i-Murghai	10	15,100	22
Burtse	11	16,000	12
Kizil Angūr	12	16,700	11
Daulat Beguldi	13	17,200	18
Brangsa	14	16,500	23
Wahāb-jilgāh	15	16,000	19
Malikshāh	16	15,300	15
Chibrā	17	16,480	12
Suket	18	13,000	18
Shāhdūla	19	11,500	12
Yārkand	35	4,000	240
			515

The Passes crossed are:

Between stages 1 and 2, the Khardong Pass	..	17,500 feet.
" 8 " 9, the Saser Pass ..	..	17,500 "
" 13 " 14, the Kārākoram Pass	..	18,300 "
" 17 " 18, the Suket Pass ..	..	18,200 "
And afterwards the Sānjū Pass	..	16,760 "
And the Chuchu Pass	..	11,850 "

The Shayok River is crossed by boat between stages 3 and 4, or in certain seasons it may be forded a few miles above or below the ferry.

This road is traversed by laden ponies, but it is usual to have the aid of yāks to carry their loads over the Saser and the Sānjū Passes. The road keeps open for from four to five months in the year.

From stage 8 to stage 17 there is very little grass to be got, at some stages none at all; and at some fuel also is wanting. The latter part of the route is beyond the limit of our map.

ROUTE 24.—*From Leh by Kārākoram to Yārkand; winter route.**

(36 marches.)

Stage.	No.
Leh	0
Sabū	1
Digar	2
Agyām	3
Pakra	4
Chimchāk	5
Lāmakyent *or* Shāyok	6
Chungjangal	7
Dungyalāk	8
Mandarlik	9
Kutaklik	10
Sultān Chushkum]	11
Duhn-i-Mūrghī	12
Bulak-i-Mūrghī	13
Burtse	14
Kizil Angūr	15
Daulat Beguldī	16
Brangsa	17
Wahāb-jilgāh	18
Malikshāh	19
Kafalong	20
Jindbalghūn	21
Bukharuldī	22
Kirgiz-jangal	23
Yārkand	36

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* This is taken from the Panjāb Trade Report, 1862. I have not put in the distances there given, as they are not to be relied on. The information was from Muhammad Amin, who was familiar with the road and has doubtless given the stages correctly.

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From stage 13 to 19 this route coincides with stages 10 to 16 of Route 23. 487

The Passes crossed are:

Between stage 1 and stage 2, the Digar Pass.
" 16 " 17, the Kārākoram Pass, 18,300 feet.
Afterwards the Yangi Pass, and the Tup Diwān.

This road is fit for laden ponies; it is open from November till February. There are many places where grass and fuel are scant, and some where they are absolutely wanting. The latter part of the route is beyond the limit of our map.

ROUTE 25.—*From Leh by Chāngchenmo to Yārkand; western route.*

(40 marches: 610 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet	Miles from last stage.
Leh	0	11,500	
Tikse	1		13
Chimre	2		10
Zingrāl	3		11
Tsultak	4		12
Durgo	5		16
Tānktse	6	12,800	7
Camp	7		11
Lukung	8	14,066	11
Charkang	9	16,700	14
Gunle	10	16,140	13
Tsolu (near Pamzāl)	11	14,760	12
Gogrā	12	15,500	14
Camp	13	16,500	21
Camp	14	17,000	20
Sumdo	15	17,000	25
Shinglung	16	16,700	11
Kizil Jilgāh	17	16,500	14
Khushk Maidān	18	15,000	18
Shor Jilgāh	19	15,900	14
Kārtāgh Lake	20	16,900	17
Malikshāh	21	15,300	22
Shāhdūla (see Route 23, Nos. 17 to 19)	24	11,500	84
Yārkand	40	4,000	240
			610

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The Passes crossed are:

Between stages 3 and 4, the Chāng Pass	.. about	18,000 feet.
" 9 " 10, the Māsimik Pass	.. ..	18,200 "
" 13 " 14, a Pass	.. ..	18,000 "
" 16 " 17, the Kizil Pass	.. ..	17,800 "
" 19 " 20, the Kārātāgh Pass.		
Afterwards, the Suket Pass	.. ..	18,200 "
The Sānjū Pass	.. ..	16,700 "
And the Chuchu Pass	.. ..	11,830 "

This is the road indicated by Dr. Cayley and traversed by Mr. Forsyth's party on their return journey, in 1870. It is thought to be the easiest of the roads to Yārkand; it can be traversed by camels of the two-humped species; fuel and grass are wanting at two or three stages only. It would be closed in the winter.

ROUTE 26.—*From Leh by Chāngchenmo to Yārkand; Hayward's route.*
(36 marches: 546¼ miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Leh	0	11,500	
Gogra	12	13,500	131
Chonglung	13		17
Nischu	14		15
Lingzhithang	15		21
Burtse	16		10½
Kārāsū	17		10
Kizil Jilgah	18		14½
Khushk Maidān	19		16
Sher Jilgāh	20		10
Oglok	21		21
Wahābjilgāh	22		10
Aktāgh	23		15¼
Yārkand	36		255
			546¼

This road was found out and recommended by Mr. Hayward.

From Aktāgh to Yārkand either the summer or the winter route (Route 23 or Route 24) may be followed.

ROUTE 27.—*From Leh by Chāngchenmo to Yārkand; eastern route.*
(42 marches: 628 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Leh	0	11,500	
Gogra	12	13,500	131
Chonglung	13	16,700	17
Nischu	14	17,700	15
Lingzhithang	15	17,800	21
Carried forward			184

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Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
	Brought forward		204
Tsotbang	16	17,100	18
Lokzhung	17	17,200	16
Thaldat	18	16,300	13
Yangpā	19	16,200	30
E. Kārākāsh Valley	20	15,000	34
Shāhdūla	27	11,500	81
Yārkand	43	4,000	240
			636

This is the road over the great plateaus; it is the one that was taken by Adolphe Schlagintweit and imperfectly described by Muhammad Amin his guide (Panjāb Trade Report); afterwards Mr. Johnson traversed it on his way to Khutan and gave a detailed Itinerary (Journal R. Geographical Society, 1867). The details of distances and heights here given, for as far as the E. Kārākāsh Valley, are from my own observation.

A diversion from or loop in this route was made by Dr. Cayley; this also I have traversed. The distances and heights are as follows:

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Thaldat	18	16,300	
Paisālung	19	16,400	20
Camp	20	[illegible]	[illegible]
E. Kārākāsh Valley	21	15,000	12

ROUTE 28.—*From Leh to Gar.*

(20 marches: 254 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Height above the sea in feet.	Miles from last stage.
Leh	0	11,500	
Chushot	1		10
Māchalung	2		12
Gyā	3	13,500	23
Debring	4		16
Thugjī	5	14,900	14
Camp	6		12
Pūgā	7		18
Maiya	8		13
Nimā	9		13
Camp	10		17
Camp	11		17
Dora	13	13,800	10
Tashigung	17		25
Gar	20		30
			254

This is Lower Gar, the winter station.

487 ROUTE 29.—*From Pâlampûr by Chângchenmo to Yârkand, avoiding Leh.*

(65 marches: 923 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Miles from last stage.
Pâlampûr	0	
Mâchalong (see Route 20)	26	335
Chimre..	27	7
Shâhdûla (see Route 22)	49	341
Yârkand	65	240
		923

Either this route or the same with a deviation to the eastward was intended as the trade-route provided for in the Commercial Treaty between the Governor-General and the Maharaja, which is given in Appendix V.

ROUTE 30.—*From Pâlampûr by Kârâkoram to Yârkand, avoiding Leh.*

(62 marches: 870 miles.)

Stage.	No.	Miles from last stage.
Pâlampûr	0	
Mâchalong (see Route 29)	26	335
Chimre	27	7
Tagnak	28	10
Tainyâr	29	20
Taitî	30	20
Tigur	[illegible]	[illegible]
Shâhdûla (see Route 29) ..	46	228
Yârkand	62	240
		870

This might be used as an alternative to the last if it were advisable to go by Kârâkoram rather than by Chângchenmo. Between Nos. 28 and 29 the Waris Lâ is crossed, an easy Pass, 17,200 feet high, which is now fit for laden ponies and might easily be made fit for camels: it is closed by snow for three months. The distance between Tagnak and Taitî (40 miles) can also conveniently be divided into three marches of 13 or 14 miles each.

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APPENDIX V.

TREATIES.

[*Nos.* 1 *and* 2 *are extracted from Aitchison's Collection of Treaties*, 1862, *Vol. II., Calcutta. No.* 3 *is from the Punjab Government Gazette, of* 26*th May*, 1870.]

1. Extracts from the Treaty between the British Government and the State of Lahore, which was at the time nominally under Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, really governed by the Durbar or Council of Ministers.

* * * * * * * *

Done at Lahore, 9th March, 1846, and ratified on the same day.

Article III.—The Maharaja cedes to the Honorable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories and rights in the Doab or country, hill and plain, situated between the Rivers Beeas and Sutlej.

Article IV.—The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the War, in addition to the cession of territory described in Art. III., payment of one and half crore of Rupees, and the Lahore Government, being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment, the Maharaja cedes to the Hon'ble Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of Rupees, all his forts, territories, rights and interests in the hill countries, which are situated between the Rivers Beeas and Indus, including the Provinces of Cashmere and Hazarah.

Article XII.—In consideration of the services rendered by Rajah Golab Singh, *of Jummoo*, to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments, the Maharaja hereby agrees to recognize the Independent Sovereignty of Rajah Golab Singh in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Rajah Golab Singh, by separate agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Maharaja's possession since the time of the

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late Maharaja Khurruck Singh, and the British Government, in consideration of the good conduct of Rajah Golab Singh, also agrees to recognize his independence in such territories, and to admit him to the privileges of a separate Treaty with the British Government.

Article XIII.—In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore State and Rajah Golab Singh, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, and by its decision the Maharaja engages to abide.

(Signed) H. HARDINGE.
MAHARAJAH DHULEEP SINGH.
And by SEVEN MINISTERS.

2. TREATY between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and MAHARAJA GOLAB SINGH OF JUMMOO.

Done at Umritsur, 16th March, 1846.

Article I.—The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharajah Golab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, situated to the eastward of the River Indus and westward of the River Ravee, including Chumba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV. of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

Article II.—The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharaja Golab Singh shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Golab Singh respectively for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article III.—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provision of the foregoing Articles, Maharajah Golab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article IV.—The limits of the territories of Maharaja Golab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article V.—Maharajah Golab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between

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himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article VI.—Maharajah Golab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article VII.—Maharajah Golab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article VIII.—Maharaja Golab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V., VI., and VII. of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.*

Article IX.—The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah Golab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article X.—Maharajah Golab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pair of Cashmere shawls.

(Signed) H. HARDINGE.

(Signed) F. CURRIE.
H. M. LAWRENCE.

By order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India.

(Signed) F. CURRIE,
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

3. COMMERCIAL TREATY between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and the MAHARAJA of KASHMIR, made in 1870; with the Rules for the guidance of the Joint Commissioners appointed under it.

Treaty between the British Government and His Highness Runbeer Sing, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Jummoo and Cashmere, his heirs and successors, executed on the one part by Thomas Douglas Forsyth, C.B., in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of

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* Referring to Jágirdárs, arrears of revenue, and the property in the forts that are to be transferred.

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64/8 Monycrower, Baron Naas of Naas, K.P., G.M.S.I., P.C., &c., &c., &c., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and on the other part by His Highness Maharaja Runbeer Sing, aforesaid, in person.

WHEREAS, in the interest of the high contracting parties and their respective subjects, it is deemed desirable to afford greater facilities than at present exist for the development and security of trade with Central Asia, the following Articles have, with this object, been agreed upon:

Article I.—With the consent of the Maharaja, officers of the British Government will be appointed to survey the trade-routes through the Maharaja's territories from the British frontier of Lahoul to the territories of the Ruler of Yarkund, including the route *viâ* the Changchenmo Valley. The Maharaja will depute an officer of his Government to accompany the surveyors, and will render them all the assistance in his power. A map of the routes surveyed will be made, an attested copy of which will be given to the Maharaja.

Article II.—Whichever route towards the Changchenmo Valley shall, after examination and survey as above, be declared by the British Government to be the best suited for the development of trade with Central Asia, shall be declared by the Maharaja to be a free highway in perpetuity and at all times for all travellers and traders.

Article III.—For the supervision and maintenance of the road in its entire length through the Maharaja's territories, the regulation of traffic on the free highway described in Article II., the enforcement of regulations that may hereafter be agreed upon, and the settlement of disputes between carriers, traders, travellers or others using that road, in which either of the parties or both of them are subjects of the British Government or of any foreign State, two Commissioners shall be annually appointed, one by the British Government and one by the Maharaja. In the discharge of their duties, and as regards the period of their residence, the Commissioners shall be guided by such rules as are now separately framed and may from time to time hereafter be laid down by the joint authority of the British Government and the Maharaja.

Article IV.—The jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be defined by a line on each side of the road at a maximum width of two statute kos, except where it may be deemed by the Commissioners necessary to include a wider extent for grazing grounds. Within this maximum width, the surveyors appointed under Article I. shall demarcate and map the limits of jurisdiction which may be decided by the Commissioners as most suitable, including grazing grounds; and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall not extend beyond the limits so demarcated.

The land included within these limits shall remain in the Maharaja's independent possession; and, subject to the stipulations contained in this treaty, the Maharaja shall continue to possess the same rights of full sovereignty therein as in any other part of his territories, which rights shall not be interfered with in any way by the Joint Commissioners.

Article V.—The Maharaja agrees to give all possible assistance in enforcing the decisions of the Commissioners, and in preventing the breach or evasion of the Regulations established under Article III.

Article VI.—The Maharaja agrees that any person, whether a subject of the British Government, or of the Maharaja, or of the Ruler of Yarkand, or of any foreign State, may settle at any place within the jurisdiction of the Joint Commissioners, and may provide, keep, and maintain, and let for hire at different stages, the means of carriage and transport for the purposes of trade.

Article VII.—The two Commissioners shall be empowered to establish supply depôts, and to authorise other persons to establish supply depôts at such places on the road as may appear to them suitable; to fix the rates at which provisions shall be sold to traders, carriers, settlers, and others, and to fix the rent to be charged for the use of any rest-houses or serais that may be established on the road. The officers of the British Government in Kullu, &c., and the officers of the Maharaja in Ladakh, shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply provisions on the indent of the Commissioners at market rates.

Article VIII.—The Maharaja agrees to levy no transit duty whatever on the aforesaid highway; and the Maharaja further agrees to abolish all transit duties levied within his territories on goods transmitted in bond through His Highness' territories from Central Asia to India, and vice versâ, on which bulk may not be broken within the territories of His Highness. On goods imported into, or exported from, His Highness' territory, whether by the aforesaid free highway or by any other route, the Maharaja may levy such import or export duties as he may think fit.

Article IX.—The British Government agree to levy no duty on goods transmitted in bond through British India to Central Asia, or to the territories of His Highness the Maharaja. The British Government further agrees to abolish the export duties now levied on shawls and other textile fabrics manufactured in the territories of the Maharaja, and exported to countries beyond the limits of British India.

Article X.—This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, has this day been concluded by Thomas Douglas Forsyth, C.B., in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of Monycrower, Baron Naas of Naas, K.P., G.M.S.I., P.C., &c., &c., Viceroy and

698 Governor-General of India, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Runbeer Sing, aforesaid; and it is agreed that a copy of this Treaty, duly ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, shall be delivered to the Maharaja on or before the 7th September, 1870.

Signed, sealed, and exchanged on the second day of May in the year 1870 A.D., corresponding with the first day of Bysak Soodee Sumbut 1927.

(Signed) MAHARAJA RUNBEER SING.
(Signed) T. D. FORSYTH.
MAJR. (Seal).

This Treaty was ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Sealkote on the second day of May in the year 1870.

(Signed) C. U. AITCHISON,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.

The following Rules for the guidance of the Joint Commissioners appointed under Article III. of the above Treaty are published for general information:

Rules for the guidance of the *Joint Commissioners* appointed for the new route to Eastern Turkistan.

I. As it is impossible, owing to the character of the climate, to retain the Commissioners throughout the year, the period during which they shall exercise their authority shall be taken to commence on 15th May and to end on 1st December, or till such further time as the passage of traders render their residence on the road necessary.

II. During the absence of either Commissioner, cases may be heard and decided by the other Commissioner, subject to appeal to the *Joint Commissioners*.

III. In the months when the *Joint Commissioners* are absent—i. e. between 1st December and 15th May—or the dates that may hereafter be determined, all cases which may arise shall be decided by the Wuzeer of Ladakh, subject to appeal to the *Joint Commissioners*.

IV. The *Joint Commissioners* shall not interfere in cases other than those which affect the development, freedom, and safety of the trade, and the objects for which the Treaty is concluded, and in which one of the parties or both are either British subjects, or subjects of a foreign State.

V. In civil disputes the Commissioners shall have power to dispose of all cases, whatever be the value of the property in litigation.

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VI. When the Commissioners agree their decision shall be final in all cases. When they are unable to agree the parties shall have the right of nominating a single arbitrator, and shall bind themselves in writing to abide by his award. Should the parties not be able to agree upon a single arbitrator, each party shall name one, and the two Commissioners shall name a third, and the decision of the majority of the arbitrators shall be final.

VII. In criminal cases of the kind referred to in Clause IV., the powers of the Commissioners shall be limited to offences such as in British territory would be tried by a subordinate magistrate of the first Class, and as far as possible, the procedure of the Criminal Procedure Code shall be followed. Cases of a more heinous kind, and of offences against the special laws regarding religion in Cashmere, should be made over to the Maharaja for trial if the accused be not a European British subject; in the latter case, he should be forwarded to the nearest British Court of competent jurisdiction for trial.

VIII. All fines levied in criminal cases and all stamp receipts levied according to the rates in force for civil suits in the Maharaja's dominions shall be credited to the Cashmere Treasury. Persons sentenced to imprisonment shall, if British subjects, be sent to the nearest British jail. If not British subjects, the offenders shall be made over for imprisonment in the Maharaja's jails.

IX. If any places come within the line of road from which the towns of Leh, &c., are supplied with fuel, or wood for building purposes, the Joint Commissioners shall so arrange with the Wuzeer of Ladakh that these supplies are not interfered with.

X. Whatever transactions take place within the limits of the road shall be considered to refer to goods in bond. If a trader opens his bond and disposes of a portion, he shall not be subject to any duty, so long as the goods are not taken for consumption into the Maharaja's territory across the line of road. And goods left for any length of time in the line of road subject to the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be free.

XI. Where a village lies within the jurisdiction of the Joint Commissioners, there, as regards the collection of revenue, or in any case where there is necessity for the interference of the usual Revenue authorities, in matters having no connection with trade, the Joint Commissioners have no power whatever to interfere; but, to prevent misunderstanding, it is advisable that the Revenue officials should first communicate with the Joint Commissioners before proceeding to take action against any person within their jurisdiction. The Joint Commissioners can then exercise their discretion to deliver up the person sought, or to make a summary inquiry to ascertain whether their interference is necessary or not.

XII. The Maharaja agrees to give Rs. 5000 this year for the construction of the road and bridges, and in future years His Highness agrees to give Rs. 2000 per annum for the maintenance of the road and bridges.

Similarly, for the repairs of serais, a sum of Rs. 100 per annum for each serai will be given.

Should further expenditure be necessary, the Joint Commissioners will submit a special report to the Maharaja, and ask for a specific grant. This money will be expended by the Joint Commissioners, who will employ free labour at market rates for this purpose. The officers in Ladakh and in British territory shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply labourers on the indent of the Commissioners at market rates. No tolls shall be levied on the bridges on this line of road.

XIII. As a temporary arrangement, and until the line of road has been demarcated, or till the end of this year, the Joint Commissioners shall exercise the powers described in these Rules over the several roads taken by the traders through Ladakh from Lahoul and Spiti.

(Signed) Maharaja Runbeer Sing.

(Signed) T. D. Forsyth.

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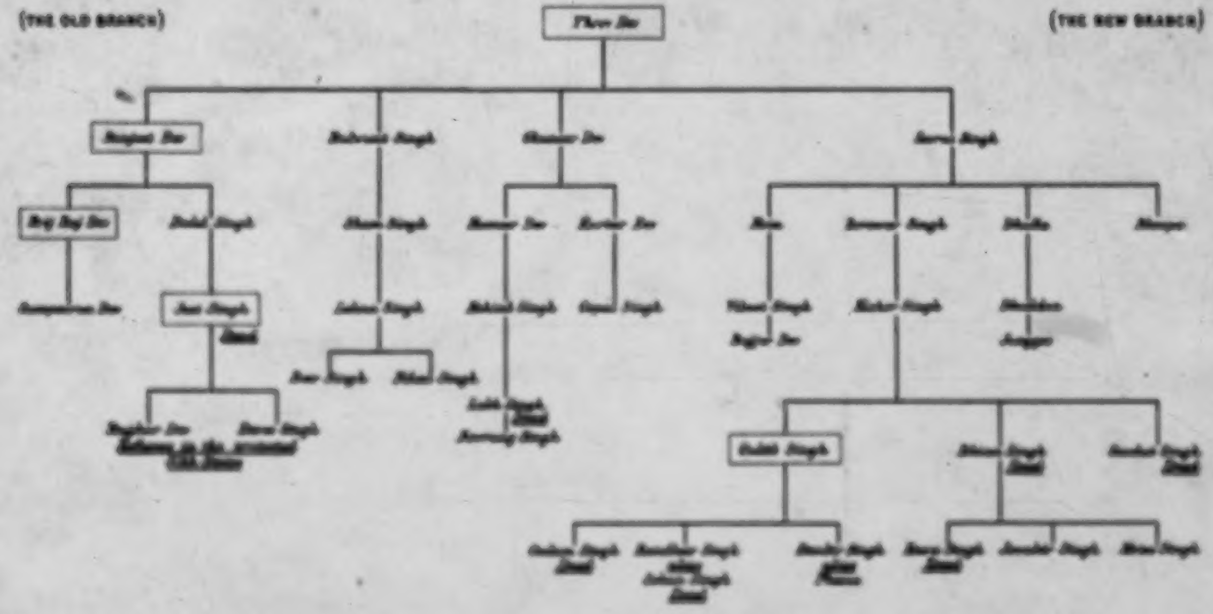
APPENDIX VI

GENEALOGY OF THE RAJAS OF JUMMOO

Extracted from Cunningham's History of the Sikhs.


(THE OLD BRANCH)
(THE NEW BRANCH)
Ranjit Dev
Balwant Singh
Ghansar Dev
Surat Singh
Zorawar Singh
Kishore Singh
Gulab Singh
Dhian Singh
Suchet Singh
Died
Refugees in the protected Sikh States
Ranbir Singh
Hira Singh
Jawahir Singh
Moti Singh

The genealogy is thus brought down by Cunningham to the time when he wrote, the year 1846; since then the following changes have taken place in the New branch (the other being quite out of sight): Gulab Singh died 1857 and was succeeded by his youngest and only surviving legitimate son Ranbir Singh, the present Maharaja. Maharaja Ranbir Singh has three sons, Partab Singh, Ram Singh, and Amar Singh. Of Dhian Singh's sons, the youngest, Raja Moti Singh of Punch, only survives.

[Facing p. 552]

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APPENDIX VII.

Statistical Tables extracted and translated from the Administration Report of Jummoo and Kashmir for the year 1873, which was prepared, in accordance with the Command of H.H. The Maharaja, by Diwán Kirpá Rám.

TABLE I.

Census of the Jummoo and Kashmir Territories for 1873 A.D.

	Hindús.			Musalmans.			Sundry Castes.			Buddhists.			Total.		
	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.
Jummoo Districts	223,122	214,152	437,274	174,271	163,275	337,546	43,762	42,515	86,277	..	..	..	441,155	419,942	861,097
Kashmir	30,719	22,418	53,137	216,454	211,034	427,488	1,734	1,472	3,206	..	..	..	248,907	234,924	483,831
Ladákh, Skárdú, and Gilgit ..	2,565	5	2,570	41,347	39,715	81,062	..	..	..	10,764	9,470	20,234	55,277	49,186	104,462
Punch	3,016	2,718	5,734	39,026	32,916	71,942	..	..	..	..	..	..	42,042	35,634	77,676
Total	257,418	239,281	496,699	471,096	446,940	918,036	45,496	43,987	89,483	10,764	9,470	20,234	785,394	739,578	1,524,972

Note.—Ladies of rank, parda-nishin (i.e. *those who live in close retirement*), have not been counted.

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TABLE II.

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Detail of the Census of the Jummoo Districts for 1873.

	Hindús.	Muhammadans.	Other Castes.	Total.
Jummoo City	28,381	11,804	1,632	41,817
Jummoo District	77,962	60,019	25,029	163,010
Jasrota "	56,279	10,243	6,802	73,324
Mirpur "	72,298	102,890	7,816	183,004
Naushahra "	19,794	89,164	2,930	111,888
Riási "	54,350	23,433	20,222	98,005
Udampúr "	53,729	30,034	14,427	98,190
Rámnagar "	63,373	7,845	8,559	79,777
Total	427,276	337,344	86,237	861,073

TABLE III.

Detail of the Census of Kashmir for 1873.

Srinagar City	132,681
Town of Pampúr	2,093
" Bij Bihára	2,208
" Islámábád	5,026
" Shupeyan	2,323
" Sopúr	3,973
" Báramúla	4,444
District of Srinagar	60,731
" Islámábád	69,203
" Shupeyan	32,169
" Patan	30,094
" Kámráj	70,029
" Muzaffarábád	70,327
Total	491,846

Of the 132,681 inhabitants of Srinagar, 39,727 are Hindús, 92,766 are Muhammadans, and 178 are put down as belonging to other castes.

TABLE IV.

Detail of the Census of the Outlying Governorships for 1873.

	Hindús.			Muhammadans.			Buddhists.			Total.		
	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.
Ladákh	107	..	107	318	45	[illegible]	[illegible]	9,479	[illegible]	[illegible]	9,512	[illegible]
Iskardo, Rondu, Kartaksh, Shigar, and Kharmang ..	462	..	462	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Gilgit	1,207	2	1,214	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	9,479	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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TABLE V.

Value of the Imports and Exports of the different parts of the Territories in the Year 1872.

The value is given in pounds sterling, rupees in the original having been converted at the rate of 10 per pound sterling.

	Subject to Duty.			Free of Duty.			Total.			Compared with last Year.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	Increase.	Decrease.
Jummoo Districts	312,497	184,605	497,102	75,370	..	75,370	387,867	184,605	572,472	9,959	..
Kashmir	85,763	173,126	258,889	124,471	..	124,471	210,234	173,126	383,360	..	94,593
Punch..	33,700	13,600	47,300	..	..	..	33,700	13,600	47,300	Not entered last year.	
Ladákh.	..	..	..	95,190	82,497	177,687	95,190	82,497	177,687	78,757	..
Total..	431,960	348,470	743,130	290,030	82,497	377,527	686,969	433,967	1,119,867	88,716	94,593

Grand total of value of Imports and Exports for this year, 1873 .. .. £1,119,857

Decrease as compared with last year 5,877

The decrease under the head of Kashmir is due to a falling off in the shawl trade to the extent of 40,000*l*. in shawls exported, and about an equal deficiency in cash, which would have been imported to pay for them.

N.B.—Goods that have once been entered in the imports are not, on going to another division of the territories, again entered either as exports or imports. An exception, however, occurs for Ladákh, where the same article is counted both in the exports and imports of that country.

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[*For an Account of the special diacritical Marks here used, see Preface and page* 503].

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102.

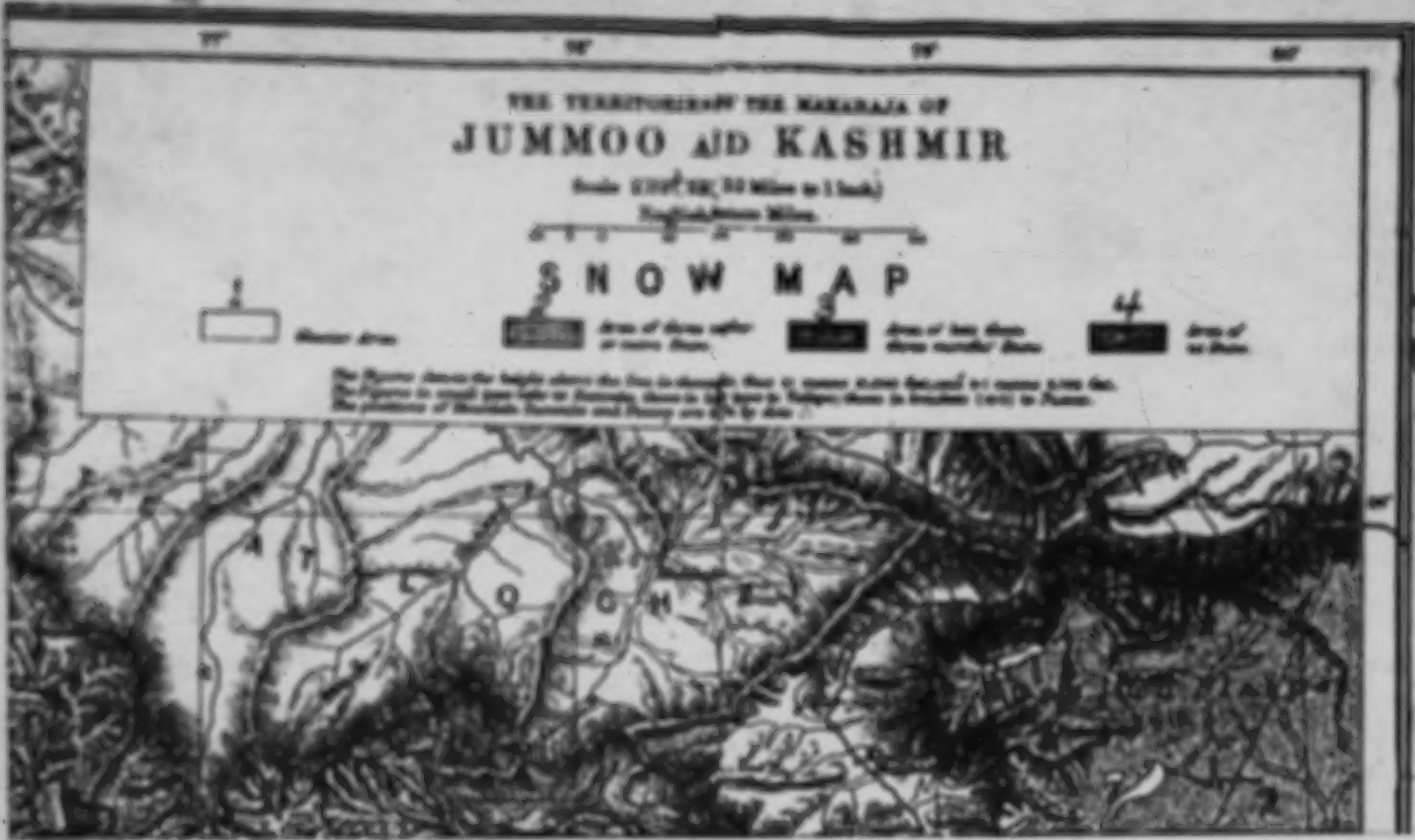
CHINESE
EMPIRE
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY OF
BENGAL
INDIA

END MAP I

[illegible]

102

END MAP II-A


77°
78°
79°
80°
THE TERRITORIES OF THE MAHARAJA OF
JUMMOO AND KASHMIR
Scale [illegible] (32 Miles to 1 Inch)
English Statute Miles
SNOW MAP
1
2
3
4

G-1 SNOW MAP END

102

3, Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

102

END MAP I-2

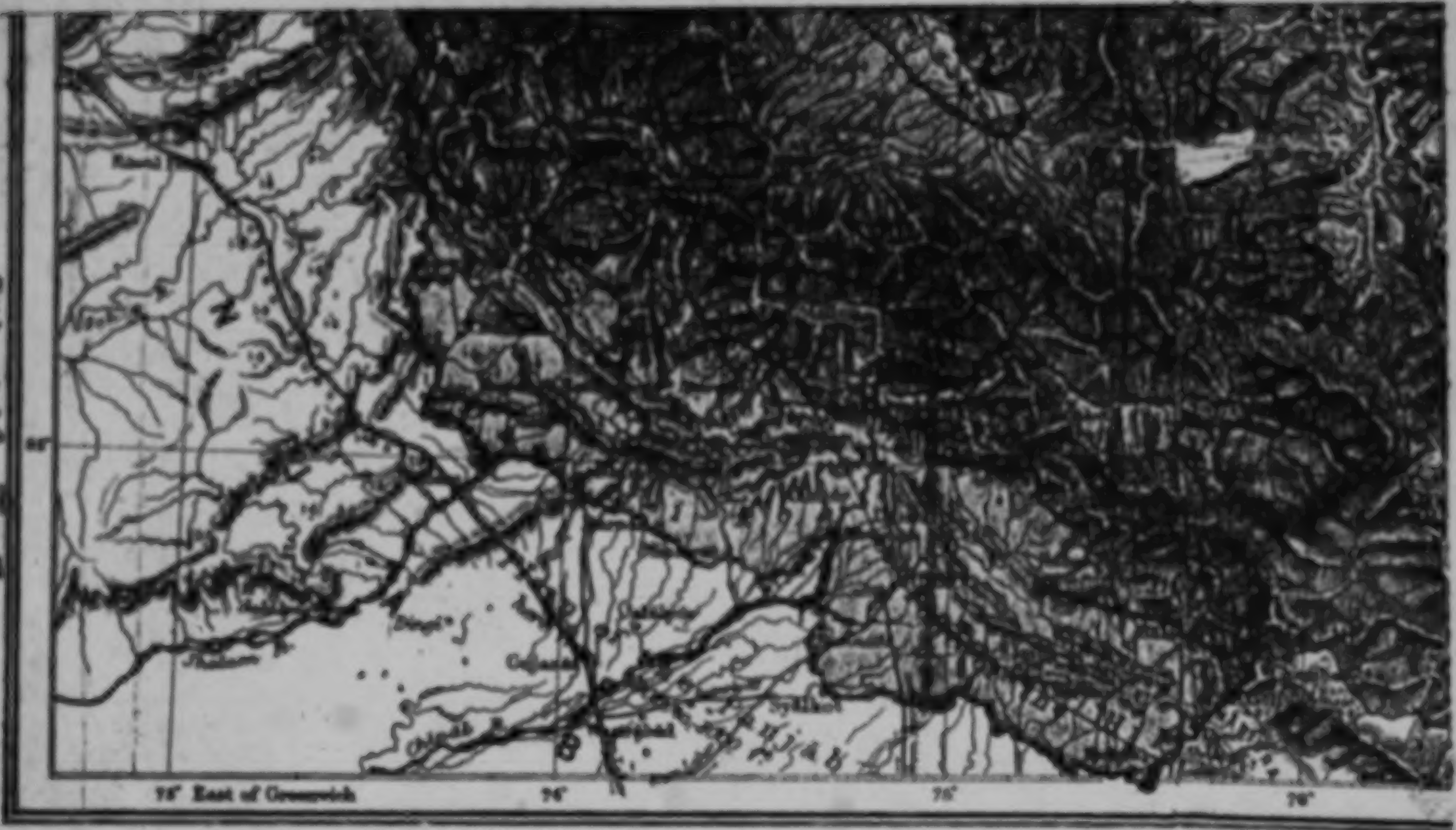
1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

102

END MAP II-D

102

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI


73° East of Greenwich
74°
75°
76°

END MAP II-F

3a Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 / AVI Kashmir AVI

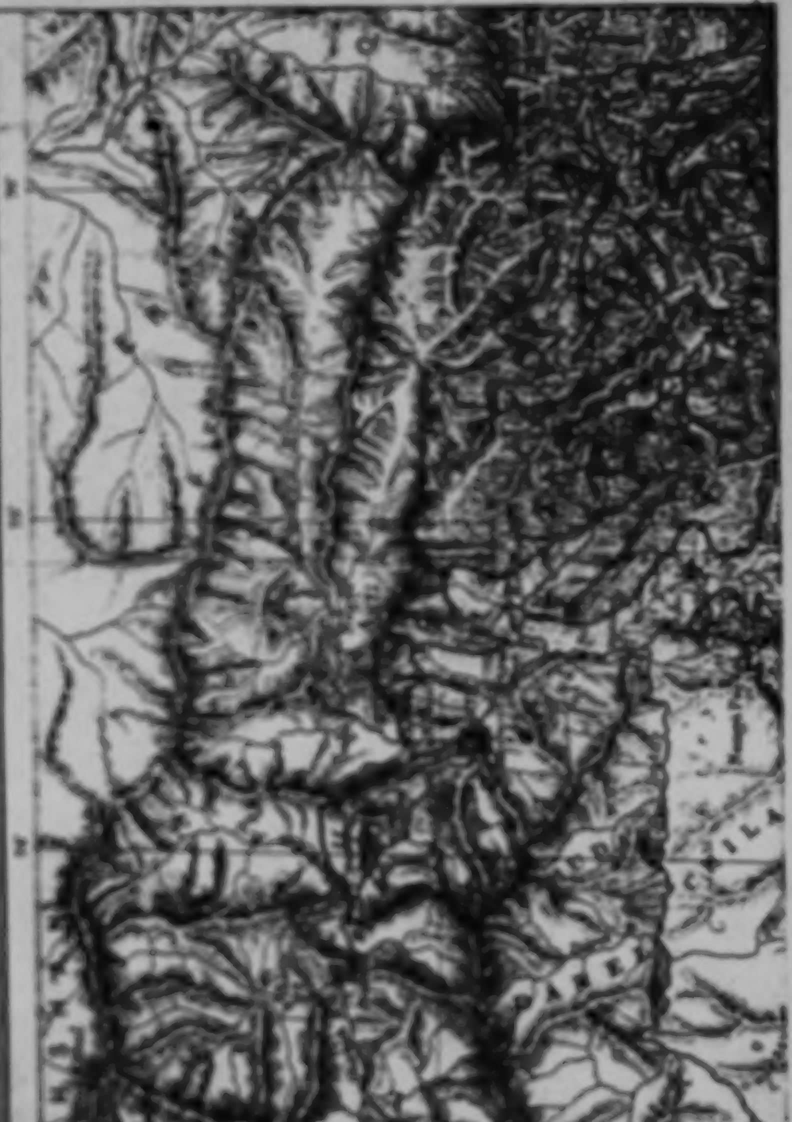
B
77°
78°
79°
35°
Gar
R. Indus

Stanford's Geog^l Estab^t, 55, Charing Cross.

END MAP I-E

1s Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

102



Map to Illustrate Mr Drew's Work
"Jummoo and Kashmir Territories"

END MAP II-A

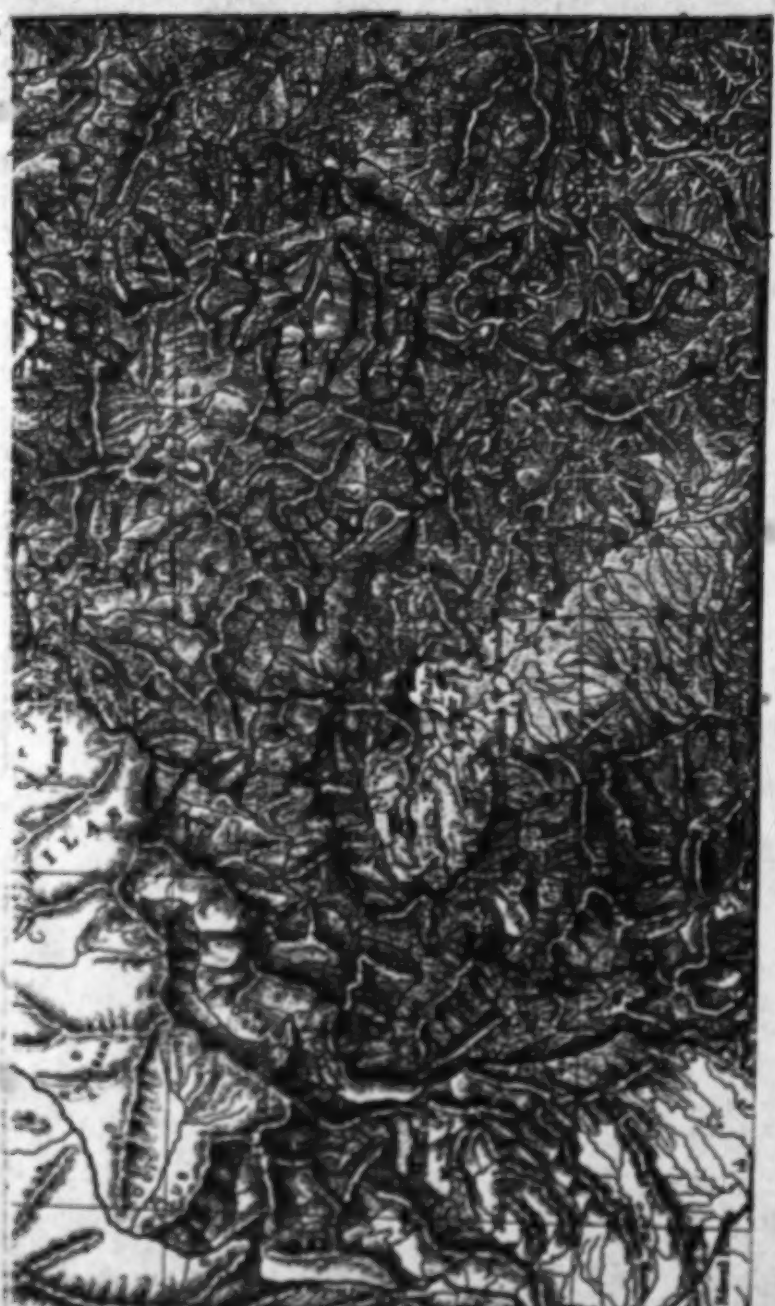
THE TERRITORIES OF THE MAHARAJA OF
JUMMOO AND KASHMIR
English Statute Miles
RACE MAP
1
2 Ladakhi
3
4 Dard
5 Kashmiri
6 Pahari
7 Chibhali
8 Dogra
9
77°
78°
79°
80°

Drew G-3 [illegible]

G-III map end
]]>

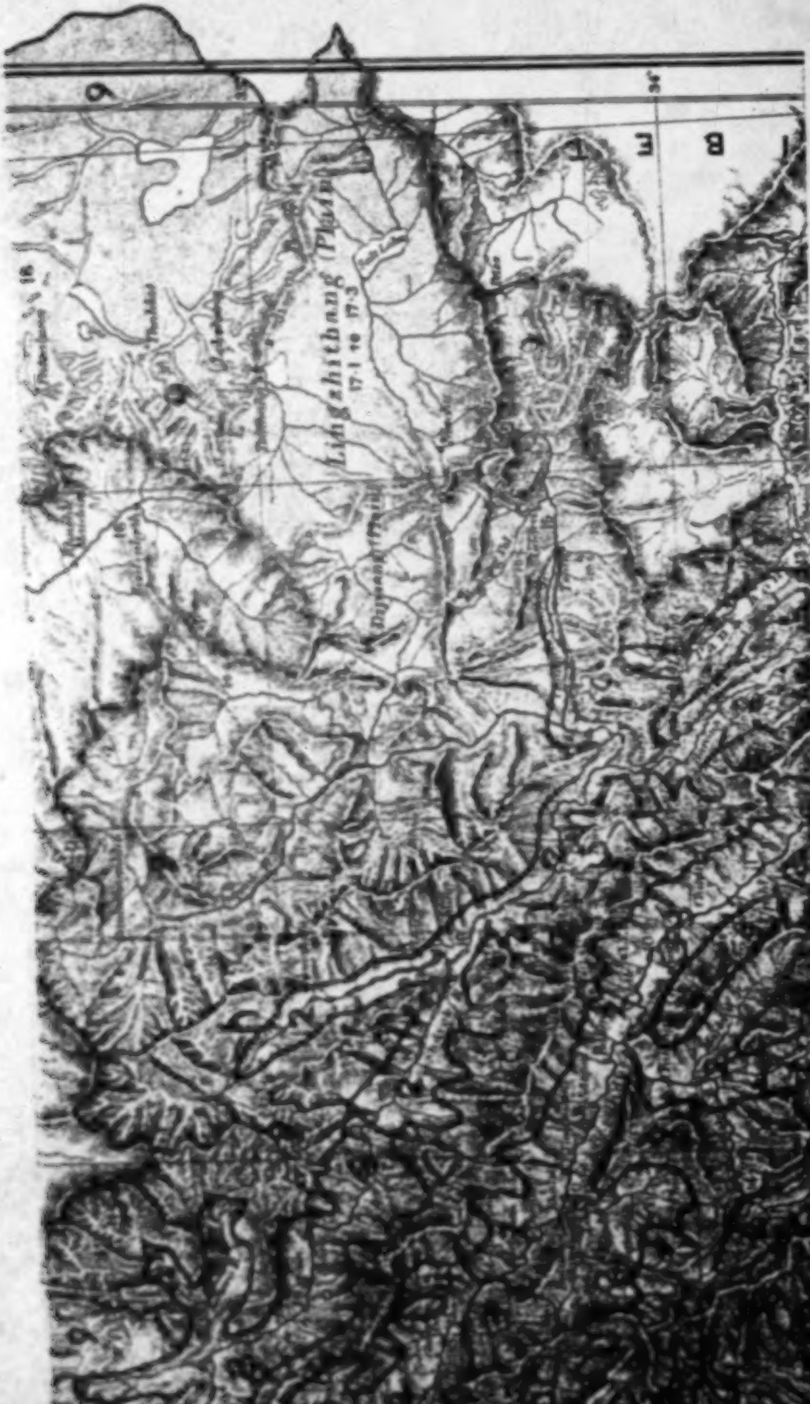
1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AV/

102

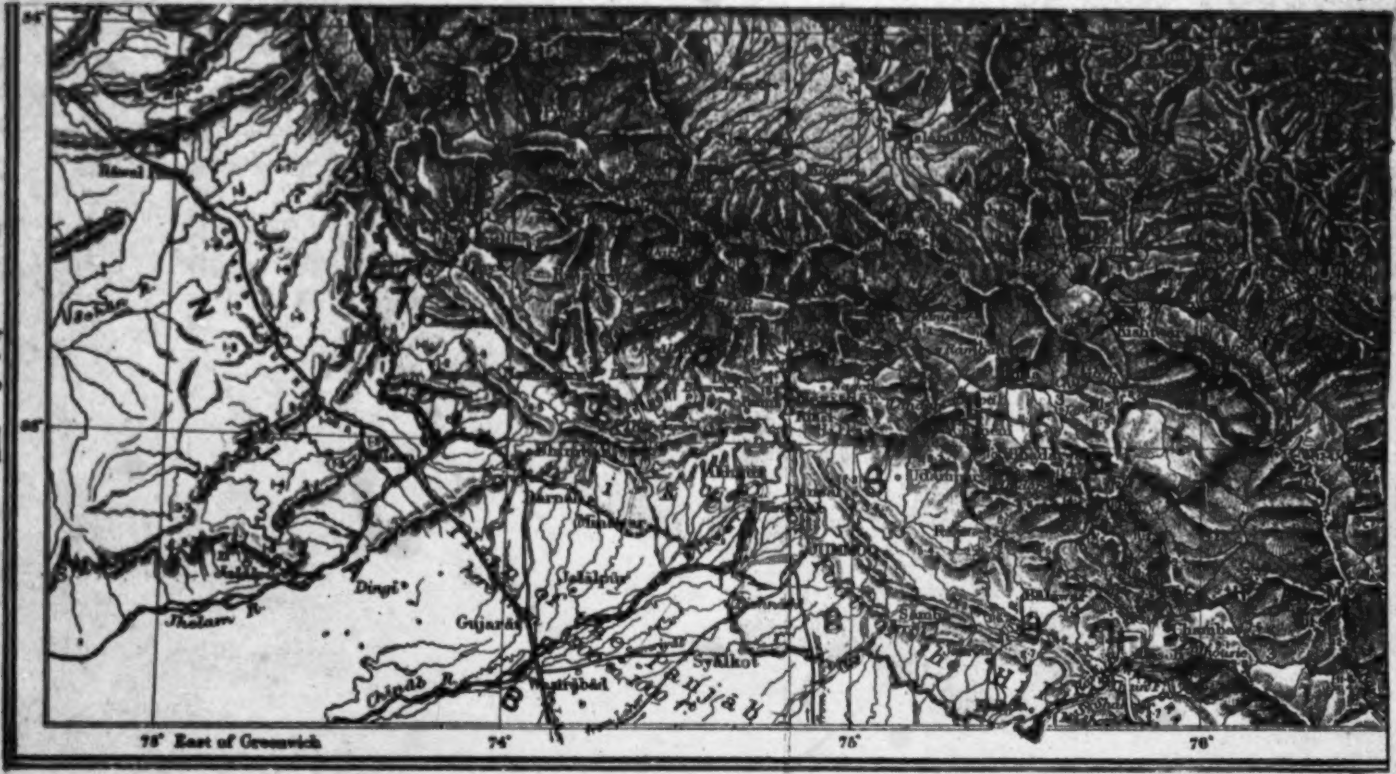


END MAP II-C

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AV/


9
E
B
34°
Lingzhithang (Plain)
17·1 to 17·3
Dipsang (Plain)

102


Jhelam R.
Dingi
Gujarāt
Chināb R.
Wazirābād
Syālkot
Jalālpur
Bhimbar
Udhampur
Rāmban
Sāmba
Chamba
Dalhousie
Panjāb
73° East of Greenwich
74°
75°
76°

END MAP III-E

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

77°
78°
79°
Gar
R. Indus
B

END MAP III-F

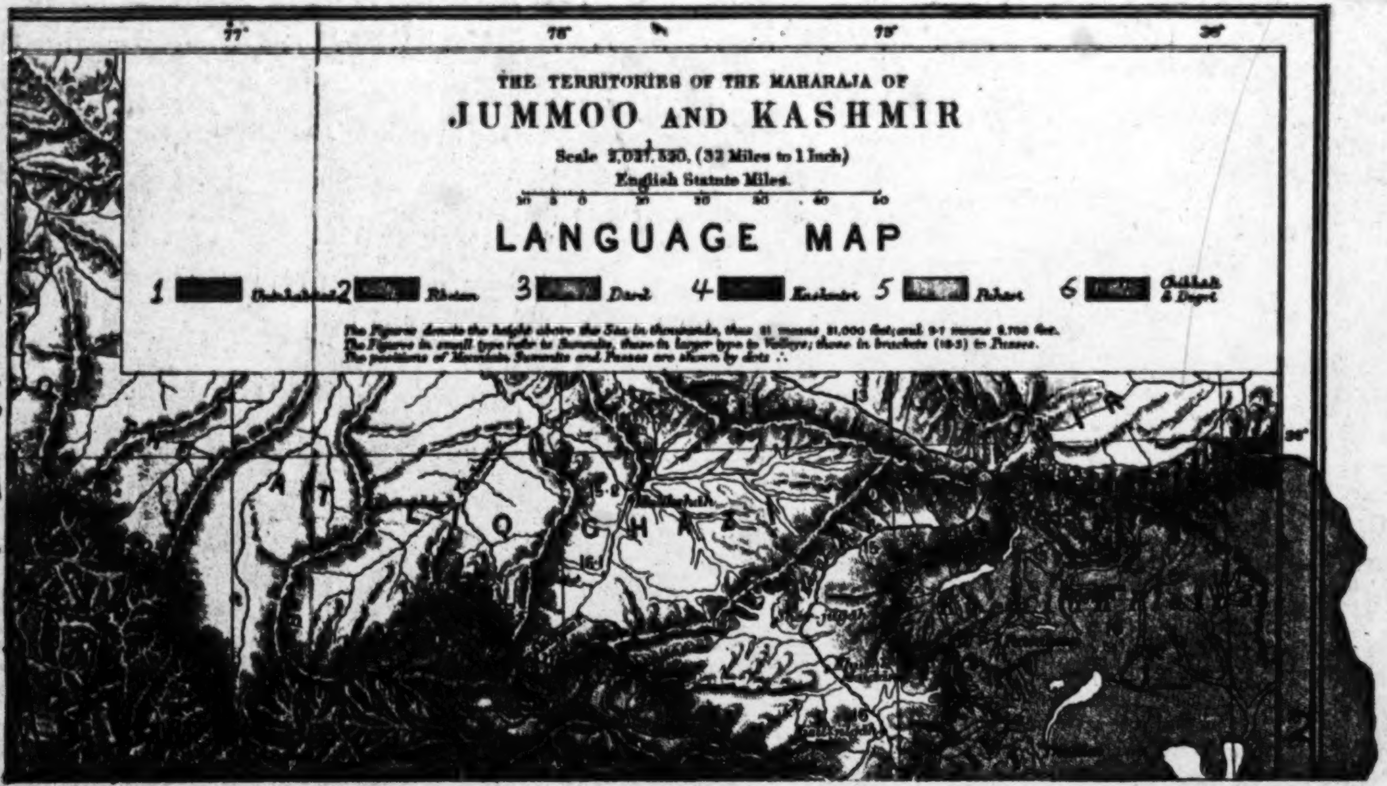
1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

102

BADAKHSHAN
Mastuj
73°
74°
75°
76°
36°
Nanga Par
CHILAS
DAREL

END MAP IV-A

102


77°
78°
79°
80°
36°
THE TERRITORIES OF THE MAHARAJA OF
JUMMOO AND KASHMIR
Scale 1/2,027,520, (32 Miles to 1 Inch)
English Statute Miles.
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50
LANGUAGE MAP
1 [illegible]
2 Bhotan
3 Dard
4 Kashmiri
5 Pahari
6 Chibhali & Dogri
The Figures denote the height above the Sea in thousands, thus 21 means 21,000 feet; and 9·7 means 9,700 feet.
The Figures in small type refer to Summits, those in larger type to Valleys; those in brackets (18·3) to Passes.
The positions of Mountain Summits and Passes are shown by dots ∴
A T
L
Q
G H A Z
15·8
16
16

END MAP III-B

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

1, Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

102

END MAP IV-C

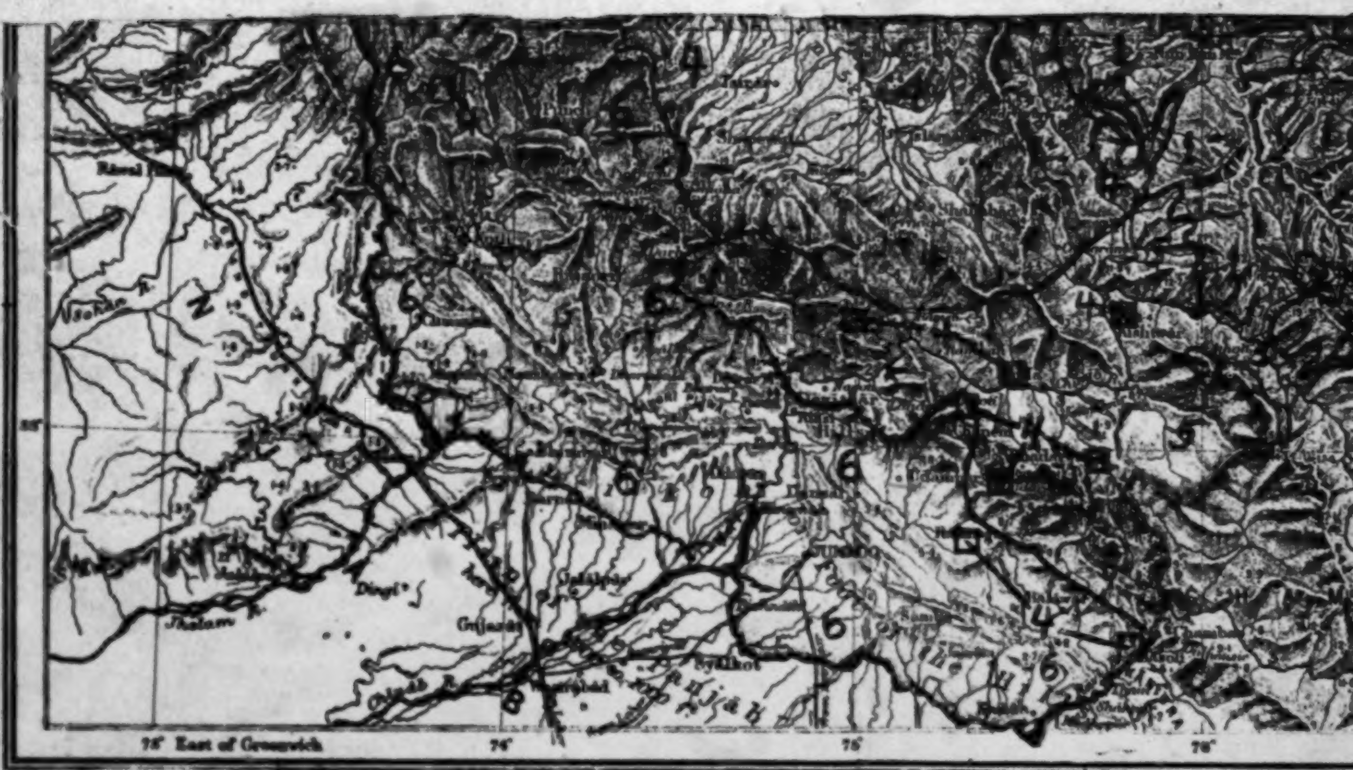
13 Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

102

B
E
Lingshithang (Plain)
17·1 to 17·3

END MAP IV-D

END MAP II-E


Rawal P.
Nookan R.
Jhelum R.
Dingi
Gujranwala
Sialkot
73° East of Greenwich
74°
75°
76°

[illegible] G-3 ([illegible]) 1876 AVI [illegible] AVI

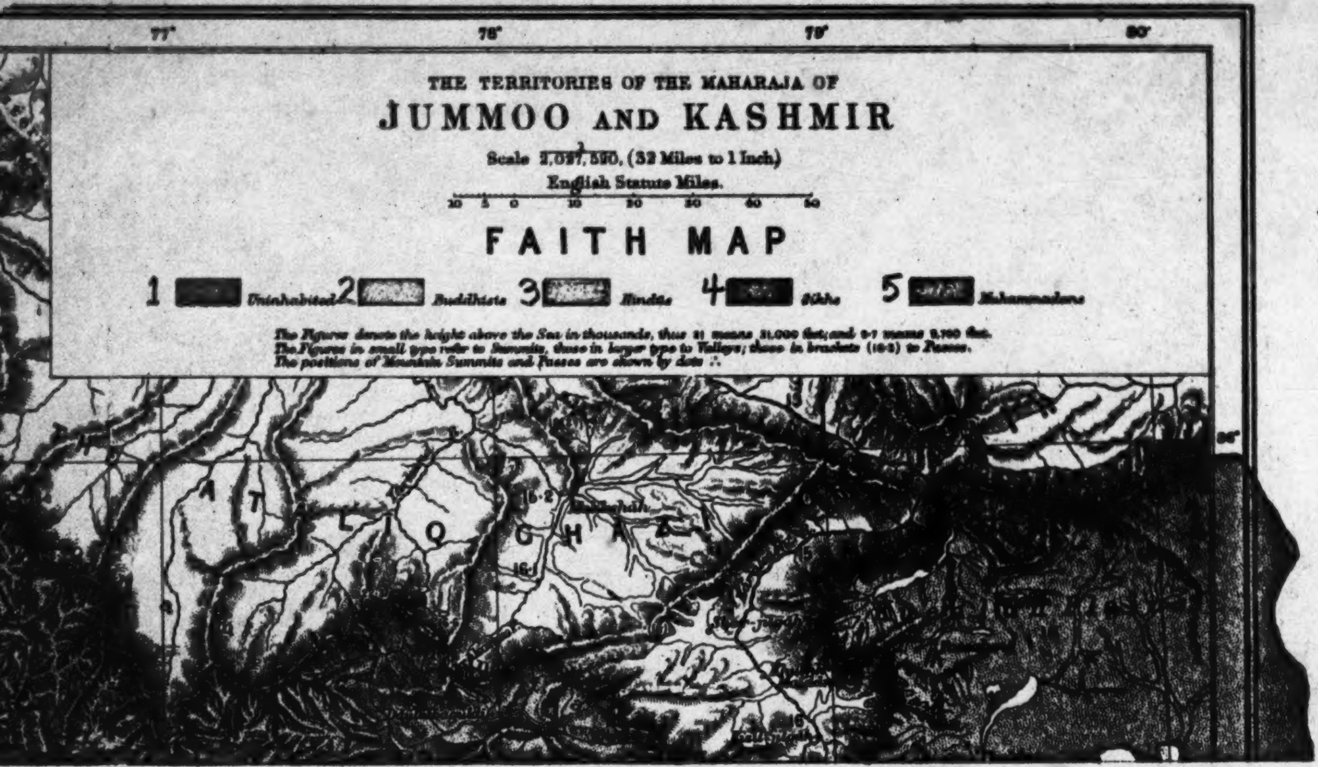
102

END MAP X-F

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir XVI

BADAKHSHAN
73°
74°
75°
76°

END MAP II-A



THE TERRITORIES OF THE MAHARAJA OF

JUMMOO AND KASHMIR

Scale $\frac{1}{2,027,520}$, (32 Miles to 1 Inch)

English Statute Miles.

FAITH MAP

1 ▇ *Uninhabited* 2 ▨ *Buddhists* 3 ▨ *Hindûs* 4 ▇ *Sikhs* 5 ▇ *Muhammadans*

The Figures denote the height above the Sea in thousands, thus 21 means 21,000 feet; and 9·7 means 9,700 feet.
The Figures in small type refer to Summits, those in larger type to Valleys; those in brackets (16·2) to Passes.
The positions of Mountain Summits and Passes are shown by dots ∴.

END MAP II-B

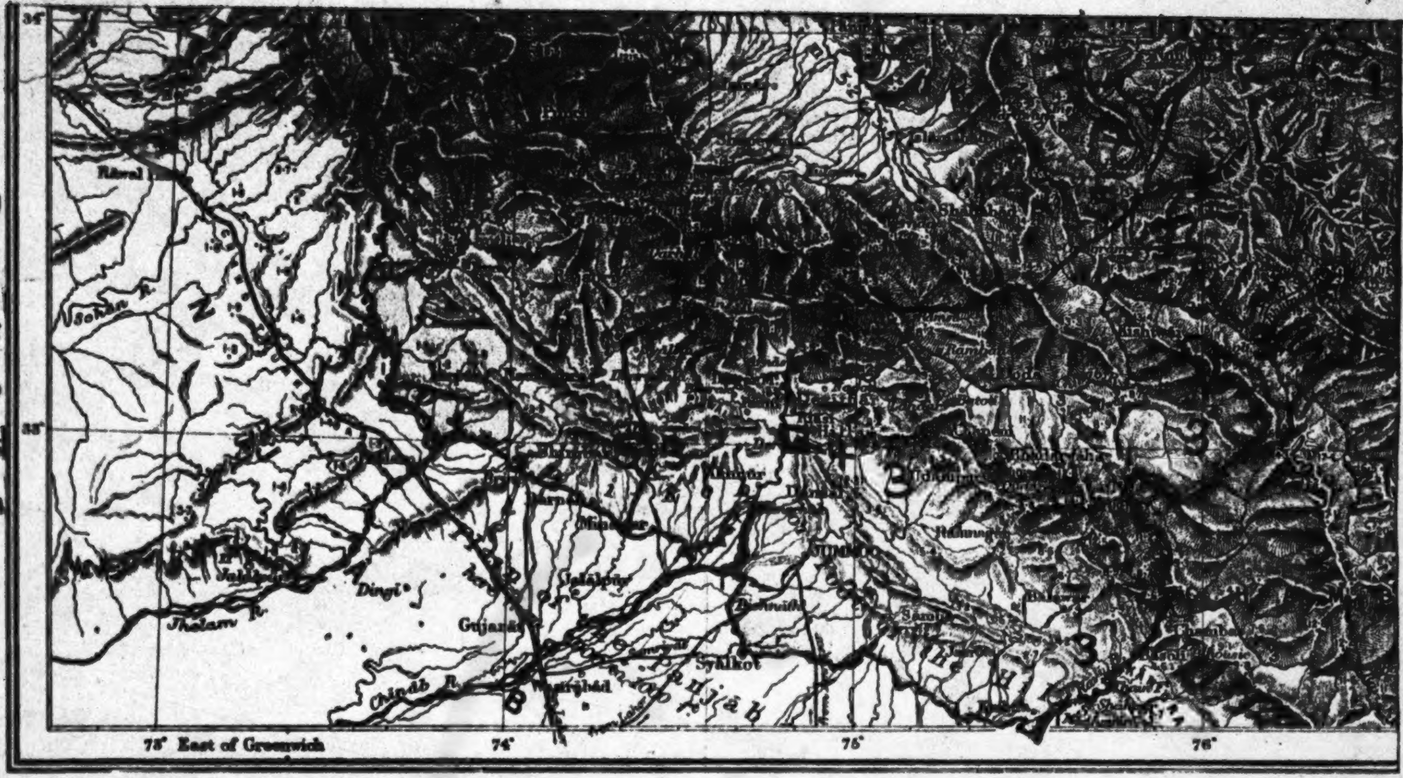
102

END MAP I-C

102

END MAP V-D

END MAP I-E


34°
33°
Rawal
Sohan R.
Jhelam R.
Dingi
Gujarat
Chinab R.
Wazirabad
Jalalpur
Syalkot
Jummoo
Akhnur
Punjab
73° East of Greenwich
74°
75°
76°
B
3

102

1, Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

B
L.
Rudok
T
B
E
N
Demchok
R. Indus
35
77°
78°
79°
Gar

END MAP V-E

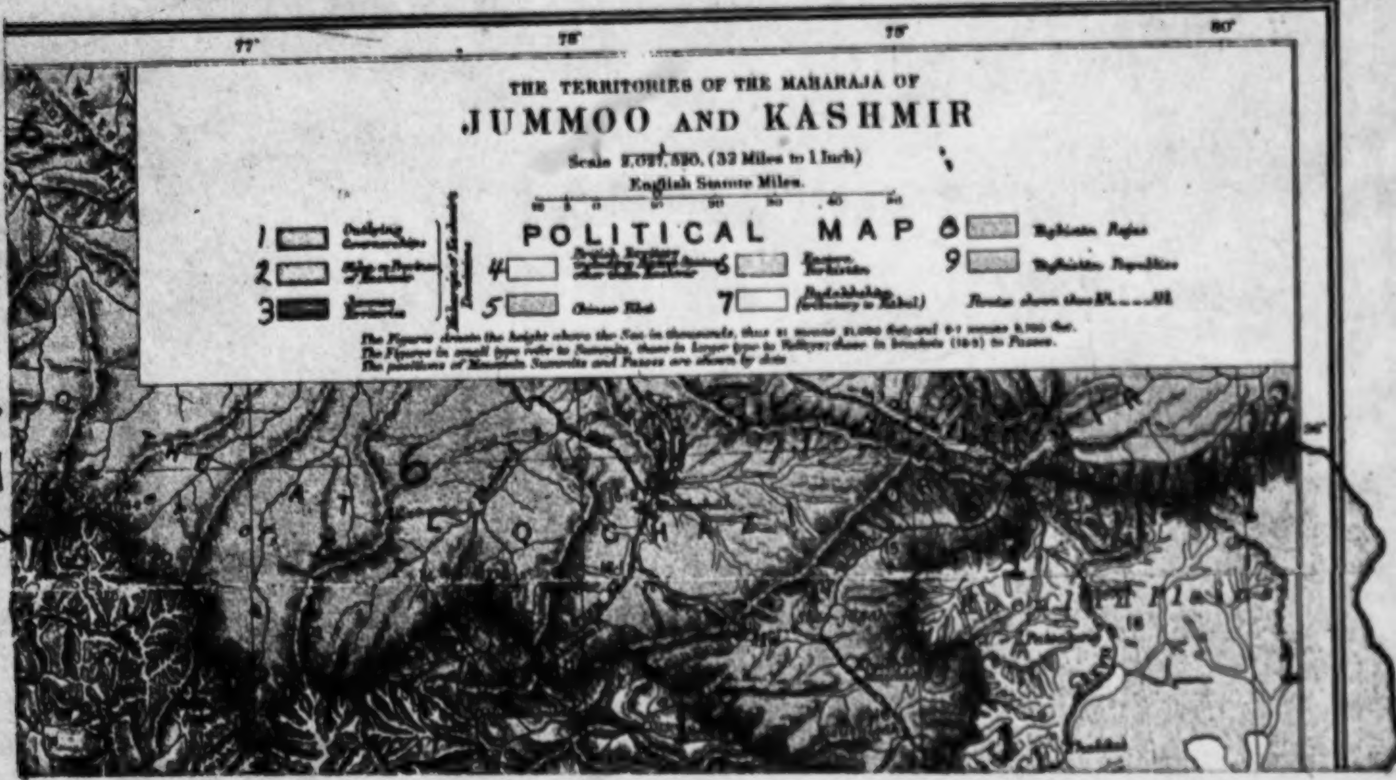
Stanford's Geog! Estab!, 55, Charing Cross.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

102

BADAKHSHAN
74°
75°
76°
7
6
8
9

END MAP VI-A



THE TERRITORIES OF THE MAHARAJA OF

JUMMOO AND KASHMIR

Scale [illegible] (32 Miles to 1 Inch)

English Statute Miles.

POLITICAL MAP

The Figures denote the height above the Sea in thousands, thus 21 means 21,000 feet, and 9·7 means 9,700 feet.
The Figures in small type refer to Summits, those in larger type to Valleys; those in brackets (18·5) to Passes.
The positions of Mountain Summits and Passes are shown by dots.

77°
78°
79°
80°
1 Outlying Governorships
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 British Territory [illegible]
5 Chinese Tibet
6 Eastern Turkistan
7 Badakhshan (tributary to Kabul)
8 Yaghistan Rajas
9 Yaghistan Republics
6
5
7

END MAP XI-B

102

END MAP VI-C

END MAP VI-D

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

102

76°
75°
74°
73° East of Greenwich
4
4

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

102

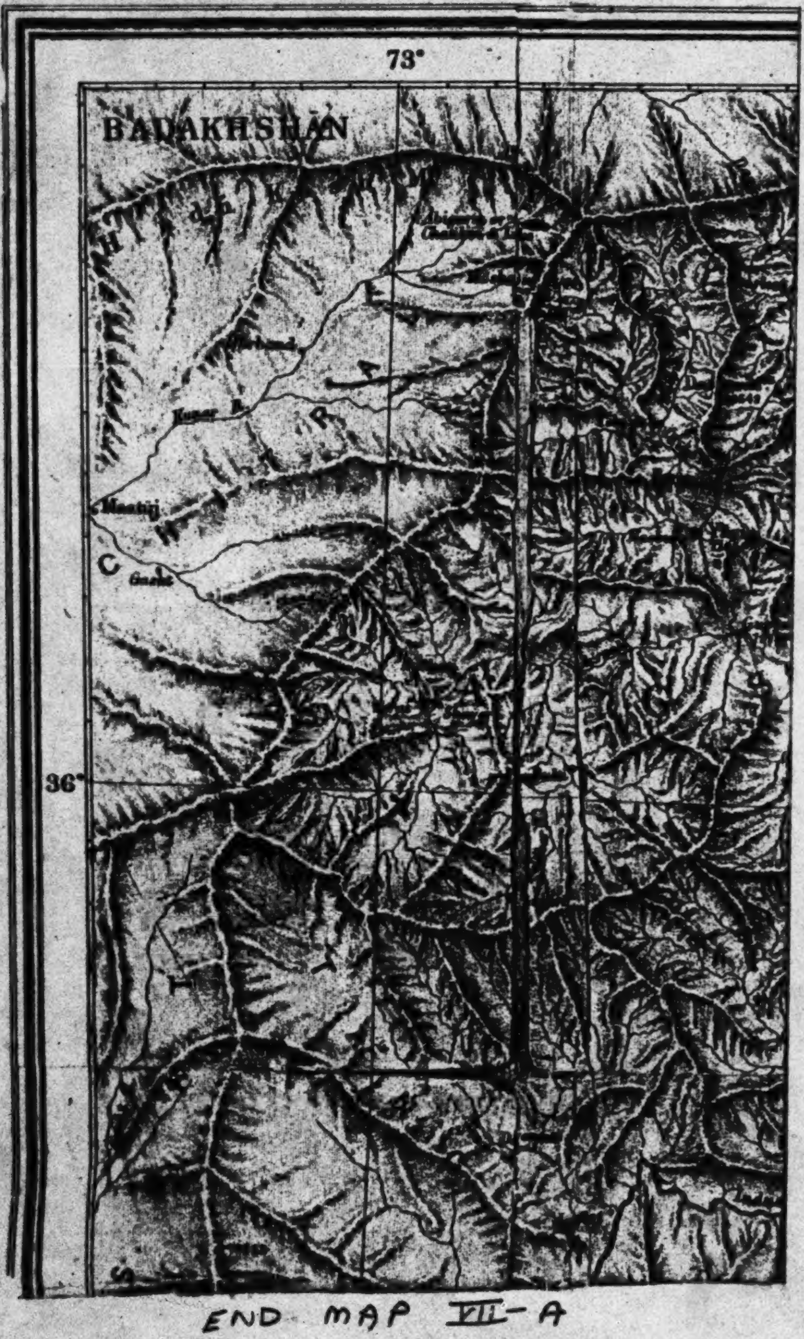
35°
75°
76°
77°
Gar

END MAP VI-F

1, Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

Map to illustrate Mr. Drew's Work
"Jummoo and Kashmir Territories".

102


73°
BADAKHSHAN
Kunar R.
Mastuj
C
36°

END MAP VII-A

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

THE TER

102

END MAP VII-B

1₁ Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

102

RRITORIES OF THE M

WITH PORTIONS

Compiled chiefly from the Maps o

END MAP VII-C

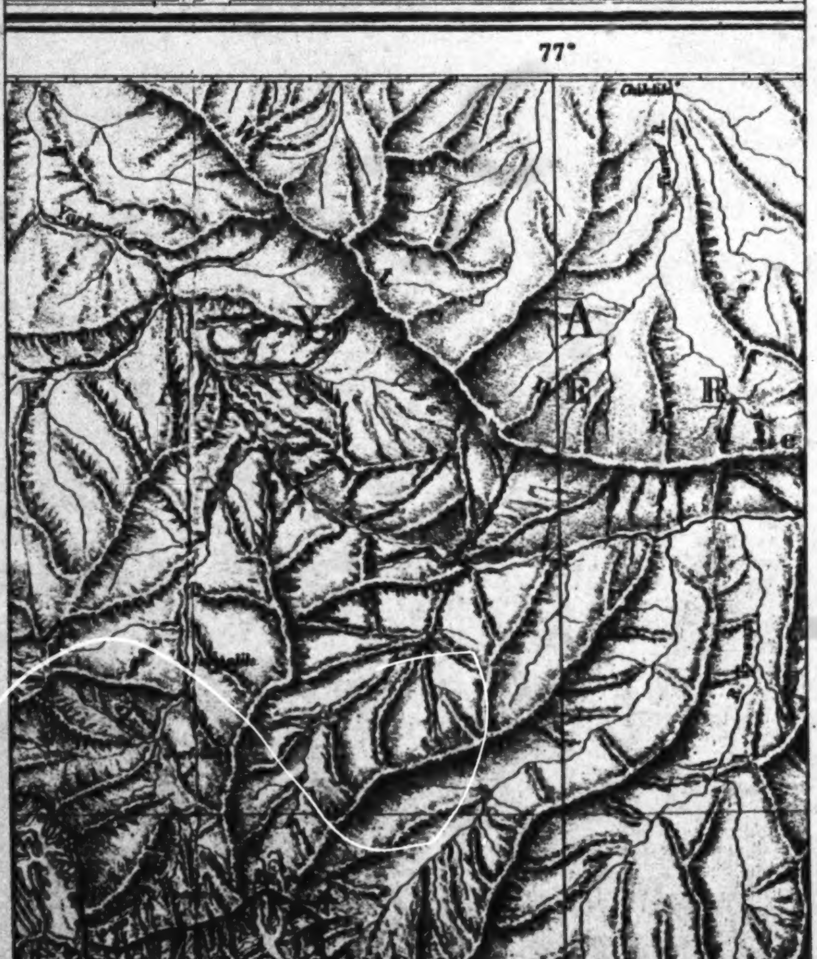
1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

MAHARAJA OF JUMMOO

NS OF THE ADJOINING COUNTRIES

ps of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India. 1874.

102

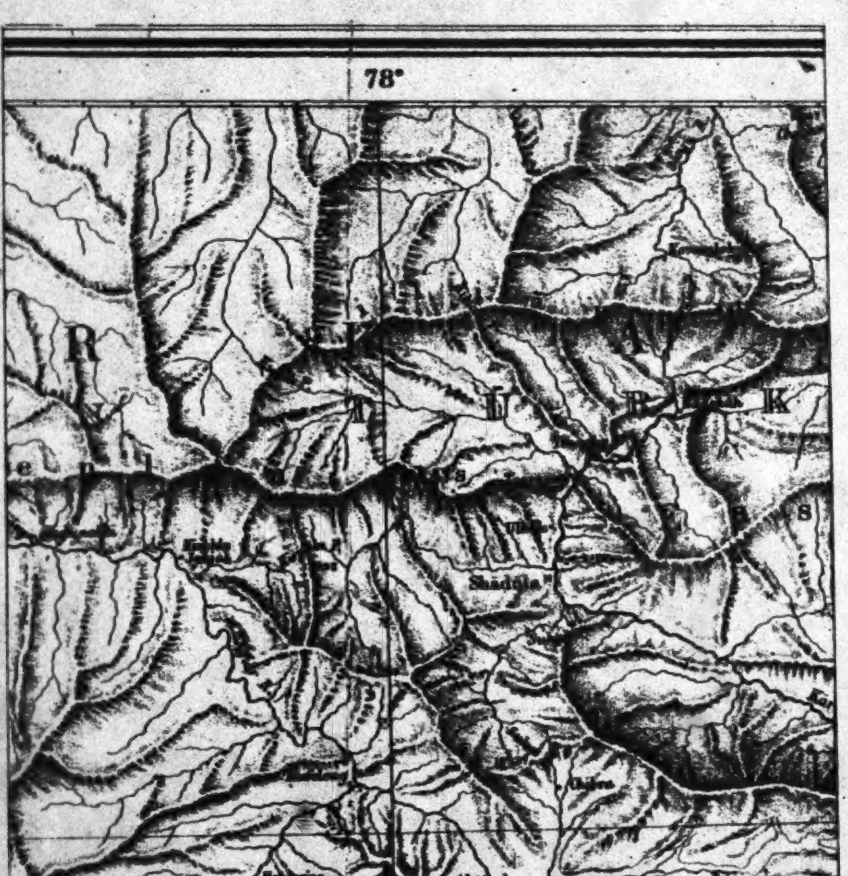


END MAP VII-D

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

O AND KASHMĪR

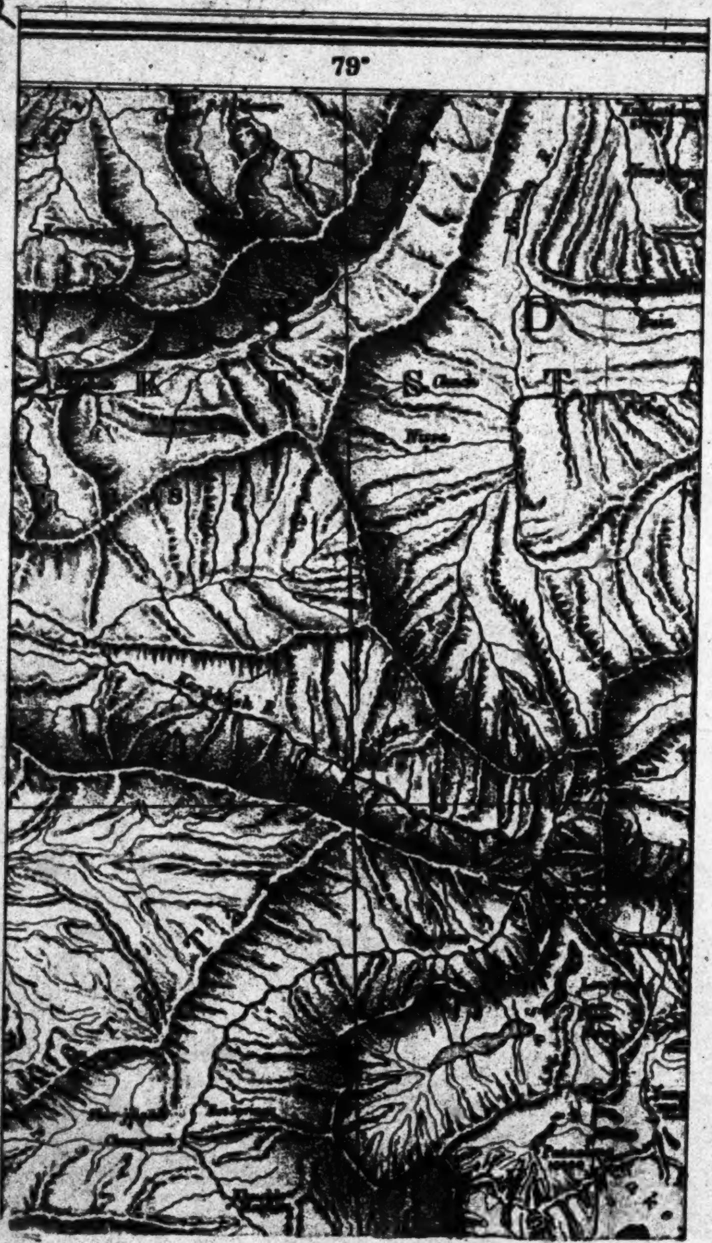
102


78°
R
y
e
Shādula
S
Aktāgh
K

END MAP VII-E

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

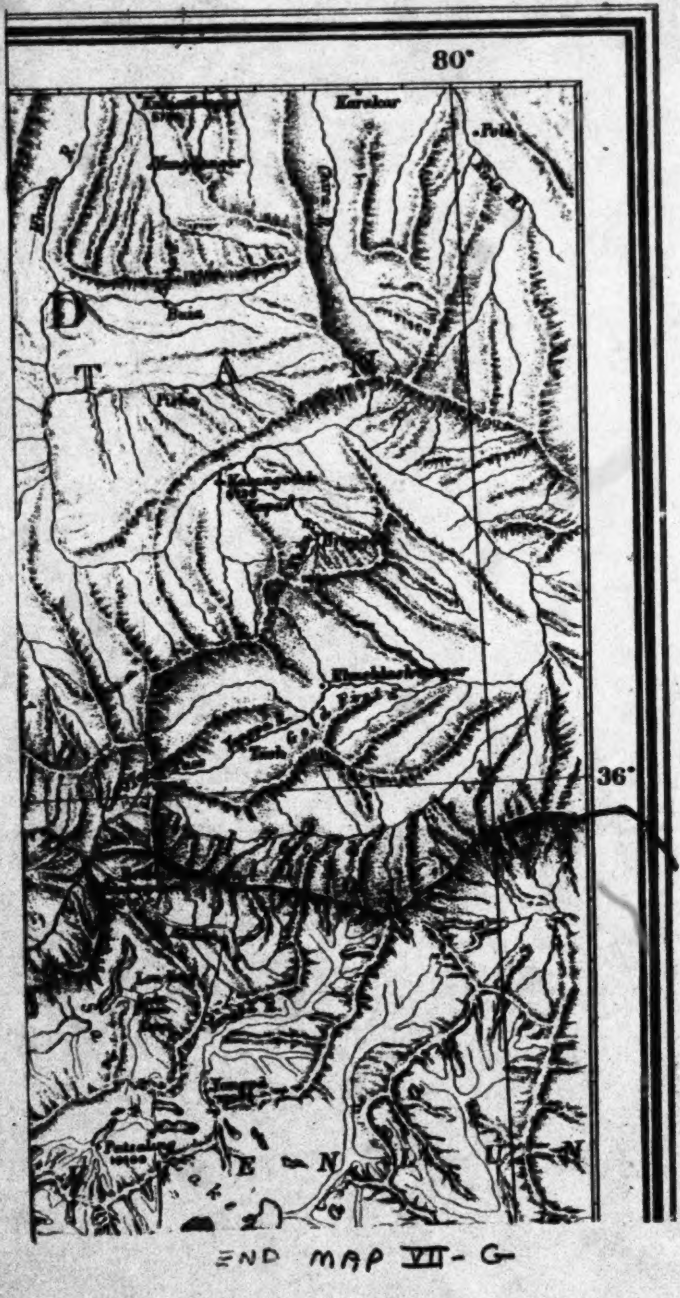
102



END MAP VII - F

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

102

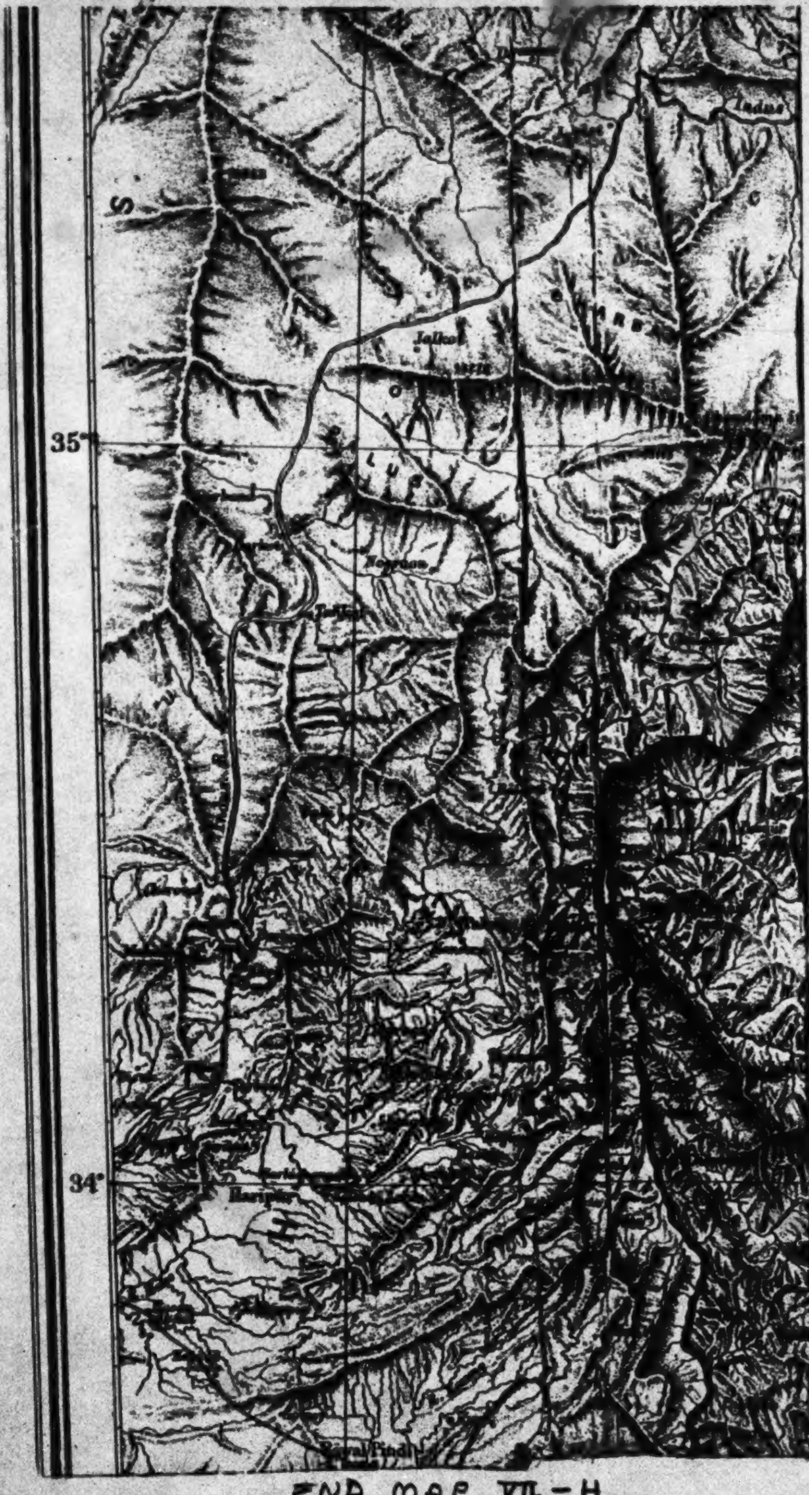


80°
Karakar
Polu
D
T
A
Baba
36°
E
N
U
N

END MAP VII-G

1_1 Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

102


Indus
Jalkot
35°
Haripur
34°
Rawal Pindi

END MAP VII-H

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

Indus
Wular L.

END MAP VII - I

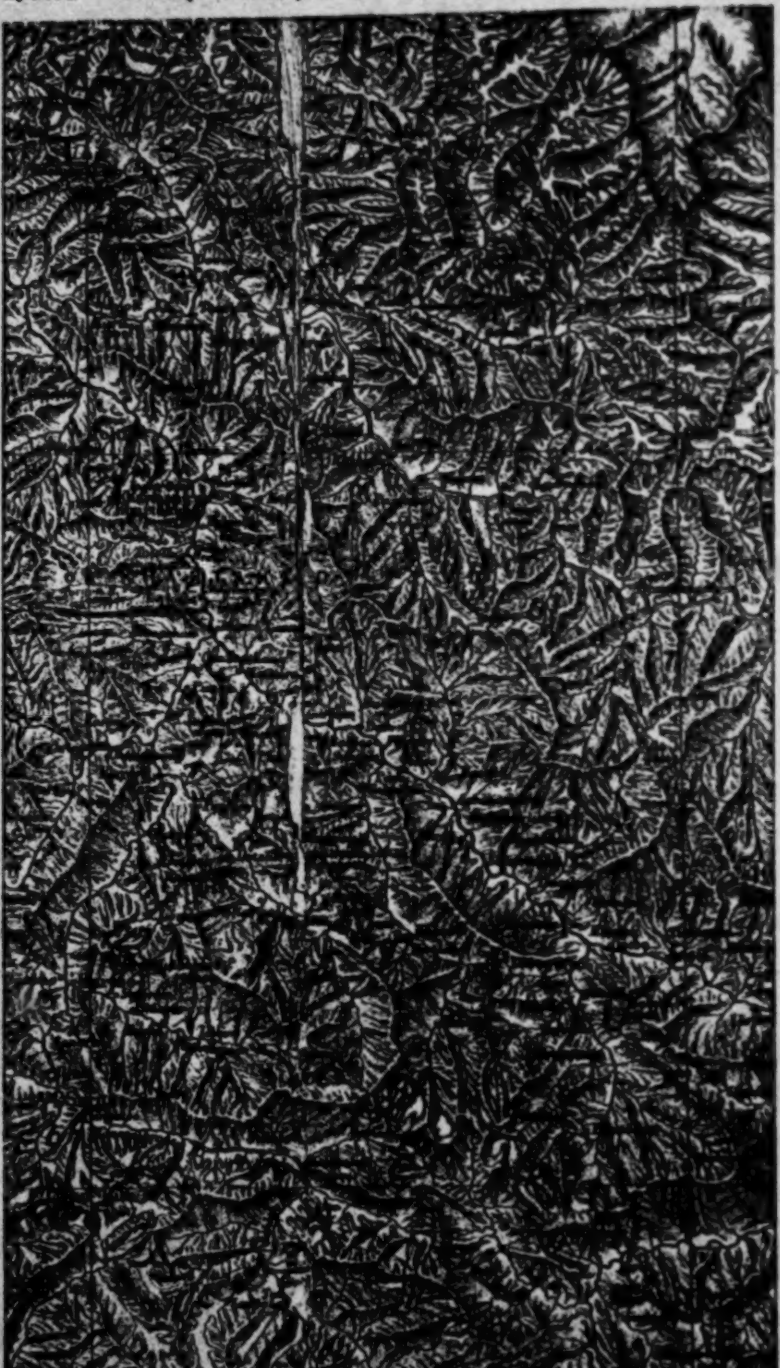
102

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

END MAP III - J

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV/

102



END MAP VII - K

END MAP VII - L

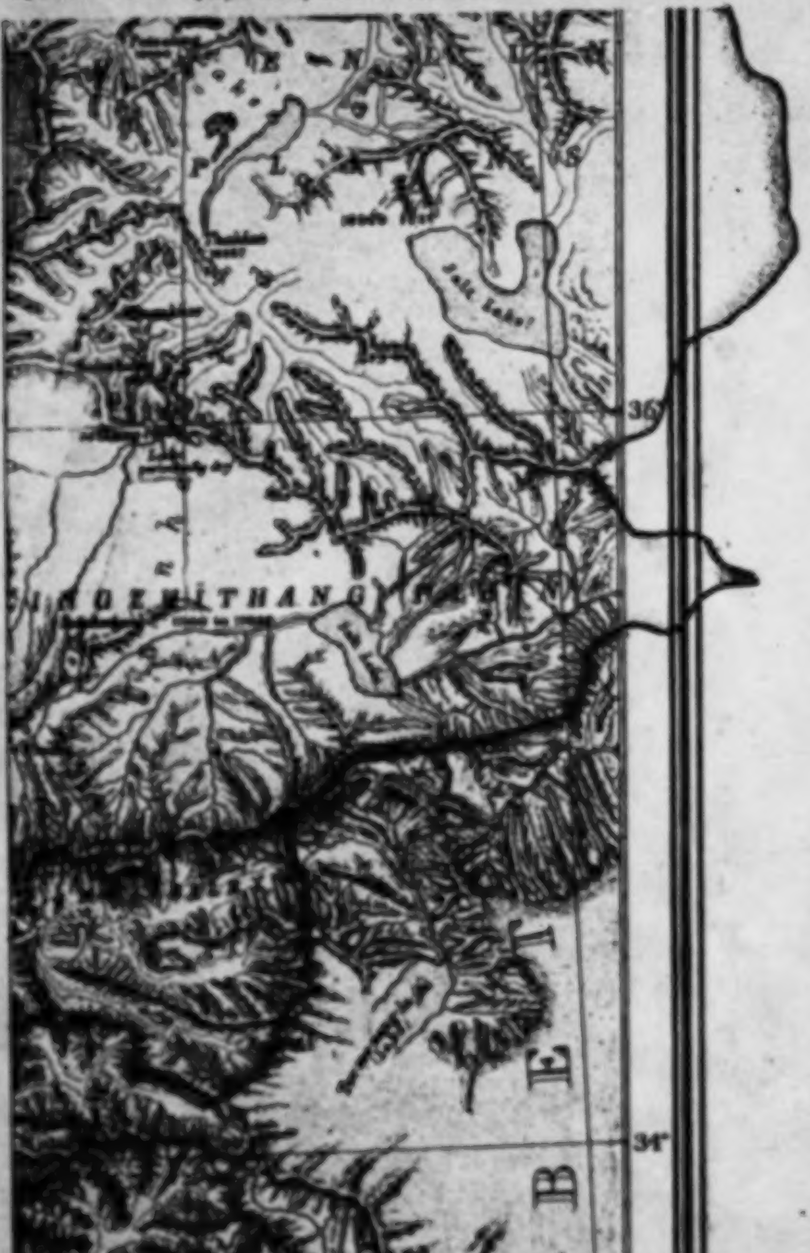
1: Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

102

END MAP III - M

1a Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

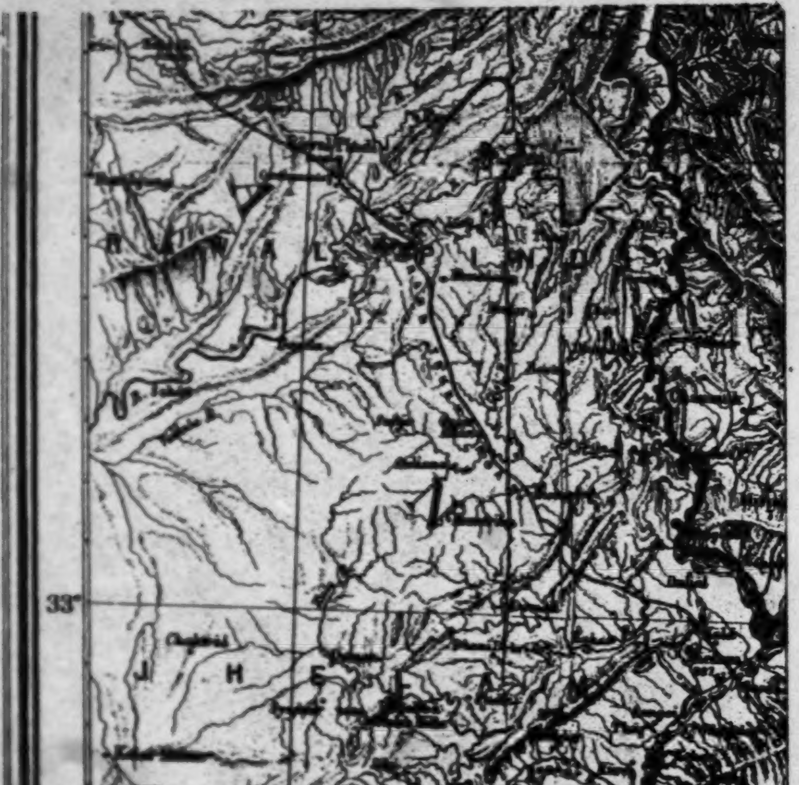
102


36°
Salt Lake?
INDZHITHANG
T
E
B
34°

END MAP III-N

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

102


33°
J H E L
S H A H P U R
R. Jhelum
Pind Dadan Khan
Phalian
73° Longitude East of Greenwich
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50
English Stat

The Green represents glaciers, the Blue, lakes & rivers; the Red represents the boundary of the Te

END MAP VII - O

[illegible] G-8 [illegible] 1878 [illegible] Kashmir [illegible]

02.

[illegible] Statute Miles. [illegible] ([illegible] Miles to 1 Inch)

[illegible]

END MAP XII - P

102

END MAP III - Q

¼ Sheet G-8 (1862-1875) 1876 AVI Kashmir AVI

102

END MAP VII-R

END MAP VII-3

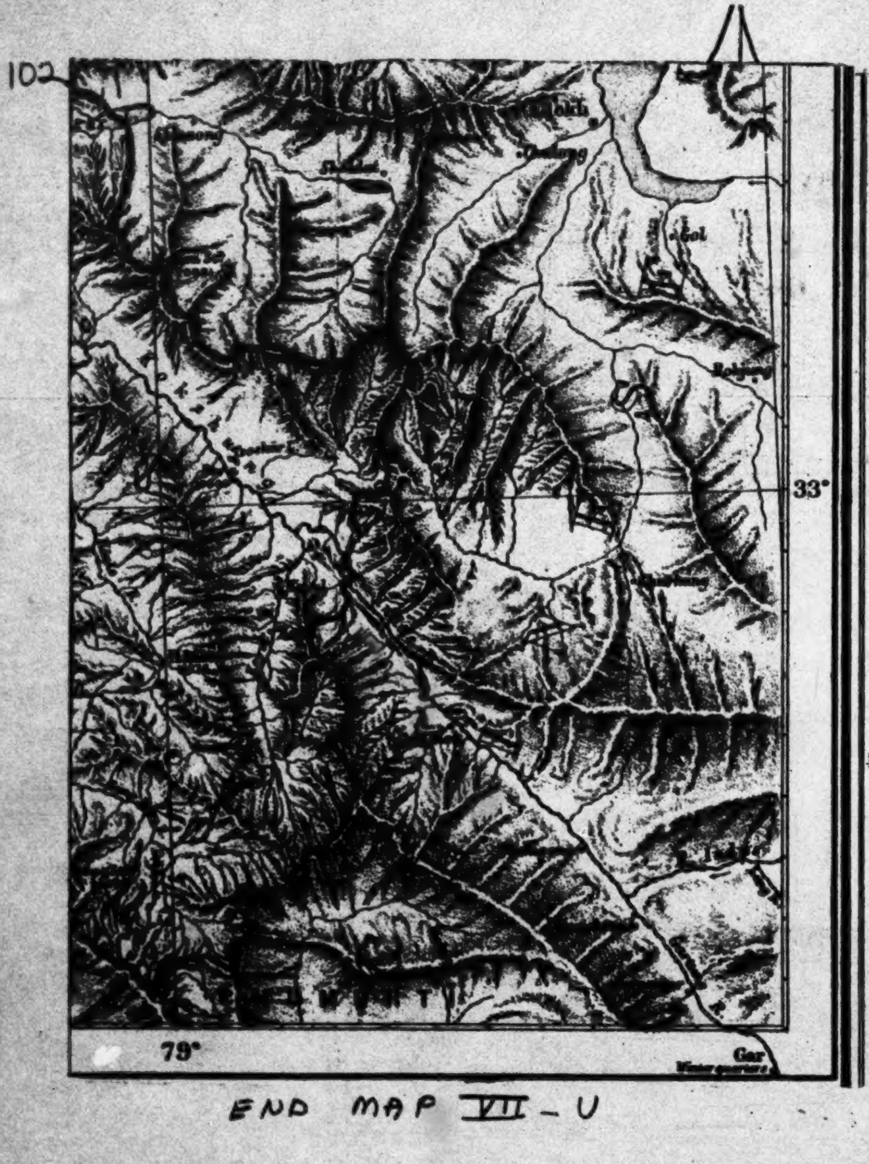
1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

102

END MAP VII - T

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

102


33°
79°
Gar
Winter quarters
Gol
Rohgong

END MAP VII - U

1: Drew
102

AVl Kashmir AVl

[For further information concerning the maps in this source, see category 116, pp. 477-501.]

Pagination of Maps

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Snow Map	End Map II (A - F)
Race Map	End Map III (A-F)
Language Map	End Map IV (A - F)
Faith Map	End Map V (A - F)
Political Map	End Map VI (A - F)
General Map	End Map VII (A - U)

A	B
C	D
E	F

[The above diagram represents the sections into which End Maps II - VI are divided. The sections of the maps have been numbered accordingly.]

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H	I	J	K	L	M	N
O	P	Q	R	S	T	U

[The above diagram represents the sections into which End Map VII is divided. The sections have been numbered accordingly.]

1: Drew
104

[For glossary, see category 116, index.]

7

1: Drew
175, 648

[For information pertaining to the history of relations between Kashmir and the Dardic states from 1842 - 1873, see category 116, pp. 398-399, 402-403, 406-407, 410-414, 435-455.]

1: Drew
133

AVl Kashmir AVl

[For information pertaining to topography, see category 116, pp. 2-5, 26-43, 96-103, 111-118, 122-129, 133-139, 151-160, 192-206, 213-222, 476-481.]

113, 167 Balti AV2

[For information about Balti colonies in Ladakh, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, p. 243.]

[For information pertaining to the Dard Language, see 1; Drew, AVI Kashmir, category 116, pp. 468-469, 520-521.]

113, 648 Dard AV3

[For additional information pertaining to international relations from 1842-1873, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 435-455 passim.]

113, 167 Kashmiri AV4

[For information pertaining to emigration, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 57, 86, 105, 118, 119, 148.]

[For information pertaining to the Kashmiri language, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 466-468, 516-519.]

113, 212 Kashmiri AV4

[For information pertaining to the Kashmiri alphabet, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 471-473.]

113, 175 Dogra AV6

[For information pertaining to history before 1846, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 8-16, 18-23.]

113, 19

Dogra AV6

[For additional information pertaining to the Dogra language, see 1; Drew, AVl Kashmir, category 116, pp. 462-466, 516-519.]

113, 212 Dogra AV6

[For information pertaining to the Dogra alphabet, see 1; Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 471-473.]

[For information pertaining to the history of Hunza and Nagar, 1842-1870, see 1; Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 435-450 passim.]

113, 19 W. Tibetans AJ4

[For information pertaining to the Tibetan language, see 1; Drew, AVI Kashmir, category 116, pp. 469-470.]

113, 133 W. Tibetans AJ4

[For information pertaining to topography, see 1; Drew, AVl Kashmir, category 116, pp. 222-238, 260-333.]

113, 526 W. Tibetans AJ4

[For information about the game of polo, see 1: Drew, AVI Kashmir, category 116, p. 381.]

116

116 **TEXTS**--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 538

THIS IS KASHMIR

The old Muslim embroiderer at work.

[Frontispiece]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1

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[p. iv]

For
MARJORIE
THAT SHE TOO MAY KNOW KASHMIR

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir AVI

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102

U. S. S. R.
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
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I N D

[p. xiii]

[p. xiv is blank]

102

KASHMIR
Miles
CHINA
TIBET
I A
Boundary of Kashmir
Main Roads
Railways
International Boundaries
Not surveyed
Roads & Tracks

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[p. xiv is blank]

Preface

000 THIS is the story of a country and a people; a country about the size of England and Scotland or the State of Minnesota, yet within whose frontiers may be found near-tropical heat and arctic snows, hot springs and glaciers. It is a land on which God had showered his blessings in the making, where the earth is good and can be made to grow much food, yet many of its people are near starvation; a land where the finest silks and the softest wools are spun and woven into cloth, yet most of its people are clad in rags; a land where precious stones are to be found, yet few of its people possess any; a land in which "the men are strong and the women as fruitful as the soil," being those of many basic cultures and creeds. A land which writers have described as "the Happy Valley", yet only those who visit it are happy, not those who dwell therein.

Never shall I forget my first sight from the air of the Vale of Kashmir. We were flying at about eighteen thousand feet; for half an hour we had seen only the rugged unfriendly mountains, here and there the rock slopes covered by fir trees, the tops with snow, when suddenly it was as though the mountains before us had been flattened by a giant hand. I was still gasping at the picture laid out below me, when through the roar of the engines I heard the voice of my navigator. "If there be a Paradise on earth, this is it, this is it, this is it. An emerald set in pearls."

Amazed at his poetic description, since he was not given to such phraseology, I turned quickly, and with an embarrassed laugh he explained, "Not my observation old boy. It happens to be what one of their Moghul Emperors said of it some hundreds of years ago. He must have had wings to have seen it like this."

No better words could describe that first view. The Vale is just like some huge flawed emerald—flawed by the rivers and the lakes, and surrounded by close-set pearls—the snow-capped mountains are as though clasping it tight. As we cruised round for a while other colours appeared to frame first the emerald, the sapphire and amethyst shadings of the mountain slopes.

Being forbidden to make a landing on the grass air strip, we flew away from the valley, and it was some years before I could return again to get closer to its beauties and gain an intimate knowledge of the people who live within it.

Then it was that I discovered it was truly a land of colour—the colour of nature in the valleys, the mountains, the lakes, with the sky contributing an overflow of shades. There the colours in the rainbow were swamped, only to be appreciated in the white of the mountain snows, though even there as one looked down into the valleys, all was colour again, blending together as only Mother Nature can paint them, changing with the seasons and the passing hours of sunrise, sunset and moonlight. Never have I seen such colour, and unless my eyes were to gaze upon them, never can I believe that they exist in any other place. Truly this is the artist's paradise.

The story here told has but one bias, a sympathy for the people, a sincere endeavour to understand them, an appreciation of what they have had to contend with and suffer, and what they still suffer. Yet with all that sympathy there is no blindness to their many failings and weaknesses, either of the past or in the present.

Searching into that past, from the sculptures and writings of those who once lived there, we find a civilisation and culture existing in the days before the time when King Alfred was busy burning cakes in Britain; a civilisation of their ancestors of which the people of the country are mostly unaware.

Of the State of Jammu and Kashmir much has been heard in recent years. Its very existence has kept the relations of two newly created neighbouring countries strained almost to breaking point, with each of them spending millions of rupees in holding armies in readiness should the other attack; neither trading freely across their common frontier, and ever suspicious of the other's every move. Within the State itself there has been near-starvation at times among it people whose physical strength and morale are slowly ebbing.

000 So this is Kashmir. It is a picture of the land over which men have fought, and of a people who "by their free plebiscite shall decide their own future". It is a picture painted after many visits and much research so that those of the outside world may, before passing their own judgment on this "paradise on earth", know something of its past and present, of the people who dwell within its frontiers and love their country for what it once was and what it can become.

PEARCE GERVIS

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to Srinagar

173 "SHRI NAGAR, meaning the city of beauty and wealth of knowledge, was for hundreds of years known as Pravarapura, being named after its founder King Pravarasena II who ruled in the sixth century. He it was who is said to have flown away to Kailas in Tibeth through a crack in the ceiling of the Pravarasa Temple, now lying in ruins between the Jama Masjid Mosque and the Hari Parbat Fort. In it he was wont to worship in that city he had founded, his faithful subjects who believed in the divinity of Kings, afterwards seeing him shining in the heavens like a star. The city became one of Asia's chief seats of learning, the one to which her students came in order to study Sanskrit."

This I find in one of the many books I have searched, but I am unable to acknowledge to its author since it is coverless, the title pages are missing and the others worm-eaten, dry and brown with age, just as though the book had been baked in an oven. It does tell us though that in those far off days the men who journeyed to Kashmir first made for Srinagar, they for learning, we now for pleasure, for Kashmir has been well named "The Playground of Asia".

000 The second time that I flew to Srinagar was when I went from Delhi on holiday by a commercial passenger 'plane. We had been warned before leaving that if "the Pass" was clouded over, we should have to spend the night in Jammu, for at such times flying over it is dangerous. But the sky remained clear and not long after leaving Jammu the mountains appeared ahead, then below us, shaded either purple where rocks covered the southern slopes, or, as we passed over them, green with fir trees on the sides facing the north.

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Kashmir, etc

000 I was travelling with my host-to-be, a retired Indian Army colonel who, with the intention of spending the rest of his days in the Valley of Kashmir, had bought a houseboat and for many years had lived there on the river, going down to his son's bungalow in Dehra Dun during the winter. Now with India "gone," as he described its independence with a sigh, he was returning for his last holiday there, and during that time hoped to dispose of the boat—that is if he happened to be fortunate enough to find a buyer, but from what he had heard there was only a buyers' market in houseboats.

132 He bent forward and guessing that I was perplexed, explained that the southern slopes get dried up early in the summer months, so dry that no vegetation can survive there, whilst the snows remain longer on those facing the north, the roots of the little trees get a hold, and then having thrown out their foliage, they in turn shelter the ground beneath and help it to retain the moisture.

491 We gazed down on the road running over the pass, a thin, brown thread twisting and turning in dozens of hairpin bends up to the height of well over nine thousand feet. At the top the road plunges through a six hundred and fifty feet long tunnel of solid rock. If only that tunnel had been made lower in the
[182] mountain—which would of course have meant it being longer —then the road might have remained open for many more weeks during the time when the Valley of Kashmir is now cut off from India by the snows which block it for many winter months.

Immediately we were over it, the pilot started losing height, and it was not long before we could pick out people walking and cattle moving about and grazing. The winding rivers were glistening in the sunshine like the tinsel decorations on a Christmas tree, here and there was the splash of a rosette—the ponds or tanks. Nearby were dark clumps of trees, among them the square brown roof-tops of farm houses, whilst it seemed as though the lines of poplars shot up everywhere to the skies, edging the fields and roads.

361 The great river Jhelum showed itself ahead, and seeing it the
541 old fellow next to me was delighted. Looking out of the window he talked on, telling me that the river had always been the same

4/9 [i.e. of the outer Himalayas --Analyst]

the processions. The second capital of Kashmir is Jammu [illegible]
which we had just left on the Indian side of the Pir Panjal range [illegible]
of mountains; to that city the Maharaja and his Government moved each autumn before the valley became snowbound, then with the spring—in April of each year—upon his return to his summer capital he made a state entry by barge.

The Colonel had seen this many times. On such occasions [illegible]
the river was dressed in her best, hardly a window or a boat not being decorated. Instead of bunting, paper garlands and flags, over window-sills and boats, precious Kashmir shawls, lovely wool rugs and costly carpets were hung out. The roof-tops then green with the grass planted over them, were dappled with the mauve of iris, whilst those of the wealthier merchants were scarlet with tulips. The thousands of people who clustered [illegible]
to the water-front, filled the windows and crowded the stone steps and bridges, wore their gayest clothes, the Hindu women as always in their nun-like gowns of maroon, bottle-green or blue adding to the colour, a few of the Muslim women covered entirely in white or black burqas and peeping through the crochet-covered eye pieces, being lost behind the many children clinging to their skirts and the one they always seemed to hold up in their arms; the boys wearing bright coloured pill-box hats decorated with gold or silver thread patterns, the girls in rainbow-coloured salwar kamiz.

Across the river large banners were stretched with messages of welcome and expressions of loyalty, these also hanging out in front of many of the houses and most of the shops.

As they came up the river the Maharaja's flotilla was always met outside the city by that of the Resident and his staff together with all the State officials. Both the Maharaja's and the Resi- [illegible]
dent's state barges were enormous in length, each having forty or fifty oarsmen, those of the Maharaja being dressed in blue and those of the Resident in red.

Slowly the procession advanced round the bend of the river among the different fresh green shades of tall poplars and giant chinar trees, which together with the willows are a feature of the valley, their colours being set off and made the more beautiful by the background of snow-capped mountains, seeming the clearer in the clear spring air, with the clear blue sky forming a fitting ceiling to the picture. In later years the oarsmen were helped along by each of the barges having a motor boat to tow it up through the city, while the light blue police launch darted to and fro keeping the way clear, and the shikaras of officials placed themselves between the State barges and the hundreds of river craft which lined the banks.

Children cheering and waving flags were there on the steps and balconies of the schools which line it. The Central Mission School usually contributed some original form of reception. On one occasion they suspended two ropes, one four feet above the other over the river; between these boys formed the letters WELCOME, and when the Maharaja's barge was close under them, the human letters dived from their overhead positions into the water beneath them, to the consternation of the police launch.

He would have gone on reminiscing had the light not flashed on to warn us to fix our safety belts since we were about to land. Then about an hour later, for one has to pass through a police check and a customs search, followed by a drive of many miles to Srinagar, we arrived at the houseboat which was moored on the river wall above the city and among the many hundreds which line the river banks and tie to each other, only being divided by their cook boats.

The houseboats are often as much as one hundred and fifty feet long and twelve feet wide with square ends, the hull made of deodar wood. A plank cat-walk runs along outside the wood panelled walls, and the windows are decorated with wood, much like leaded lights would be. Sitting-room and dining-room are separated, many having open fireplaces; the walls are covered with linen-fold panels of choice walnut or hollow pine, the ceilings decorated in intricate patterns of stars and such-like shapes all working one into the other, each the same size and shape, the whole consisting of hundreds of small slithers of wood dovetailed into their neighbours. Separating dining-room from bedrooms is the service pantry. A train-like corridor runs along the side of these bedrooms which are large and airy, each with its bathroom, the end room of all usually being a double one having two bathrooms. In the majority of the boats the roof portion over the lounge and dining-room is flat, edged

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with pots of flowers and over it is a framework for an awning. 501
The roofs above the bedrooms are usually hipped and covered with small wooden tiles, each of the windows topped with a gable, dormer fashion out of the sloping roof. The end of the sitting-room or lounge opens out on to a wide verandah—the end of the boat—and this is often completed with window boxes with flowers like those on the flat roof, with curtains similar to the awning and the blinds which are set out from each of the windows.

These boats remind one of the pictures of Noah's Ark. They are secured by chains to great wooden pegs driven into the river bank, with a plank gangway leading to them from the ground, whilst in most there is electric light which is supplied from lines which run along each bank. Once inside there is very little difference from living in a house on shore, the movement of the flat-bottomed boat being very slight even in the windy weather. To look out in the evening when the soft lights of other boats are reflected on the water, hear the gentle dip of pole or paddle and the soft ripple as the shikaras and barges move up and down the river is soothing to the busy town dweller, though it must be admitted that nothing can be more depressing than to sit in a houseboat on the river, or worse still on a lake, with rain drenching down, jumping like needles on the water all around.

The Colonel's houseboat was among the best owned by ○○○
Europeans on the river. It was his home, everything he had collected during the years of service all over India and Burma was in it. Bokhara mats were spread out on Baluch carpets covering the floors. Inset in the two sliding doors from lounge to verandah were four stained-glass shields; in the one that of his Prep. School and of Rugby, his Public School, in the other the crests of Sandhurst and that of his regiment. Each piece of furniture had been carefully chosen, in most cases had been made specially to his order and design, the cabinet was filled with cups won for shooting, polo and racing; on the tables were silver-framed autographed photographs of maharajas, whilst the old personal bearer had been with him little short of the whole of his service. I afterwards found quite a number of boats owned by Indian Army officers much the same as his.

501 [341] The cook boat which houses the families of the men who work as the manji, cook, khidmatgar, bhisti-masalchi and sweeper, on the houseboat, is about forty feet long and five feet wide. Its walls are sliding wood panels, the roof tiled with wood, and the boat divided into many rooms, each family sharing one portion. In the stern is the kitchen for the houseboat, the roof of this is hinged at the apex and opens up at the eaves to permit the smoke from the clay stove set on the floor to escape.

262 264 [565] [343] It is surprising the excellent meals that can be produced on a clay stove in a cook boat and kept to the correct heat in the houseboat's pantry tin-lined hot cupboard with a charcoal burner at the bottom. At dinner that evening my host commented, "I'm afraid you'll get a little fed up with the everlasting chicken, duck or mutton we get up here" and then went on to explain that the boatmen were all Muslim and would not cook or serve pork or bacon, the pig being an unclean animal to them, whilst with a Hindu Maharaja, the cow being sacred to them, no beef is to be had in the State; even beef extracts and tinned beef are forbidden entry into Kashmir and stopped at the Customs. After living in the dried-up plains where green vegetables were at a premium, it was a joy to have all those one had almost forgotten existed, and also to taste them, for those in the fast-growing tropical heat have no flavour, they are all the same, only their colour and substance differing.

266 [567] Kashmir grows much of its own needs, those commodities which have to be imported, especially tinned goods, are taxed as they enter, yet despite this the cost of living to Europeans is about half that which it costs them in India, and the flat-bottomed little fruit and vegetable boats which come each morning to the houseboats are stocked with all that one would expect to buy either in India or Europe, the market gardeners growing for a market where they know they can be assured of a few annas more than from their own countrymen.

505 [343] I can well remember the morning following my arrival, me sitting up on the flat roof having breakfast and watching the river moving slowly past below us. Great barges filled with rocks, long rafts of logs with a rush shanty built on them, a woman cooking outside it and a man guiding it with a long pole

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pole, running backwards and forwards nimbly in bare feet to fend it one way and then the other. 505 443

Then came the little flat boats, a mass of colour with the vegetables and fruits; seeing the houseboat was occupied they made for the cook boat to get their orders from the manji or head man. Next came another which was a bower of flowers, each variety standing in earthenware pots; at first asking Bond Street prices and dropping without our saying a word to half—"Because you my very old customer, sahib," the man explained with a big grin to the Colonel. At the time I thought it a rather charming and an almost pathetic gesture, until I discovered that once one had bought from a Kashmiri trader you became "My very old customer, sahib!"

Hardly had they gone before we were invaded by a host of salesmen with all those things dear to the heart of the visitor to Kashmir, wood carving, papier mâché, fancy semi-precious jewellery, embroidery and so on. Later in the morning, usually during the afternoon, the gentlemen who consider themselves to be higher class salesmen arrive with furs, silk underclothing, carpets and precious stones. The Kashmiri is the most amusing and convincing salesman, meeting you with the sort of friendly nod or salute which makes you quite certain that you must know them, following it up with "And how are you today, sahib?" Then the tactics are so swift that almost before you know it has happened they are on the boat, their children boys are handing up their goods to them and your floor is covered with what they have to show you. In reply to your protests of not wanting to buy or having no money they exclaim, "Only look see, don't buy, sahib!" or else "Money? What is money, sahib, nothing! Look, sahib, you cannot eat money now can you?"

The boat's mooring place was up stream on the Jhelum River 38 at that part where most of the officials had built their houses, being about two miles from the centre of the city proper. Many of the owners of the houseboats there are, and have been for many years, resident in Srinagar, among them a large percentage of retired civil servants or service people who have spent the greater part of their lives in the country, and now have few ties remaining 'at home'—sometimes they have ruled to

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361 live there but returned—having decided that they will be happier in Kashmir.

They could have chosen to hire a ghat from the State on either the lakes or any part of the river, but experience has proved to them that hereabouts are the best moorings, for although the water may not be crystal clear, here it has not been polluted by its passage through the city; here is protection by the close mountains from the cold winds, the sun shines for many hours upon the boats, since to the south the land is flat for many miles and in the winter when the overhanging willows are denuded of their leaves, the ever-flowing waters are warmer than the still ones of the lakes, and in the hot late spring and summer the cooling freshly snow waters are flowing past them.

[512] The evening promenade is always along "The Bund" under the age-old chinar trees whose roots bind its earth; the sunsets, as one looks across the river through the tall poplars towards the distant snow-capped mountains have captivated not a few artists who have remained there many more months than they had at first intended, their work considered exaggerated by those who have not seen the glorious views.

501 There must be very few visitors who have gone to Srinagar and not been through the city by way of the river in a shikara—the water taxis which are a skiff, a punt and a canoe all in one, and propelled by a number of men who use either punt poles or heart-shaped paddles. These flat-bottomed boats are now fitted with spring mattress seats for two passengers who lie back luxuriously on brightly coloured cushions with legs outstretched, while the others find a place as best they can—usually on a hard board seat facing them. A plaited straw canopy with gay curtains—usually drawn back—covers the centre portion of the boat which is the part occupied by the passengers, while the hanjis are seated one behind the other in the stern.

608 I was more fortunate than most who go there, for my guide was my host, and one whose intense interest and knowledge of the valley was built on a foundation of many months spent each year in trekking, together with much reading, the shelves which surrounded his lounge like a dado being filled with

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almost all the books which had been written about the country, 000
its rulers, its peoples, their religions, the birds, fruits, flowers and fishes. There can be few works that he had not studied, being those on his own shelves, the libraries of the Srinagar Club and the Srinagar Museum, whilst his knowledge of Persian and Sanskrit had given him a far wider range than most people could cover. He spoke of the writers as though they were old friends of his, and it was quite a while before I discovered that some had been dead a few hundred years. So he showed me Srinagar, and later Kashmir, with as much pride and interest as an English country squire would conduct a visitor round his estate.

On the first evening we had walked up The Bund for about a 361
mile and looked across the wide bend of the river; there he had 731
pointed out a dry canal about a hundred and fifty yards wide, explaining that this is the overflow for the river during the spring months when the snows melt and the Jhelum rises, threatening the city. Through it the flood waters are carried away behind on a shorter route to join the river after its great bend through Srinagar. The original city was built on higher ground than the present one which became the capital of Kashmir in about A.D. 960, floods have wrought havoc among the people of Srinagar from time to time, and yet with all the efforts made to divert flood waters, they still take place, the flow of water with a rapid thaw being more than the river and the canals can cope with, so that even in recent years bridges have been swept away.

The following morning, lying back lazily in a shikara, and being paddled slowly down stream on the smooth waters of the river, we could just catch a glimpse of the red roofs of the houses in the European quarter—houses set in large gardens and built much like those you would see in England but with wide verandahs all round them on both floors. They are hidden from view by the high-built banks of the river—The Bund; but for this, even with the overflow canals, during the spring floods, that part of the city would be under water. At times, in spite of its being about twenty feet wide at the top, The Bund is burst by the pressure of the swirling waters; this happened as recently as 1950, then in their wild rush the waters

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36/ carried away fences and walls together with the wood and dried
73/ mud brick homes of the poorer Kashmiris, and inundated th
lower floors of the better-built houses in their dash toward th
city.

36/ A little further down stream and on the right bank are th
[185] two State guest hoises set behind high white walls. From thei
garden gates, stone steps descend to the river where houseboa
for hire are moored in the hopes of getting the overflow fro
the guest houses; in the old days none but those owned by th
Maharaja were permitted to tie up there and the stone step
were kept clear.

Behind the white houses rises a thousand foot high hil
with a small edifice on its summit lighted by a beacon at nigh
This is Takht-i-Sulaiman, a *Hindu* temple.

Further down stream we passed many houseboats bearin
on their brass plates the names of people famous in Kashmi
such as that of Percy Brown whose wife has told of the en
chantment of Kashmir in her delightful little book of poem
[224] *Chinar Leaves*. Across on the other bank we could see a smal
fishing village, the fishermen from which I soon got to know t
be those who move up and down stream in the early mornin
waking one up by scraping their great nets under the house
boats in the hope of catching the small fish which hid
there.

Over the top of the houseboats we could see the spire o
All Saints' Church, its red, galvanised iron roof I foun
later on strolling along to see it, softened by the creepers whic
cover the walls and the splashes of colour in the delightfu
garden which surrounds it.

Just below this was pointed out to me the small cana
which comes through from the Dal Gate—the entrance t
the famous Dal Lake; this canal is usually crammed tight wit
houseboats and all but dry except during the spring and early
summer.

Had we been walking it is here that we would first be asked
by unseen men's voices below, "Shikara, sahib?", and looking
down the flight of steps would have seen a dozen or more ga
shikaras lying close together like sardines in a tin, the shikar
wallahs, or hanjis as they are known there, lying back lazily

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and languidly lifting a hand as you gaze down upon them; 561
yet these fellows will happily paddle on for hours when called upon to do so.

Below this is the sedate Srinagar Club. In the past no self-respecting European could afford not to be a member of it. The previous evening I had been made a temporary member to find that it offered all those facilities common to clubs in England—the home of Clubs—whether they be in town or country. It is a comfortable little place, full of atmosphere with age-mellowed rooms reminding one very much of home. The attractive little club-house is built bungalow fashion on many levels on the inner side of The Bund; before it and on the outer side is an ugly mass of giant piers which shoot up from the river to support a large chinar-shaded verandah on which the members sit and watch the river life, where dances are held and which becomes attractive only at night when its dozens of coloured lanterns reflect on the water below and through the lattice screens.

Still farther down stream is the wood-paling fence behind which stands the old British Residency—now used as a State Emporium. Red roofed, the house with its two picturesque gate houses is much like a hunting lodge in the Highlands of Scotland, seemingly built of red bricks in a skeleton of dark wood. The verandahed back of the house faces towards the river, which can only be seen from the upper rooms, the front looks out on to an English garden, the fresh, shaded lawns spread out like a sheet of velvet before it, and planted among the ever-present chinar and fir trees are beds of flowers known throughout Kashmir. Here were held the British Resident's famous tea parties which were a monthly feature of Srinagar, and to which all vied to be invited, they being equalled only by the Buckingham Palace garden parties in their importance to the people of Kashmir. [C54]

From the verandah of the large porch to the house, the most lovely view of the distant Takht-i-Sulaiman is to be had through the firs. With a carpet of colour at one's feet, a bare mountain with its temple on the summit, so framed becomes a thing of beauty. The Colonel was delighted to see that the gardens are still as well kept as ever before, commenting that it is good to

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[Facing p. [illegible]]

3a Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir
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36/ think that with the departure of the Resident, they were not allowed to fall back; though even were the colour of the flower beds to disappear, the shades of greens and blues of the trees with all except the firs changing to flame red and orange with the coming of autumn, could never be lost. There is a quiet and gentle dignity about the house, no ostentatious display of marble stairs or gilt domes, whilst the gate houses are just like gamekeepers' cottages.

Continuing down the river we passed the Post Office and the Bank, both blending with their surroundings, the builder of these not spoiling the charm of the water-front by their presence. Here are the many little shops with touts outside pestering visitors to "Only look, sahib—no need to buy—only look Kashmir wood carving, embroidery work, papier mâché. You come my shikara, sahib. I show you my factory near third bridge. No? Well, sahib, only tell me your houseboat name, then I come show you my goods—best quality in all Kashmir. I no tell lie, sahib. No? Well then you take my card, [785] sahib!" "Take his card for God's sake, then he'll worry you no more!" my guide said, and he was right, for they soon get to know you after going along The Bund a few times and cease to worry you, just as he was right about the beggars which are of all sorts and kinds, mostly professional, insisting that if I must give, I only drop an anna or two to those who were really village men. The others, he explained, are all kept by one man, receiving food and a bed in return for what they manage to collect during the day, however small or great; the woman beggar being provided with a child to carry in her arms, either drugged to encourage sympathy, or pinched by her to make the poor little scrap cry pitifully to draw your attention and the money out of your pockets.

Further on is a building much like a young castle right before The Bund and with stone steps leading up from the water to the inside of the building. It is a quaint house, no one seems to know the purpose for which it was originally built, the most [illegible] popular belief being a school. The broken-down hovels which from now on crowd The Bund until the Law Courts are reached, were the "dirty dens of vice" serving that part of the city until the Maharaja had the inmates turned out of them. It [illegible] Kashmiri AV4

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[Facing p. 13]

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36/ would have been best had the "houses" been burned down at the same time for they spoil an otherwise tidy Bund.

217 It was here, at this part of the river, that my attention was first drawn to a square building on the other bank. This is the Lal Mandi, which was built as a royal guest-house and a banqueting hall by the Maharaja Sir Partab Singh, uncle of the last Maharaja. It is now the State Museum and Library in which are housed the many precious Kashmir shawls, pieces of armoury and architectural discoveries, together with a considerable library of old books and writings on Kashmir, written in English, Persian and Sanskrit. But it will be a long time before one will see them so poorly presented. The priceless wonderful shawls are so folded that their beauty is not seen; all the pieces are housed in glass cases with heavy, much painted wood surroundings to the small glass panels, and the whole place is aged and begrimed. I was amazed that from among the apparent chaos of the library, the head clerk was able to produce in a few minutes the books I particularly wanted. No doubt great treasures are housed in the building. What they need is a Carnegie to provide sufficient money to put them in order and display them as they deserve.

501 The river widens, taking a great sweep, with the banks thick with freight barges and from now on there are no houseboats, only these clumsy craft built on thick, rough-cut timbers spliced into each other and held in place by iron rivets which look more like great stitches. They are made with flat bottoms and sides narrowing to both bow and stern and carry heavy loads like stone, bricks, earth and logs down the river, while their more slender sisters are used for the transportation of rice, at times being cleaned and hired out for river carnivals. The larger ones, called *bahach*, can carry a cargo of up to one thousand maunds. The smaller ones, known as *war*, take a cargo of four hundred maunds. They are moved along by heavy punt poles, the man or woman fixing the steel pointed end on the hard bed of the river and then placing the butt against the shoulder, they walk, pressing down hard against the pole and go from the bow to the middle of the craft—usually walking over the load which is being carried, by that means forcing the barge along. At such places where there is a tow path or fields, a

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501 rope is tied to the bow and men pull the boat along. In the stern sits an old man or woman no longer able to work on the [505] heavy punt poles, but now steering with a giant oar. The pity of it is that one so often sees women heavy with child working the boats up river, sometimes with the only pole, whilst her husband sits smoking his hukka and steering.

~~[3--]~~ These people live in their boats, their quarters in the stern being a small covered-in compartment which does not reach to the very end, for here the rudder oar is worked, here is to be found the open clay stove-cum-range on which the family's food is cooked, here the men take a bath—very occasionally, here the goat must travel to provide the milk, whilst over the roof and the load the chickens run, somehow keeping their [593] balance. Here the old father sits and smokes while his wife takes the tiller and his sons and daughters-in-law force the boat along as he did for them over so many years when they were children and he and his old woman alone had to push or pull the heavy boat up river together with the years from their life's span.

In winter the fire is made inside the compartment; at times the whole thing catches alight, for these people are careless, but what does it matter, water to extinguish the flames is an arm's length away and to be had for the dipping.

[302] Other boats were there also, old dungas—much the same shape but slimmer, the whole being used for living accommodation with rush mats to cover the sides. As we passed them a woman was sitting holding a piece of stick with a cotton—much as the boys do at home—and it is surprising how many small fish the size of sprats can be caught in this way, more so in the side canals. Another woman was hanging out and sloshing a pot in the river and then carefully draining the water away, she was cleaning rice; others were doing their washing up in the same [579] way, while yet another was holding a baby over the same water and teaching him to be house trained with such good manners as his father was then displaying at the other end of the boat.

The boats of the bigger contractors—however rich they become they prefer to live on the river—have double-decked young houseboats built on them, elaborately decorated with

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many verandahs and gables, the rooms small but each housing a son with his own family. The roofs are shingled, that is they are tiled with wooden slats, the windows glazed, the family kitchen is in the stern, ducks float around the boat which is permanently in a mooring. 501

Just here we came upon the *Amira Kadal*, the first of the seven bridges across the river, and the longest of them all. The piers are of stone, the bridge of great timbers; it carries the road to Baramula. 561 [601]

After passing under it we were confronted on the left with the great white palace of the Maharas, which during the time of Hari Singh, the last of them, was converted into Government offices. A grand white double staircase with fine ornamental balustrades passes up from the water-front to the river entrance. Through the large plate glass windows can be seen tiger skins stretched across the walls. The waterway is now crowded with rice barges and freight barges; in the days not far off none were permitted to moor anywhere near to it, the front of the palace was then spotless and relieved only by the different shaped and coloured State barges, known as *parinda* or fleets, each having forty or fifty rowers dressed in gorgeous blue and gold uniforms, the canopy beneath which the Maharaja sat being gilded. From a shikara one does not have the view spoilt by the unpainted galvanised roof which ruins an otherwise imposing building. Attached to it, also on the water-front, is the Golden Temple—the top is gilded—with modern thief-protecting steel lattice gates. The jewels on the idols were said to be worth a fortune. [501]

Within the same garden walls of the Shergarhi, is the red brick building in which lived the women of the Maharaja's household. Behind them all and just outside the high brick walls, there used to be a row of small shops in which were housed the "priests" who made, printed and sold the "extensively illustrated sex literature for which Kashmir was well known until the turn of the century". Of his exposure of these dens and their final removal and obliteration, the late Reverend Tyndale-Biscoe writes in his last book. [505]

The waters of the Dal Lake, which pass through the Dal Gate, flow along the Tsunt Kul or Tsunt-*Kul*, a canal which empties

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34/ itself into the river on the left bank. Below this is the Basant Bagh ghat which has the grandest flight of steps down to the [778] Jhelum in all Srinagar. The stone, which comes from the beautiful Hassanabad mosque built in Akbar's time by the Muslims of the Shia sect, was pillaged from there in about the year 1872 by Colonel Mian Singh, the Sikh Governor at the time of terrible religious strife accompanied by bloodshed, fire, plunder and the usual indiscriminate and unnatural rapings. From these steps in the old days a rope was run over to the palace and on it petitions from his loyal subjects were sent to the Maharaja.

Again on the left bank is the entrance to the Kuta Kul, or Kut-i-Kul, the overflow canal which cuts short the great curve the river now takes, and carries water from it to prevent flooding in that part of the city as the Jhelum narrows, re-entering it way down below the sixth bridge. [801] This I found to be a useful waterway when canoeing, if one has no calls to make and has some sympathy for the shikara wallahs, since poles can be used to push the boat up stream—these men then use a pole as Europeans do with a punt—the flow not being so strong as that of the main river. It must be admitted though that it was very seldom that I managed to get through without a considerable amount of excited shouting and swearing—in Kashmiri—at the boats which choked it, while here and there the stench of bad garbage was pretty powerful.

[303] On the banks of the Kuta Kul canal, in what was once a royal garden are now built forty great tin and fire proof, beehive-shaped Government Granaries in each of which can be stored up to four hundred tons of rice and corn brought in from the villages to feed the people of Srinagar, it having long been the practice to ensure that however poor the crop, the city must not [662] go short. The rice was being carried in bags on the backs of coolies from the barges below, a graduated path winding round and round the granary, much like the slide of a fair-ground slip-in-the-slip, the entrance to the store being near to the top.

30/ Back in the main river again we passed the houses of relations
34/ of the Maharaja, Police Headquarters and numbers of schools all mixed up with a conglomeration of the most ramshackle wooden houses, leaning at all angles and against each other as

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though drunk; it seemed as though they were fighting to get to 361
the water-front. The people were overflowing on to the precari- 341
ous little verandahs before each tiny room, which are four and five stories high. Even then, although they appear as if they will collapse at any moment, here and there new rooms were being added—still retaining the odd angle, which must mean going up or down hill when one moves across a room. It was as though all the architects had been squint or cross-eyed and the builders had never heard of the most primitive of plumb-lines or spirit levels. Some of these houses are over a hundred years old; it is their very looseness which has permitted them to withstand the many earthquakes which Srinagar has suffered when houses of stronger and firmer construction have collapsed.

Between gaps in the houses we would see dingy, dim alleys 361
sloping up from the water, many with stone steps; here men and 343
women were standing knee deep in the river and washing [396]
clothes; little soap is used, for they rely on whacking the dirt out on the steps or some convenient stone. Naked boys were splashing about in the water, scrambling over some of the moored boats or the great rafts of logs which had been floated down stream. Here and there were the bathing huts peculiar to Srinagar, they consist of a raft made up of three logs across which at equal distance are four others. Two lean-to huts each divided into some three or four compartments are then fixed facing each other on the sides—these resting on two of the logs lengthways and leaving a space between, over which a board floor is built. Sacking covers the fronts of each compartment and so the bathing hut is complete with ladies on one side and gentlemen on the other. To take a bath the occupant simply goes inside, hangs his or her clothes up and is already sitting in the water, for there are no floors and only a pole across each compartment on which to sit.

It was usual to see the centre portion occupied by some who, after taking their bath, were washing the clothes they had discarded.

These bathing huts rise and fall with the level of the river. I heard that during the floods they frequently break adrift and have to be towed back into position from far down the river; they often return broken, but an odd piece of wood or a strip of
sacking from here that night and they are in
use again, although it is then rather like

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000 sucking soon puts that right and they are in use again, although it is then rather like taking a bath in a conservatory.

764 From the side roads the gutters emptied themselves into the river, the banks were often used as public conveniences and garbage was thrown there to be sorted over by pi-dogs after it worked its way into the river which had by this time changed in density, though it was never crystal clear even a mile up stream; but still people bathed, still the women in the boats did their washing-up in it and strained clean their rice; no wonder one hears that cholera spreads alarmingly when it breaks out in Srinagar.

361 [990] Habe Kadal, the second bridge, named after a poetess queen of Kashmir, is in the busiest centre of the city, with shops, houses, stores, both old and new all falling over each other, the streets jammed and the bridge crowded with people, small traders sitting behind baskets of fruit and vegetable, a chaotic muddle typical of all Far East markets, the noise, the flies and stench of foods beyond description whilst it seemed as though the entrance to each end of the bridge must be the meeting place of the entire population of Srinagar.

Proceeding down river we passed Rugh Nath Mandir, the biggest Hindu temple in all Kashmir. It is one of those buildings which exist to torment the photographer, whose view of it from the river is blocked by a building covering the flight of stone steps which lead down under an arch from the temple to the river. The only possible shot I found was from behind, when it became necessary to stand legs apart over a stinking gutter in a filthy alleyway, but then the view in colour was excellent, for to one side was a picturesque house with carved, chocolate-shade woodwork and an overhanging first floor, its rail festooned with scarlet chillies strung out to ripen and dry and looking like tiny Chinese lanterns.

777 5774 Further down river is a building interesting to all Englishmen; it is built of wood, with a large overhanging upper storey held from dropping into the river by poles set upright from the rocks below, and with a flag flying over the highest of its many roofs. This is the Central Mission Boys High School, made famous by the late Canon Tyndale-Biscoe, a Cambridge blue who according to his own books "spent a lifetime in making men; who found a

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nation of weak and effeminate boys and showed them how to 797
play, to study and to work," from whose classes came most of 554
the men who are now of any count in Srinagar. From the windows of the upper storeys these boys had learned to dive into the river beneath. Attached to the verandah was still to be seen one of the many school mottoes, "What do they say. Let them say what they say". I have since known many Kashmiris who to prove immediately their honesty, quality and worth have within a few minutes of our meeting told me of their being educated at the school with as much pride as we would have mentioned our University.

We were almost upon the Fateh Kadal, the third bridge. Until 361
1930 it remained as it had been built almost from the time a [491]
bridge was first made there in A.D. 1499 but the floods of that year washed it away to such an extent that a new generation now replaces it, built by present-day engineers who have done their best to retain some of the characteristics of the old bridge. The current is strong here, swirling past the piers.

The great-grandfather of these bridges was one of boats made [341]
at the same time as the city by King Pravarasena II. Those which followed were picturesque and crudely built and have gradually been washed away in the floods or broken beyond repair to be replaced by others of modern structure. Today only one stands as they were originally made, on stacks of logs on the cantilever principle, the foundation of the pier consisting of a barge loaded with great rocks and then sunk; round this stakes were driven and tied together with horizontal logs, the whole being filled with more rocks to save its being either carried away by the river or knocked out of place by one of the hundreds of large barges which crowd and ply the waterway. I have since seen old sketches and photographs of these bridges: they were certainly colourful, many with large flowering trees growing from the sides of the piers, others with small shops on them—rather like miniatures of the old London Bridge.

Here the river was narrowed down and the flow made greater, especially round the great piers between which it swirled, so that the boatmen coming up stream clung tenaciously to the banks, the paddlers standing up and helping themselves along by holding to the barges moored there and forcing their boats along, 361 while those going down remained in the middle of the river, merely using their paddles as rudders, and shouting to a boatman who was struggling to cross from one bank to the other, to clear out of the way. The rule of the river at all places is guided by common sense, down stream in the middle, up stream close to the banks. Passing the barges and looking into their kitchens is rather like coming in by railway to a town and looking right into the gardens of the houses backing on to the line.

443 All around are the showrooms and shops and workrooms—they call them factories—of the fancy trades of Kashmir. Embroidery work, papier mâché, silverware and wood carving, not forgetting the wonderful shawls, with the traders' boards hanging out even from the topmost floors, whilst when I looked up, a watcher from above immediately invited us to "Only see—don't buy, sahib!" the age-old cry of the Srinagar merchants with the friendly intimate smile.

346 Soon, on the right bank, we came upon the Mosque of Shah-i-Hamadan. Built after the fashion of a Buddhist temple, of small wood bricks, the roof is flattish and in layers, being of wooden boarding covered with turf, green in the spring, brown in summer; the whole surmounted by an open spire with a gilded ball. From the corners of the overhanging eaves bells are suspended. Here we got out of the shikara to look at it, for this is one of the most important mosques of Srinagar, the floors being completely covered with valuable carpets, the ceilings drip with lovely chandeliers festooned with hundreds of lustres, the supporting pillars inlaid with glistening stones, the walls painted in multicoloured designs and the windows attractively carved.

[778] Within it there is a spring which is sacred to the Hindus and dedicated to Kali, the goddess of nature. Beneath the mosque and right on the water-front, is a Hindu temple which is much used. To the passer-by who did not know, it appears to be nothing more than a splash of orange paint on the stone wall under the water-front pathway to the mosque.

Lower down on the left is another interesting mosque. This [562] is the Pathar Masjid, said to have been built of limestone which is believed to have been the looted steps which led up the hill to the Takht-i-Sulaiman. It was built by Queen Nur Mahal, and since a woman built it, the Muslims refuse to worship there.

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Zaina Kadal, the fourth bridge, is close by, and passing under it my attention was drawn to a rather magnificent wooden house on the right bank which one of the boatmen told us was built by a merchant who controlled all the pashmina wool which came into Srinagar; such are the profits to be made from that commodity. 361 491

Close by is the tomb of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din, one of the most renowned of early Muslim kings of Kashmir who died in 1470. Built of red brick, it is enclosed in a stone wall, the inscriptions found on fragments discovered within these walls were in the Piri character and among the oldest in Kashmir. There is an odd belief there that the sores of smallpox can be cured by being rubbed in water with a brick from the Bad-Shah.

The fifth bridge, Ali Kadal, which is now rebuilt as a footbridge, had as its ancestor the grandfather of all the roadway bridges, that having been erected in the year A.D. 1417.

Temples with their shining silver domes outnumber the mosques as we pass one after the other. We find that the river now starts to clean up and widens; here and there trees overhang the waters and the high stone walls protecting the gardens above are crowned with flowering creepers which drip their colour to the waters. [346]

Then the sixth bridge which is the last remaining of those built on the old pattern. This one is now a little bent and out of level in its road surface. The baulks of timber and the great rocks are still rustic and beautiful, their usefulness and strength proved by the years they have stood up even to modern traffic. Below on the left bank is the Kota Kol canal, which branched off just after our passing the first bridge and now re-enters the river.

Saffa Kadal, the seventh bridge, "The bridge of departure", has close by it the Serai in which the Yarkand traders stay with their merchandise, their caravans arriving during the autumn. Just below is the weir holding back the water during the winter months so that the river is always navigable. A large lock which can take many barges and the biggest houseboat is at one side to lift or lower them up or down river. Standing on the bank we watched the hundreds of silver flashes as fish leapt the swift running waters flowing over the weir. Usually slow in moving, [485] 502

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502 as though tomorrow will always do, it is surprising how the boatmen suddenly decide that there is reason to hurry through the lock, the incoming ones pushing against those endeavouring to get out with threats, screams and shouts, together with distant brandishing of fists, but seldom with blows, for the Kashmiri is no fighter.

392 Down below the weir are more boats, these are the homes of
those who before worked on the river and now seek employment in the city, but cannot bear to leave the water to be
cramped up in the dog-kennel-like rooms of the houses; here
sex] they still enjoy freedom of space. Among the boats were a few
old houseboats which were said to be floating brothels in many
cases. They were easy to pick out with the impudent laughing
girls at the windows, and on the flat roofs the boys with grey-
blue eyes either downcast or apparently looking over one's
shoulder and into the distance when you look them full in the
face. They were outside the city, in an excellent position for
their trade, being accessible to the river by shikara, or the road
by tonga.

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CHAPTER TWO

By River to Baramula

A FEW days later we went farther down the Jhelum River, down as far as Baramula a distance by water of nearly twice the thirty-four road miles. This time we travelled by *donga*—really the forerunner of the luxurious houseboats and now only used by visitors when narrow canals or rivers have to be navigated. 501

The *donga* is much the same as the present-day cook boat, except that most of them have matting walls which are rolled up during the day and the roofs are still quite frequently made of close-knit rush matting. Each boat has its living-room forward, aft of which is the open verandah-like portion which is sometimes used as an extra summer room, while astern are the bedrooms and bathroom. Oil lamps are used and these *dongas* can be made quite comfortable for fishing, shooting expeditions, or as a base for trekking.

As we moved down river we must have appeared a strange string of boats, for the cook boat, which we had taken from the houseboat, was far superior—outwardly at least—to the *donga*. Behind the cook boat which was astern of us, trailed a shikara followed by two duck punts. The boatmen, one working on each side, helped the *donga* down stream with their long poles while the wife of one of the men sat at the stern with a large oar ready to guide the boat when they needed it. The windows of the cook boat seemed to be overflowing with women and children—Kashmiris have large families and although I have been there many times I have yet to sort out which child belongs to which man or woman in the boat crew.

We fed as we went down stream, the cooking going on as we moved along, the khidmatgar putting on his white jacket, In Garvin 7-8 (no date) 1954 435 Kashmir [illegible]

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581 turban and wide coloured belt before serving us, carrying each dish along the foot cat-walk from the far end of the cook boat, and attending to us just as he had done on the houseboat.

One imagined that the *dunga* could be snug; unlike the furnishing of a yacht, table and chairs were of the folding camp variety, the beds the collapsible canvas chikari pattern.

Kashmir felt wool numdas covered the wooden floors which were so highly polished that as you stepped on them the mats slipped about; as in the houseboat, the bathroom was at the end with a large oval galvanised bath tub, and one's clothes had to be hung up on hooks strapped round the posts which supported the roof and formed uprights for the dividing walls. There were three bedrooms with no separating corridor, the one nearest the bathroom being used as a store for tents and trekking equipment.

We made the trip leisurely, after passing through the lock at the weir, tying up to the bank for the night and often for meals; still the service was the same, hot baths, hot meals perfectly served; within a short time of our touching the river bank, the people of the village nearby came out with chicken, eggs and vegetables for the cook to buy, still milk and cream were to be had in plenty, still the khidmatgar managed to find flowers for the table.

133 This great river forms the main arterial drainage system for the valley's lakes and rivers. It rises in a spring of deep blue water which issues from the bottom of a high scarp of a mountain spur at Verinag, and flows placidly on towards Baramula. Sluggishly it winds its way, for the valley is very flat; in places the banks have been built high to save it from flooding the surrounding countryside when it is in full spate. From its source to the gorge at Baramula is about a hundred and thirty-two miles, yet by road it is but eighty-five miles, [531] some of its great loops bringing it to within a quarter of a mile of meeting. On these the design of the world-famous Kashmir shawls were made, not as is generally believed on the fruit of the mango, a tree not found in the valley.

133 It is a strange sensation when, standing up in the *dunga*, one
731 suddenly realizes that the land beyond the river bank is many
feet lower than the river which has been built up through the

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embankment to prevent its flooding the valley; in places it is almost like an aqueduct. This land was either cultivated or else had become a marshland, the water remaining there being unable to drain away. 133 731

The boatmen did not work hard; we moved along at about one and a half miles an hour, so that it was quite easy to go ashore, look around and keep up with the dunga. The fields were pale green with ripening rice and maize, or golden with mustard, and broken up by graceful groves of willows, sentinel-like poplars and laden fruit trees, the latter I afterwards saw in the spring when the apple and pear trees were a mass of white blossom and the almonds a dainty pink, shedding their petals at the height of their beauty. 291

Shadipur was the first large village. It is at a point where the waters of the Sind River flow into the Jhelum, and as is so often found in Kashmir, translated, the name Shadipur has a pretty meaning—"The marriage of the waters". Below this there is a carefully protected little island on which is a chinar tree which locals declare never grows in size; it is held in great reverence by the Hindus. The Nuru Canal branches off just here, running through to the town of Baramula and avoiding the Wular Lake. A rather fine bridge spans the canal, and across from Shadipur is another large grove of magnificent chinar trees. We joined up with a number of houseboats moored there; among the owners was an old friend of the Colonel's. Soon the subject under discussion was a favourite of his—water; we had brought a few tanks of drinking water down from the city. Mostly for my benefit the subject switched over to cholera and how it was carried down by the river, so that by the time they had finished over a few before-dinner sherries, I found myself wondering if I dare ask the bearer whether the bath water came from the river or was from that which we had brought. I discovered that our men had been over with the shikara to refill our empty cans from the Sind River, the waters of which come from the snows and glaciers at Sonamarg. There were some very fine flocks of geese here, the price asked being four rupees each. On hearing this the two old men threw up their hands in horror reminding each other of the time when hundreds of the pick of them were to be had for one rupee eight annas each; the price of ducks was 361 [103] [718] 235 were two and a half rupees each, and they refused to understand why it was this should have gone up when they had their own food.

The following day we moved for some hours up the Sind River until we reached Ganderbal which sits at the foot of Mount Haramuk whose peak rises to a height of well over sixteen thousand feet and round which the Sind River winds. We had been warned of sandbanks, for the river was low, and passed a houseboat which had stuck on one, but the donga is a useful craft, taking less water than its bigger sister and getting through narrow passages, besides being easier to move off when it does get stuck.

Ganderbal was a favourite place for houseboats, with shady camping grounds all along and on both sides. It is from here that they start out up the river to Sonamarg and for Ladakh. The water is many degrees cooler than in the Jhelum and this was immediately noticeable; it must be a delightful spot in the heat of the summer when the hot humid air clings to the valley and the snows are fast melting and coming down the river.

Climbing part of the way up the mountain we could look over the marshes, through which runs a road and see in the distance the city of Srinagar. From there, I realised how much in the hollow of the valley the city had been built. The original one built by the Hindus was higher up and on ground which never became flooded, but when Akbar, the very first of the Moghul Emperors came, he selected for his city of Nagar the slopes of the Hari Parbat, on which he built a fort; this was on the right bank of the river. Those who succeeded him closed the entrance to the Dal Lake which was as it were a flood lung for the river, and finally the Pathan rulers built their palace on the left bank so that the city was spread out over the whole, the houses crowding down to the water while many built walls of stone to hold it back from inundating their gardens and so prevented the river's expansion when the floods came.

The following day we moved down stream again to the Jhelum and continued our journey. Sumbal was the next large village, one which boasts a bridge crossing the river. On the nearby marshes there was some excellent snipe shooting to be had. We stopped a night and a day, and taking the shikara, with

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all but one of the boatmen and their families, went through a 361
canal on to the Manasbal Lake. The waters are deep and clear. Glorious pink lotus lilies stand on the surface on its margins and behind it rises a mountain, its contrasting colours a joy to look at. The lake is unusual in that it has some hot springs which never freeze over even during the coldest of winters.

I was taken over to the upper end to be shown the old Fakir's garden which is still known for its grapes and peaches. We looked into his cave which, it is said, he intended should be his grave, but for some reason, now unknown, he was buried outside in his garden.

It is said that the Moghul Emperors built a garden here, with a small summer house with a great bow window at which the Emperors used to sit looking over the cool waters and enjoying the cool breezes which are so often present when the rest of the valley is still and baked with the heat. It is just possible to make out its three terraces.

At the edge of the lake we found the small roof of a temple showing above the soil, doubtless at some time the water had risen, the soil had gradually crept up round the building, and when the water receded, the building itself was lost to view.
We walked the mile or so back to the river‡ passing on our way 515
many old ruins of ancient buildings with their great stone water- 291
tanks still as good as they were when built though now covered with green slime; in spite of this the people use them for bathing, pushing aside the covering to make for themselves a place to stand in. In Kashmir the men are not so modest as those in India where they always keep a loin cloth around them even when they take a bath; here, only if you have women with you do they trouble to step deeper into the pool or sit down in the water until you have passed by.

Moving down stream next day, the boatmen were not allowed 226
to use their poles or paddles. Like us they cast out their rods and 251
from Sumbal to Hajan we must have hooked a hundred fish between us. Those we caught ourselves and could not eat, we passed back to the cook boat; two days later I discovered what they did with them when I called for one of the duck punts, for it stank of dried fish, those which they had split and spread out in the sun to dry.

‡[i.e. the Jhelum river -- Analyst]

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[illegible]

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The [illegible] like [illegible] [illegible] steps up from the river (p. 14)

The fruit seller on The Bund (p. 14)

[Facing p. 28]

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133 The whole way from Srinagar we had moved slowly north-west. At last we had reached the Wular Lake which is in the extreme north of the valley. For miles we had moved down a channel through marshlands so that it was difficult to know when we were actually on the lake. In the spring and summer the lake becomes the largest sheet of fresh water in the Indian continent, in winter it shrinks with the flow of the river, so that its shores are ill-defined, its depth increasing as the many rivers feed it, and in the autumn and winter consists of miles of marshlands with reeds growing. It forms a kind of settling tank for the Jhelum, thus preventing the valuable loamy rich deposit of its muddy waters from being exported by Nature to the Punjab. Flowing in a coffee colour, it emerges a sage green shade, almost opaque. In autumn this rich deposit which becomes dry land, shows how much goodness has been retained in the valley.

The deepest part of the lake is on the far north-west side and near to the hill with twin peaks named Baba Shurkar-ud-din.
[78] On the actual hill top is a shrine, that of a saint-disciple of Sheikh
[78] Nur-i-Din, the national saint who is believed to have been
[79] converted from Hinduism. The boatmen leave money here to ensure a safe passage over the waters of the dreaded lake. Nearby the rocks run down to the lake—at low water there is a lovely little shingle beach, above it a grassy sward with rose bushes and iris clumps, while not far out into the lake a most curious bubbling spring discloses its presence on the surface. Near here
[103] is the Mota Khom, a name unpleasantly translating into "The
[776] Gulf of Corpses" since the current carries all those drowned in the river and lake to that part, and the people who live thereabouts believe that the lake has djinns—or gods of the lake—who claim their victims at times. On the north-east end, the spurs of Mount Haramouk run right down to the shore.

731 Because of its relative position to the mountains a storm will sweep down the mountains' gorges from Erin and over Bandipura during the evenings with little warning, whipping the still surface of the lake into a sea with rolling waves on which no flat-bottomed boat can stay afloat, so that here on the lake many lives have been lost and none who have once experienced such a storm will attempt to make a crossing with a ~~dunga~~ or houseboat other than in the early mornings, for even in the afternoons there are frequent high winds.

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The old palace [illegible] and Golden Temple (p. 11)

From the houseboat window, watching a woman pulling the barge up river (p. 14)

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[Facing p. 29]

[illegible]

Kashmir? [illegible]

00 boat other than in the early mornings, for even in the afternoons there are frequent high winds.

36 Yet sailing before the noon hour on the Wular Lake can be delightful; good fishing is to be had there, especially mahseer which travel right up from the sea through the rivers Indus and Jhelum, while in the breeding season great flocks of wild duck come to nest among the weeds and willows, making it one of the most favoured of spots for duck shooting. All around in these sandy jheels, among the groves of trees, are the breeding grounds of coot, geese, herons and mallard; flocks of teal spread the surface of the lake, just far enough off to tantalise the sportsman, out of whose reach they always are. Occasionally an osprey is seen, standing as though asleep, but suddenly darting down on one of the dozens of tiny fish. Gulls scream as they hover over the boats.

We moored at Kishoon, a place considered to be one of the best and safest for houseboats on the lake. Unluckily it was the season for mosquitoes; I was fortunate in my boat being well prepared with nets for the beds and a good supply of Joss sticks which by their fumes kept us free of the brutes but smelling like a Hindu Temple at festival time.

000 Those were indeed wonderful days for me. The manji was an excellent shikari, and the Colonel and I each took a duck punt spending the time fishing or shooting. When we were out for duck we would separate and move slowly and quietly in, the Colonel with his manji as boatman, his old bearer as loader—this fellow was so old that one could imagine him loading muzzle guns with powder, shot and a wad—while I had my own Pathan bearer, and the manji's son as my boatman, he was a first-class fisherman and shikari, who although always acknowledging to his father's superior experience, undoubtedly had far more knowledge than he of both gun and line.

We all lay as flat as we could in the punts, were covered with rushes and the boatman slowly and carefully dipping his paddle hardly disturbed the surface of the water, moving as silently as the pirates who attacked the sleeping ship one so well remembered from school-boy days.

At dawn and dusk when the birds are flighting, there are so many hundreds of them that their numbers made shooting a

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000 slaughter which hardly seemed sportsmanship, it being impossible to miss. Besides which there was the question as to where to dispose of them.

The duck we got were young, plump and as we proved a day later, very tender, for there is good food for them on the lake and in the marshland.

222 [651] In the Wular Lake grows the strangest of fruits, this is the singhara or water-chestnut and the State collects a fee for letting out the rights. Although the white flowers bloom on the water, as the seeds come they sink below the surface and this strange fruit ripens under water. To gather them the boatmen drive a pole upright into the bed of the lake and tie their boat to it by a long rope. Pulling it out to the fullest extent they then row round and round shortening the rope's length as they go and pushing the nuts towards the pole. They are then scooped up in a net fixed at the end of a stick.

254 The kernel of the nut, which is white and mealy, is eaten either fried or, after being boiled, is ground into a coarse kind of flour.

103 The Wular is a fascinating sheet of water for sportsmen, but one is always being reminded of the ill fate of the many who have lost their lives in it. It is said that where the lake now is there was once a city which was swallowed up in an earthquake, the river then flooding and forming the lake. Wular certainly does mean "cave" and with that some suggestion of an earthquake, but I am more inclined to agree with Dr. Buhler's translation from the Sanskrit name of "Ullola" which means "high going waves" since the fear of these is always present among those who earn their living on its waters and who to this day declare that they have at very low waters seen what remains of that wicked city.

133 The great king Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din had an island built in the then centre of the lake as a refuge for boatmen in the event of a sudden storm, but the lake's shape has now so changed that this island is almost in one corner of it. There is a very old brick building, almost a ruin, still standing upon it and built in A.D. 1443.

228 The fishermen have an odd way of making their catches here. A fleet of about half a dozen boats form themselves into a large

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half-circle, each of the boats has a large-sized net hinged on a 228
pole; the net, as wide as the boat's length, is stretched out at the mouth much like a shrimping net, but is so large that it takes more than one man to handle it. These nets they drop into the water, each touching the other so that a large crescent is formed of them. Two boats which have broken away very quietly from the others, then start rowing noisily towards the nets, the men and boys slashing the water with sticks and thus driving the fish into the waiting trap. This method of catching is used in all seasons, even when the fishermen are protected by blankets over their clothes, for the lake can be bitterly cold during the winter months. Having made their catch, they huddle down on the bottom of the boat and each tucks his kangra, or fire basket, under his blanket to warm himself up again.

The kangra is peculiar to Kashmir. It consists of a round 354
open basket with handles fixed over the top and an earthenware lining. Live willow-twig charcoal is put into the pot and covered with powdered charcoal made from chinar leaves, and the basket then tucked under the voluminous gown worn by the peasants, be they man or woman, or under a blanket thrown over the shoulders to form a cape. One can either sit down with this individual fire-place on the ground, or carry it along, the arms being drawn back out of the wide sleeves, so keeping the hands warm also.

Leaving the lake, we passed through a narrow portion of the 133
Jhelum as it again forms itself into a river, and on through 361
Sopor, a pleasant little village from which the Nuru Canal runs up to Shadipore, very useful in stormy weather on the lake; unfortunately the canal is only passable when the water is high. We had thought of taking the boat up the Pohru River to where there are some forest huts, but the water there was also too low.

Further on we came to Baramula, the principal town of the valley below Srinagar, and like it built on either bank of the Jhelum. Here the river spreads out and becomes nearly a hundred yards wide, yet half a mile below it narrows, the mountains hemming it in so that, especially in the spring, the waters dash madly and furiously through the narrow gorge, becoming a series of rapids over dangerous hidden rocks, only
the massive high-sided boats used in the timber trade
then attempting a passage through its fury.

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000 the massive high-sided boats used in the timber trade then attempting a passage through its fury.

[03] Efforts were made from time to time to deepen the great
981 gorge near to Baramula and so prevent many of the valley's floods, since this is the bottle-neck for the waters trying to escape from it. History tells that in the reign of King Avantivarman the engineer Suyya tried it; another unsuccessful attack was made by engineers in the year 1902. But since that time much has been done with electric dredgers which either sucked the rocks up, or, if they were too large, gripped them in giant claws and deposited them along the banks thus deepening the river bed and permitting a greater flow of water at a lower level. Before this, in the course of as little as two or three days the greater part of the valley was at times flooded with the rapid flow of water resulting from heavy rains or a sudden thawing of the snows on the mountains.

Suyya's "engineering" methods were amusing if not original. It is said that he got the king to give him much money from his treasury, then cast coins into the water round the obstructing stones. The news spread quickly and in their eagerness to gather the money the men of Baramula, who were at that time suffering from scarcity, lifted out all the boulders and so cleared a deeper passage for the waters to escape.

361 Baramula is not a very impressive town; it is a mass of dilapidated houses in dirty narrow streets or alleys. There must be about a thousand houses there, for above the town the hills close in, so allowing little space for building, hence the crowding.

The road to Srinagar is lined by stately poplars, which in the spring are pale green and silver, in the autumn a dull gold. These were originally planted by the Empress Nur Jahan, wife of the great Moghul Emperor Jehangir.

[751] The town was almost completely laid low by a most terrible earthquake in the year 1885. At that time its old Sikh fort was left a mass of ruins. Opposite this fort a wooden bridge spans the Jhelum, and on the other side is an old Moghul serai.

3/2 A little below the town there is an ancient gateway and the
757 remains of some age-old fortifications, near which there is a spring which remains at the same temperature of about sixty-five degrees the whole year round; the water is impregnated

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with sulphuretted hydrogen and the people of the place tell of wonderful cures from many sicknesses brought about by either washing in it or drinking it. Having stood and watched some of the filthy diseased human beings who were washing there, I can hardly imagine anyone knowingly drinking of it, yet we were told that hundreds of bottles of the water were sent by one particular local "doctor" to all parts of the valley, and upon our appearing dubious at his assurance that "high ranking British officers, who swear by its cures, write and ask for further supplies," he brought out the usual book cover containing letters which were most certainly sent from many Officers' Messes and others written by Europeans in India, including one titled woman. 312 757

From Baramula an excellent road has been built following the Jhelum through the mountain gorges. There is the ruin of a Hindu temple said to date from the first century A.D. Later large numbers of fine deodars—the trees from which the heavy boats are made—cover the steep cliffs, and eventually after some sixteen miles, we came upon Rampore which is famed for its natural beauty of high limestone cliffs and precipices. From the face of these, water is taken from the river Jhelum and run through wooden channels to drop finally through great iron pipes for nearly four hundred feet to the turbines which develop the electric power needed in Srinagar and the valley. 491 [172] [376]

So road follows river, the rock substances changing with the miles. At times during the year, the loose shale falls and blocks the road. In some places the road is cut out of the rock face, leaving the precipice sheer down to the river below, and the solid rock overhanging it. Many gorges have to be crossed, but the old wooden bridges are gradually being replaced by iron ones, though even with these the road can still be dangerous in the spring.

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CHAPTER THREE

The History of Kashmir to the Muslim Era

008 As we neared Srinagar on the return journey, which we made by road, the *dunga* having started back through the Nuru Canal whilst we had gone on to Uri, we watched the fluffy white clouds which had rested in a thin layer like a shelf near to the top of the mountains, gradually pile up with the darker ones, then move towards the centre of the valley. The Colonel was correct in his prediction of rain, for with the setting of the sun the first spots came, and it continued on and off—mostly on—for two days.

These precious days were not wasted though, for on the shelves of the houseboat were books which had by then become of much greater interest to me than when I first arrived, their owner having in the meantime inoculated me with the germ of a fascination for Kashmir, and looking through them I decided to concentrate for a while upon its history.

Like many others who have studied it, I was amazed at the amount that is known about the country's past. Unlike any other part of the Indian continent, it possesses an almost complete connected series of written records and chronicles of the past history of the State, including both Kashmir and Jammu.

814 The Kashmiris generally divide their history into four periods, that of the Hindu Kings, of the Kashmir Muslims, of the Moghuls and of the Pathans. Other more modern writers have divided it into six or even seven periods, adding the Sikh,
172 the Dogra and the pre-Hindu rule. There certainly are records in stone of a history before the Hindu Kings, together with facts which are accepted by the people of the valley.

175 Originally there were many separate kings ruling over small parts of Kashmir; their kingdoms were known as Katraj. They

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fought among themselves and those who had been beaten got together and called in the help of one of the Rajput kings from Jammu. One of the first of these is said to have been Gonanda the First who reigned about the year 1260 B.C. In records of the pilgrimage to the celebrated cave of Amarnath, there is mention of a King Nara who reigned from 1048 to 1008 B.C. But before the time of either of these kings the learned men of Kashmir tell of that most terrible earthquake which swallowed up the wicked city of Sandimat Nagar—the Sodom of the East; this was followed by a flood which covered the place with the Wular Lake. This they declare took place during the reign of Sunder Sena between 2081 and 2041 B.C. Going yet further back, in records relating to the Takht-i-Sulaiman or Shankaracharya it is claimed by some historians that the original edifice was built by Sandiman, who reigned in Kashmir from 2629 to 2564 B.C., others however declare that it was not built until 200 B.C. and by Jaloka, being rebuilt by the Raja Gopaditya in the sixth century A.D. /175

In 327 B.C. Alexander the Great invaded Northern India where Buddhism was then the dominating religion of those parts. The great Buddhist monarch Asoka whose kingdom extended from Bengal to the Deccan, to Afghanistan and to the Punjab—a contemporary of Hannibal—conquered Kashmir in about 250 B.C. Himself a convert, he made Buddhism the State religion. It was his son Jaloka, succeeding him in about 200 B.C. who "reverted to the worship of Siva and was a great love of Naga maidens", who also built on the site of the original Takht-i-Sulaiman the first Hindu temple.

Asoka it was who founded the original city of Srinagar at Pandrathan, a village now some three miles up river from the present capital. He established friendly relations with both Egypt and Greece, so that during that period the Kashmir architecture and sculpture bearing evidence of the influence of those countries was introduced. Visiting the village where the old city stood one has to agree that it was well chosen being on higher ground with the great sweep taken by the Jhelum offering a glorious view across the fields, and the mountains behind forming for it a precious protection during the winter months.

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175 In that second century before Christ, the Buddhist Turushka kings, Kuska, Juska and Haniska reigned, during their time it is said that the Nagas "took offence, and destroyed many Buddhists by rolling ice boulders down the mountain sides upon them". Next came many Tartar chiefs invading the valley. After the coming of Christ, at the time of the Roman conquest of England, there is remembered one famous Indo-Scythian king, Kanishka. He it was who convened the Third Council of the Buddhist Church of Kashmir, which drew up the "Greater Vehicle of the Law" but was to gradually disappear with the arrival of the white Hun King in the sixth century. With his coming there started from Central Asia a steady stream of Scythian immigration which was to flow on for nearly three hundred years.

In his time, at a place which is still pointed out at Harwan near the entrance to one of the smaller valleys of the Vale looking down on the mirror-like waters of the Dal Lake there lived a famous Bodhisattva, Nagarjuna, who held unquestioned spiritual power over the land. He was a great alchemist, and his history is interesting in that he was born of wealthy Brahmin parents who had remained childless for many years. With his coming the astrologer foretold that his span of life could only be for seven years. To save themselves the sight of their beloved child dying as had been predicted, the parents sent him on a journey to many places. He arrived in Nalamda, became a monk, learned to contradict the teachings of the Brahmins, and in course of time became the head of the whole of the Buddhist church.

The king who is best remembered by legend during this period was the white Hun King Mirikakula who, it is reliably recorded, ruled about A.D. 525. Of him there are told many stories of his cruelties. The people have passed down through the ages one of these relating to the Pir Panjal Pass in the south-west of the valley where there is a ridge over which he crossed the mountains with his army. In those days armies used elephants extensively; one of these fell down into ravine below and so amused the King by its cries of agony that he ordered that another hundred be forced over the precipice. Another story still told by mothers to those daughters they fear may stray

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before they have been married, is that it was found necessary to remove a boulder from the Chandra-Kulya river; the king was told in a dream that only a chaste woman could lift it away. "Many a citizen's wife tried to move the stone, but in vain until Chandravati, wife of a potter, accomplished the task. The king was so infuriated at discovering so many women to be unchaste, that he ordered them to be killed together with their husbands and their brothers, in all three millions."

It is said of him that the people were warned of his coming by the vultures which were always to be seen flying ahead eager to feed upon those who would be slain at his orders—"a man of violent acts and resembling Death".

His own death was dramatic, for he committed suicide.

Hiuen Tsiange, Chinese Buddhist traveller in about A.D. 630, testifies in his chronicles to this famous tyrant leaving few Buddhist monasteries standing—excavated ruins of one at Harwan testifying to their beauty may be seen today. He also makes mention of "the temples of the heretics" and that to escape this terrible oppression, the monks and many others had fled the land to find shelter in Tibet, away from this king who, with extensive dominions in Central Asia, was the uncompromising patron of Brahmins.

One king who ruled about this time has left a lasting memory of his saintlike ways upon the people of Kashmir, who when something unusually fortunate happens, will even today declare that King Vinayaditya's days have come again. In his early days he had been placed under the care of a priest, and when the people came to ask him to take the throne his father had occupied, he agreed providing they accepted the many conditions he laid down, chief among these being that none of his people would ever utter a lie, cheat his fellows, or kill a living being. He built himself a small hut at the foot of Shankaracharya hill, and nearby had two great godowns made into which the landlords of Kashmir were asked to pour, of their own free will, one tenth of that which their lands produced. He appointed his brother to look after one godown and each morning himself distributed the contents of the other to those who were in need of food. He retained an army just sufficient to defend his lands, and did away with all officials' posts. He is said to have

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175 lived a simple life, cultivating a portion of his own land and so earning for himself, also contributing to the godown one tenth of that which he grew.

The next king of any importance was Good King Gopaditya; a Brahmin; he did much to cleanse the order and advance it for good in the land, founding temples on the Takht and Gupkar.

During the reign of King Tunjina there was a terrible famine in Kashmir; legend tells that it was averted by the miraculous appearance of thousands of pigeons. Then came King Matrgupta, who seems to have been subject to the Kings of Ujjain; he was quiet, gentle and had a "chivalrous courtesy and nobility of character which speaks well for the manners of the age". He submitted to the Raja Pravarasena. Pravarasena II was the king who founded the new capital of Shri Nagar.

We now come to the name of a king best remembered, King Lalitaditya—also known as Muktapida—whose reign was from about A.D. 725 to 750. During his time Kashmir, a country which had suffered serfdom until then, prospered, and instead of defending themselves its men attacked. His army was made up of over six thousand mounted troops and fifty thousand foot; "they went forth to conquer the world", which Kashmiri historians claim he accomplished. He most certainly did force the King of Kanauj and all the other chiefs in the hills of the Punjab to submit, he was victorious over the Turks and the peoples of Central Asia, returning after twelve years to drive the Tibetans from Baltistan.

This illustrious warrior was the son of Raja Pratapaditya, King of Kashmir and born of "the mistress of a fabulously wealthy and magnificent merchant whose wondrous beauty had attracted the attention of the King". Many claim that he was a pure Kashmiri, but this is open to considerable doubt, for his grandfather who founded the dynasty to which he belonged, is said to have sprung from humble origin, though related by marriage to the family which ruled before him: most certainly that particular family was of foreign blood, though it may have been in the land for two, perhaps three, generations.

He brought back from his conquests "men of learning and artisans skilled in many arts and trades" and started to devote

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himself to the enhancement of his country and his people, 175 giving much of his time to public works. He built great temples, ornamenting the insides and the outer domes with gold which he had "acquired" in India. It is claimed that it was he who built the mighty temples in Martand, though some say that one of these was built by King Ramadeva (3005-2936 B.C.) and that King Lalitaditya rebuilt it from a ruinous state, adding the colonnade. In all probability he found the mass of stones which had formed the original temple and entirely rebuilt it to the designs of his architects, only using the stone for that purpose. He built another temple and a city at Paraspur, raising there a mighty column; little but great stones now remain, and it is said that those which could be transported with ease were used in the making of the Baramula road. He made canals and drainage systems, thus reclaiming land which had before been useless. His people prospered, though much has doubtless been imagined of his greatness and been passed down as fact; for instance one story that he had built a gigantic cauldron from which one hundred thousand men could be fed each day. He was "just, mighty and magnificent".

But he had another side to his nature; when intoxicated he would issue the cruellest of orders and did not always keep faith or his word. In a fit of drunken madness he ordered that the beautiful city Pravarasena had built should be set on fire, and just as history tells us that Nero fiddled whilst Rome burned, so Lalitaditya stood and rocked with crazy laughter as he watched the city of Shri Nagar go up in flames.

His soldiers were restless though, they had been long used to victory and plunder, and now denied this they started to fight among themselves; there was restlessness in the land and small civil wars broke out. Their King also longed for more conquests and he left for Central Asia. His people besought him to come back, but he died in Turkestan after a reign of nearly forty years.

Before his departure from Kashmir, as though knowing that he would never return, he left for his subjects much wise advice which has been preserved in *The Rajatar*. He started by warning them against civil wars, doubtless having these in mind since he had himself decided again to take his troops abroad because of

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175 them. He cautioned them as to the upkeep in both repairs and provisions of their forts. He laid down his laws for those of his subjects who lived in the mountains, that discipline must be strict, that the cultivators should never be left with more grain than they could consume in one year, and that they should not have more cattle or more ploughs than was absolutely necessary, since this would result in their coveting and taking that ground which belonged to their neighbours. He laid down one order which continued to be obeyed for centuries, that "the cultivators must be repressed and their style of living kept lower than that of the people of the city, otherwise these would suffer". His wisest order came last, although unfortunately it has not been followed since those times, this being that he would not tolerate nepotism among his officers.

During his reign Kashmir rose to such heights as she had never before, nor since has, known. When he came to the throne the country was in a shocking condition as a result of the misrule of his brother, but under him instead of being the attacked, his people became the attackers, instead of being the plundered, they were the plunderers, and when they returned to their homeland and saw its condition as compared with those other countries they had seen, they were ashamed, and under the wise rule of their enlightened king put right the many wrongs, so to become proud of their land.

This reign was followed by a number of either short or weak ones. Lalitaditya's grandson was almost as well known as he in the legends of the land for he also set out to conquer the world; reaching the Ganges he defeated the King of Kanauj, but then had news that his own throne was in peril and had to return to Kashmir to oust the usurper. He is recorded as being "one who encouraged scholars and poets and founded cities". He was followed by "an indolent and profligate prince". After him there came a child in the care of his uncles, who destroyed him when he came of an age to take over, and put another child on the throne. This boy grew into manhood and reigned for nearly forty years because of the quarrels of his uncles, but eventually he also went, again to be replaced by a boy who like all the others was killed off when he began to assert himself.

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The reign of King Avantivarman commenced in A.D. 855. 175 During the hundred and twenty years from the time of Lalitaditya the country had suffered economically from misrule. It was during this king's rule that the valley was drained of much of the water which inundated the lands, the engineer sage Suyya deepening the bed of the river Jhelum and clearing a passage for the waters to escape at Suyyapore—a town named after him but now known as Sopore. Avantivarman founded the city of Aventipore, now a squalid village on the banks of the Jhelum half way between Srinagar and Islamabad and standing among massive ruins of bygone buildings, probably the most imposing of ancient Kashmir architecture, not unlike that at Martand, but enriched with elaborate carvings. The king concentrated upon the recovery of his own land and there is no record of his leaving its frontiers to conquer others.

He was followed by his son, Camkaravarman, in the year A.D. 883. The new king was a great conqueror who after establishing his rights to the throne over his cousin, "was able to set out with nine hundred thousand foot, three hundred elephants, and one hundred thousand horse". Truly an amazing number if correct, but where did they come from—were they hired from the adjoining lands ? There is little doubt that many came from Poonch and the hills. He is now only remembered by the temple at Pattan—then called Sankarapura. His recorded character is that of "an avaricious tyrant, a gambler and debauchee". Yet the two temples were dedicated to Mahadeva by him in conjunction with his queen Sugandha.

There then followed a long period of struggles between kings, their brothers, uncles, cousins and others for power. Small kingdoms were set up, boy kings "ruled". The one who immediately followed Camkaravarman was a child; his mother although Regent, was under the influence of the minister who was her paramour. Two years after his accession the boy king was murdered by the minister. The boy who succeeded him lived but a few days. The Regent mother then cast her minister aside and herself ruled the country for two or three years. The military chiefs overruled her councils though: she stood firm, they revolted, the Queen was captured and executed, and the military placed a king of their own choosing on the throne

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175 supporting him with unscrupulous ministers. This could not last for long and after two years the king lost his throne to a child king; another revolution, and still another king of whom it is said he could not bribe his soldiers sufficiently, so he also went.

A new phase then commenced in the history of Kashmir. The feudal landlords—many little less than minor kings—who had suffered much because of this friction in Srinagar brought about by the years of power of the military party, marched with their small armies against the city. They defeated the military army, cast out the minister and restored the old royal line by placing on the throne one who was the legitimate king. He however "showed to those who had put him in power, little gratitude for what they had done for him, and abandoned himself to vile cruelties and excesses, until the feudal landlords being unable to withstand more, murdered him at night as he lay within the arms of one of his many low-caste queens".

The feudal lords were still to be unfortunate, for his successor was if anything worse; his cruelties and sensual excesses, encouraged by a minister who was the whole time scheming to get the throne for himself, being those of a madman. Saturated by his minister with the belief that his relations were intending to wrest the throne from him, he set about destroying them, some he murdered, others he cast into pits and starved to death—a favourite method of extermination in those days. He only lived for two years though and his successor fled after taking his place but a few days.

The Military Chief endeavoured to place himself on the throne, and realizing how powerful were the Brahmins in the land, to gain their favours and confidence, he placed his election in the hands of an assembly formed by them. To his astonishment they selected a king from among themselves, one who ruled with great wisdom for nine years, during which time the country started to settle down to peace once more. It was not to be for long though, for at his death the minister who considered he had been usurped nine years before, forced his way into the Royal Palace, slaughtered the new king and flung the body into the River Jhelum. He ruled for a little over one year then "his

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVl Kashmir [redacted]

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body swelled as large as his head had become" and he died— 175
doubtless of dropsy.

Now comes an interesting period, for he was followed by a boy king, Kashemagupta, "who was grossly sensual and addicted to all of the very many vices then known and practised". He married Princess Didda of the house of Poonch, one who was a granddaughter of a famous King Bhima of the Kabul Shahi dynasty, a woman of great power of character, so that even during her sybaritic husband's reign her influence on the affairs of State was felt.

When her husband died in A.D. 958 her minor son Abhimanyu succeeded him, she being of course his guardian with full royal powers; the greater part of these she had in fact assumed during the lifetime of her dissolute husband. She was as ruthless as any of the most wicked of kings that had ever ruled Kashmir. Some historians suggest that "she was concerned in the early death of her son". She "put down all rivals, executing all captured rebels and exterminating their families to the last babe". She also, either by open murder or questionable means, caused the deaths of two if not three of her grandsons. She then "fell in love with a letter-carrier, one who began his life in Lohara as a peasant herdsman"—in all probability he would be referred to as a court courier in these days—and appointed him as her minister. He dominated her for the whole of her reign, was valiant, building up the army to such a standard of quality that when the great conqueror Mahmud Ghazvani, who was forcing Mohammedanism on India, tried to invade Kashmir, he had to return a disappointed and wiser man. She in turn was a cunning and far-seeing diplomat and it seems that during the years that she held the throne the land did not drop back.

Having exterminated her sons and heirs, she had to adopt one and he, her nephew Samgramaraja, followed her to murder the letter-carrier minister together with his son. Following this there seem to be masses of short reigns, sons being killed off by mothers, murders and suicides, until King Harasa came to the throne in 1089, ruling for twelve years. He was outstanding among the latter Hindu Kings of Kashmir, being brave, able and versatile, a lover of the arts and of music, but "cruelty and kind-heartedness, cunning and want of thought, displayed themselves in turn in his chequered life". His court was magnificent; he encouraged wise men, musicians and poets. Like so many that had gone before him, fearing intrigue among those of his family, he had them all murdered including his half-brother and the nephews by him. He is said to have spent so recklessly on his army and on self-indulgence that his treasury became empty, and he resorted to a ruthless plundering of the temples, not even sparing the golden images and idols. In addition he imposed still further taxation upon the people. A plague invaded the land. Taking advantage of the sickness of the people and the soldiers, robbers invaded everywhere; then there came a terrible flood which brought about a famine, with the result that the starved and unhappy peoples rose against their king and slew him. It is said that "his head was cut off and then burned after all had gazed upon it, whilst his body was cremated naked, as would be that of a beggar, by a compassionate wood-dealer".

His successor, King Ucchala, inherited an empty treasury, "his ministers and petty chieftains acting like highwaymen", and when he came to power through the latter, it was they who really ruled the country whilst his younger "brother wished a civil war in the kingdom". Realizing that he was quite alone and could trust none, the king set one against the other by fermenting jealousy and suspicion among them. He removed the leaders by either driving them over the frontiers or murdering them, and then forced those who remained in small pockets over the country, to submit, leaving them without arms. He came to the conclusion that the Kayasthas officers were the cause of many of the deaths of his subjects, they being as destructive as "spasmodic cholera, colic, and the disease which ends in sudden death", so that he systematically persecuted them, but the poor administration he installed in their place weakened his powers. So far as his subjects were concerned he was capable and liberal, but firm. Like so many before him, his end, which came after ten years of rule, was violent. The city-prefect together with his brothers entered the palace by night; they came upon him proceeding to the seraglio together with a few followers, and fell upon him. Although "he fought with desperate bravery he

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVl Kashmir [redacted]

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was soon overpowered by his many assailants and cruelly murdered".

He was followed by a king who reigned for hardly a day, another, his half-brother, for a few months, his brother making him a prisoner and reigning in his stead for eight years, and years of internal troubles and rebellions brought about by the landlords. Frantically he did his best to subdue those who stood against him, "imprisoning his Minister together with the Minister's three sons, finally ordering them to be strangled". From records he seems to have been possessed of a satanic mind, practising upon those landlords he held as hostages the most diabolical cruelties. Finally they rose in such strength against him that he was forced to flee to Poonch, whilst a pretender held his throne for about a year, during which time the poor wretched people of the land were at the mercy of bands led by those who were endeavouring to take the throne. Then the king returned and emulating so many who had gone before him, set the feudal landlords one against the other and held the throne for a further five years, after which he went the way of all others and "was done to death".

So it went on for two more centuries with the landlords holding sway, themselves petty kings and paying no attention to the king in Srinagar. Some of these kings lasted for many years, others few, and gradually the Hindu kingdom disintegrated.

Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.I.E., who was the British Resident in Srinagar at the beginning of this, the twentieth century, commenting on the slaughter of and by kings during the periods so far traced in these pages, which are based on the writings of Kalhana Pandit who lived in those times, said, "I have myself seen a precise counterpart of it in independent states on this very frontier. When I visited Hunza in 1889 the then chief, now in exile, had murdered his father, poisoned his mother, and thrown his two brothers over a precipice. The Chief of Chitral, when I was there in 1893, was one of only four survivors of seventeen brothers who were living when their father died, and he himself was subsequently murdered by one of his three surviving brothers—a brother whom he had frequently asked my permission to murder, on the ground that if

175 he did not murder the brother, the brother would murder him. In Chitral there was also the same struggle with 'nobles' as is recorded of Kashmir, and murders of 'nobles' were horribly frequent".

Canon C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe, who spent the greater part of his life in Kashmir as headmaster of the Church Missionary Society Boys School, tells of an incident in 1890. He was writing of the Raja of Hunza one of whose sons had become a pupil in his school. The boy was boasting to his headmaster of his father's bravery, and to give proof of it declared, "My father took his brother, my uncle, out hawking; later on they stopped for food and when they had finished and were mounting their horses, my uncle came forward to hold my father's stirrup, but my father said, 'No, you mount first', and insisted on holding the stirrup of my uncle to mount. Then as my uncle was lifting his other leg over the saddle, my father up with his gun and shot my uncle, his brother, in the back, and killed him dead! Oh my father is a brave man, but not only because of this incident. I will tell you another." (His eyes were then sparkling with pride over his father's bravery.) "My father had an old mother, my grandmother, a very old woman, sahib, who had no teeth. Well, my father went into the Zenana to see his old mother. She was sitting on the floor and my father wished her good morning and then asked her to look out of the window, and as his old mother turned to look out, my father up with his gun and shot her in the back and killed her dead! But you see my grandmother was only an old woman and had no teeth, sahib. Oh my father is a very brave man."

Tyndale-Biscoe mentions that "my father", the Raja of Hunza was brought prisoner to Srinagar and lodged in Hari Parbat fort for seven years, but he does not say if it was for these hideous crimes of which his son was so proud.

It is recorded that in 1286 when Raja Simha Deva became king "Kashmir was a country of drunkards, gamblers and fornicators". During the reign of this king Kashmir was invaded by the Tartar Zulkadar Khan and the king fled to Kishtwar, leaving the invader to set Srinagar on fire, take such of the people as he chose for slaves and slaughter as many others as his troops could lay hands on. After occupying the country

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for eight months, with no workers on the land, he found food getting short and tried to leave the valley by way of that pass in the south which goes through the Kuli Narawao Valley, but it was during the winter months and snow overtook them; they were less fortunate than was Napoleon on his retreat from Moscow, and all perished. 175

Ram Chand, King Simha Deva's Commander-in-Chief had not deserted Kashmir though, and he now moved down towards Srinagar, driving out the Gaddis who had moved in from Kishtwar, the place to which his king had escaped. Among Ram Chand's followers were two men, one was Shah Misra from Swat, the other Rainchan Shah, son of the King of Tibet. Rainchan Shah quarrelled with Ram Chand, just as he had done with his father, and killed him with the help of those followers he had brought with him from his father's kingdom. He then proceeded to marry the murdered man's daughter, Kuta Rani, and proclaimed himself King in the year A.D. 1320.

He wished to become a Hindu, but the Brahmins refused to accept him into their faith. Then there came from Arabia one Bulbul Shah and after seeing him at his prayers and listening to him preaching, the King decided that he would embrace Islam, doing so he took the name of Sadr-ul-din and started pulling down temples, destroying manuscripts and killing Hindus. It was he who built the great Jama Masjid mosque in Srinagar. After a reign of less than three years, this first of the Muslim kings died; unusual though it was, his death was not violent.

Udayanadeva, brother of King Simha Deva, now arrived and married Rainchan Shah's widow, Kuta Rani. At this period in history Urwan, a Turk, invaded Kashmir, and just as his brother had done before him Udayanadeva fled the valley, leaving his wife to collect together an army which she sent out under the command of Shah Mirza against Urwan. Urwan was defeated, and the king then returned to rule for a further fifteen years.

Upon his death in A.D. 1332, Kuta Rani stepped on to the throne, but only remained there for fifty days; then Shah Mirza declared himself to be king. No doubt with a view to consolidating his position, he proposed marriage to Kuta Rani—already twice widowed. Realizing that she was powerless to do

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175 other than accept, after temporising for some time, she consented, and the Hindus proudly tell how as the king entered the bridal chamber, rather than submit to his embraces, "she stabbed herself to death with a bejewelled golden dagger".

So with royal dignity passed the last of Hindu rulers. Their queens had been outstanding; from among them the names of eighteen have been remembered.

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CHAPTER FOUR

From Hindu to Present Times

THE Muslim era had begun. 175

In 1389 there came to the throne Sultan Sikandar. He must have been about eight years of age on his accession, and his mother Haura—by some known as Sura Begum—a woman of great strength of character, stopped at nothing to protect him during her twelve years of regency; she even had her daughter and her son-in-law put to death when she came to hear that they were preparing to lead a rebellion against the young king.

With his name is usually hyphenated But-Shikast or Iconoclast, meaning "The idol breaker". He was a sadistic religious fanatic resolved to obliterate every sign of Hinduism from his country. He destroyed as many as he was able of the beautiful temples which had been built by his predecessors, using the stones where he could in the making of mosques. It is said that for one whole year hundreds of men were employed in the destruction of the grand temples at Martand; those massive stones which they were unable to remove they defaced. All the learned books of the Hindus he ordered to be sunk in the Dal Lake. Then he turned to the people, offering them conversion, death or exile. Many fled, many permitted themselves to be converted and thousands were killed; of the latter it is said that they "burned seven maunds of the sacred threads", worn at all times round the necks "of the murdered Brahmins". His was known as the "gloomy reign", the drinking of wine, gambling and even music not being permitted in the land. His persecution of the Hindus was terrible and his treatment of the people made them so miserable that they prayed for deliverance from his rule, but it went on for twenty-three years.

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175 In 1420 he was succeeded by Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din a youth of seventeen years of age, whose reign is to this day remembered as the happiest for the people of Kashmir. This king's private life was a model to his subjects; "he was virtuous, self-controlled and frugal". His personal and household expenses he paid out of the proceeds of a copper mine he had discovered; he released all those who had been imprisoned by the kings who had gone before him; he controlled the middle man's profits. He made his brother his Chief Minister, entrusting him with the details of the Government whilst he turned his own attention to greater problems, encouraging the cultivators, building bridges and canals, one of these being the Nulla Mar, then spanned by seven bridges, which runs between the city and the Dal Lake. He built a most magnificent palace supplied with cool running waters from the Sind River. It was twelve stories high, each floor having fifty rooms, and in each of these five hundred men could be seated. But like so many of the palaces and houses built by the Muslims, wood was used for its construction, so that no sign of it remains. An old Mullah—one of the few learned ones I have met there—told me that "the Muslims always built their mosques in the valley of wood because it was warmer for the faithful to worship there, as they should do no less than five times a day, whilst the Hindu can easily put up with a cold stone temple, since they pray but once a day and the prayer lasts for but a few minutes".

As ruler Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din made every endeavour to revive Hindu learning, repairing the temples—among them the Takht-i-Sulaiman—remitting the heavy poll-tax which his predecessor had inflicted on those who had been brave enough to remain in the valley, and went so far to encourage those who had fled to return by offering them grants of land. His tolerance of the Brahmins was amazing for a Muslim. To this day many Brahmins will explain this by a centuries-old story which they truly believe, this being that just after he came to the throne he was taken sick and was at the point of death when a Hindu Yogi to whom he had once been kind, came forward and offered to exchange his own soul for that of the dying young king; the one condition he made was that his body should be put in a safe place and there preserved. The king accepted the Yogi's soul,

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but his brother, the Chief Minister, cremated the body, and from that day the real king was the Hindu ascetic and not Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din. 175

Another story, and one which is probably true, is that the young king had been suffering for many months from a terrible and painful boil which none of the royal physicians could cure. One Shri Bhatta came forward and offered to remove it painlessly with some golden ointment, which he did. The delighted king had Shri Bhatta brought to him and requested him to ask for himself any royal favour he wished, but instead he asked that the persecuted Brahmins might be permitted to live in peace in the valley. From that day the king at times showed for those people more consideration than he did for his Muslim subjects and in consequence was known by the Hindus as Badshah, meaning the Great Monarch.

Until that time the official language of the country under the Hindu kings had been Sanskrit. It was he who brought the Persian script into the country. A patron of letters and the fine arts, within his court at all times were to be found writers, poets, musicians and singers, many of whom had travelled far to meet him. Into Kashmir he introduced paper making, silk production and weaving; from the soft wools imported from Ladakh, the shawls for which Kashmir became famous, and also papier mâché work. He was known to be a great lover of the field sports.

Even then he had in his blood the desire for conquest, and going out to war, added Tibet and part of the Punjab to his kingdom. In Kashmir he had trouble with the Chaks, a tribe which he eventually drove back into the Dard's country after capturing Pandu Chak their leader whom he had flogged to death; then repenting, he took Hussain Chak, the dead man's son, into his favour.

At the age of sixty-nine Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din died. He left behind a name revered by all Kashmiris, whether Hindu or Muslim, always being remembered as a just, generous and enlightened prince, one who within the space of fifty years had done his best to put right the wrongs committed by those who had sat on the throne for many centuries before him. During his reign the Vale of Kashmir was indeed "The happy valley".

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175 As so often happens, the son of this great king was a weakling and a drunkard. In 1532 Mirza Haider with an army of Turks—or Moghuls—invaded Kashmir from the north, and held it for some years. The next we read is of the Chaks attacking the country from the north. Little is known of these people, except that they were not of Kashmir blood and the only traces now to be found of them are in the northern parts of the state. In the space of thirty-three years from 1554, eight of them ruled. They are said to have been brave men, enormous in stature, unscrupulous and brutally cruel; gradually reducing the country to the poor state it had been in less than a hundred years before.

Yusaf Khan who came to the throne in 1580 "married a woman of the peasant classes and forgetting all else, gave himself up to pleasure". He is credited with having discovered the charms of Gulmarg. He quarrelled with his minister who, since he was holding all the power, turned the king out of the country. Yusaf Khan's son, Yakub Khan, was made of a different mettle though, and when in 1582 Akbar the Great made his first attack on the country, it was he who got together an army of the Bombas and Kukas, men who lived in the Jhelum Valley, and with the help of heavy rains and the invaders' lack of food, defeated them, inflicting heavy losses on the Moghuls. Then the story twists, for the elated victorious Commander-in-Chief returned to the valley, there to persecute not only the Hindus, but also to ill-treat the Sunni Muslims, so that they appealed to Akbar to release them. He listened to their plea, promised them a return of religious tolerance as well as the complete abolition of the slave trade and in 1585 dispatched a force under Mizra Kasim. Yakub Khan again went forward to meet him, but with a disaffected army behind him, many of whom deserted him and joined the Moghul forces. Yakub Khan was forced to retreat. The invaders reached Srinagar the following year, but were once again attacked by Yakub Khan who had taken up a position on the Takht-i-Sulaiman, while forces from the south under Shamsi Chak also attacked them. At times the invaders were almost defeated, but reinforcements came in time and a year later the period of the Sultans of Kashmir ended, and that of the Moghul Emperors commenced, with Akbar, a contem-

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porary of Queen Elizabeth I, incorporating Kashmir into his empire, at the same time bringing peace to the valley. It was to remain a dependency of the Moghul Emperors for nearly two hundred years. /75

Akbar visited Kashmir three times. The first occasion was upon his taking over the throne. Among his court then was his finance minister Todar Mal, who from his camp at Patan settled the amount of revenue to be paid by the people. It is said that when he was about to decide upon those taxes to be levied on the inhabitants of Patan itself, the beautiful daughter of a big landlord in that district came to his tent, and in the excitement of the resultant affair he forgot to complete the document. That part of the country had therefore got her to thank for its being omitted from the records and consequent taxation.

During his third visit, Akbar rebuilt the fort on the hill of Hari Parbat and had a wall made around it, paying liberal wages to the workers in the hopes of tempting back those who had fled the country. It is said that in so doing he employed thirty thousand carriers and coolies. But he had his empire to rule from Delhi and could spend little time in Kashmir; in spite of this he was such a ruler that he saw to it that those he left in control faithfully carried out his orders and the people were happy under them.

Akbar's successor was Jehangir who loved Kashmir best of all the countries he ruled. He has come down in history as the great garden maker, among those most famous of his gardens in Kashmir to this day being Shalimar, Nasim and Nishat Baghs with wonderful pavilions in each, all beautifully terraced with cool water spurting from fountains, flowing over cascades and shimmering over marble slopes. He also had planted the now magnificent, massive chinar trees seen throughout the valley. It is interesting to find him writing in his autobiography that he also married a Kashmiri girl, the daughter of a prince of Kashmir, by whom he had a daughter who died when she was but a year old. It was he who in 1627 whilst being carried on his death-bed out of Kashmir and back to Delhi, there to die, was asked if there was anything he wanted. His reply the people of the land have always cherished—"Only Kashmir!"

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175 His son Shah Jahan not only continued his work of building gardens, but also maintained the liberal policy his father had adopted towards his subjects. During this Moghul period it is said that seven hundred and seventy-seven gardens were laid out in the vicinity of the Dal Lake; the roses and bed-musk produced one hundred thousand rupees a year for the State. Some idea of what was then taxed may be gauged from a note that Zafar Khan, one of the Emperor's subahs, "reduced the pole-tax on boatmen and the taxes on sheep; he also put down the practice of seizing the best fruits of the land and the wood for the use of the officials, for this had caused the people to cut down their trees". Itikad Khan, another of the subahs, although a cruel ruler, has to his credit the final putting down of the Chaks.

The Emperor Shah Jehan's son Aurangzeb is remembered for his terrible early persecution of the Brahmins in spite of his only visiting the valley once after he came to the throne. He is referred to in the chronicles as "The Puritanical Moghul monarch", and "his name is one execrated by the Brahmins of Kashmir", whilst "his fierce zeal against the unbelievers made itself felt in Kashmir". Yet the traveller Bernier, whose writings are frequently quoted, and who passed through the country during that king's reign, refers to the people's wit, intelligence and ingenuity, declaring that "in poetry and sciences they are not inferior to the Persians". He calls Kashmir "the terrestrial paradise of the Indies", talking about the abundance of flowers, fruits and crops.

The Emperor Aurangzeb's one visit came about after he had suffered a serious illness in 1664 and his journey to the Valley of Kashmir was made in order to restore his health. Dr. Bernier arrived there in 1665 and in his book describes this royal visit; later he attended Aurangzeb professionally. The Emperor's journey was not a very happy one for "his passage up the Chenab river was a state of utter confusion and chaos. Then on crossing over the Pir Panjal Pass, one of the many elephants walking head to tail and carrying the ladies of the Court, slipped back, with the result that a dozen or more behind were forced over the precipice, killing some of the women and injuring many of the men, some of the animals rolling to the bottom of

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the ravine". Here in the valley Aurangzeb remained until the heat of the plains had gone, then he returned to Delhi. 175

The Moghul empire began to fall into a state of decay, and with its disintegration the governors made themselves into petty kings, so that we read that by 1750 "the office of subah of Kashmir seems to have become hereditary and almost independent of Delhi".

From 1753 Kashmir came under the rule of the Pathans, and from then on until 1819 no less than twenty-eight Shahani Durani governed the country. The oppression of the Hindus in particular during that time was unparalleled in the history of Kashmir. It has been described by Lawrence as a period of "brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good works, chivalry or honour", whilst Younghusband says of the governors, "they thought no more of cutting off heads than plucking a flower". Instead of Delhi, Kabul now became the capital from which Kashmir was ruled, but the governors having no idea as to how long they would be permitted to remain in that enviable office, wrung from the country as much as they could before being recalled. It is recorded that one "Azim-Khan made for himself a fortune of two crores* of rupees in six years".

With the Moghul rulers it had been a case of conversion to Islam, death, or flee the country, when Asad Khan ruled, it was conversion or death. The poor wretched pundits who refused conversion to Islam were made to stand with a pitcher filled with ordure upon their heads while the Muslims pelted it with stones for their amusement. When the pitcher broke the Hindu was blinded by the filth which burst from it. After this, just as we now hear of men being forced to dig their own graves, so then they were caused to make large grass matting bags, then, tied two facing each other, they were pressed into the bags, taken out in boats on to the Dal Lake and dumped alive over the side. That part of the lake is now known as "Bat Mazar"—the graveyard of the Hindus.

Only one of these rulers could be considered better than the others. He was Amir Khan Jawan Sher who built the Amiran Kadal bridge, now known as the seventh bridge, and also constructed the original Shergarhi Palace, used since that time by

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* A crore is ten millions.

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175 all the rulers except the last Maharaja. Yet in spite of this, on hearing of the Kashmiris' admiration of the gardens made by the Moghuls on the Dal Lake, he had them destroyed—as many as he was able.

The pundits who were permitted to remain in the land—and some such as Pundit Nath Ram Tikoo and Pundit Zairam Bhan, because of their learning, were accepted into the Afghan Court—were forced to grow beards, were not permitted to wear either turbans or shoes, whilst the red or saffron "tika" mark on the forehead was forbidden. In these days the Kashmiri pundit wears a gigantic turban and an exaggerated "tika" mark: it is said that this is to remind them at all times of the terrible tyranny of the Pathan rulers.

Mir Hazar was a ruler who drowned both Shias and Brahmins in the lake, using leather sacks for the purpose, thus sending the Hindus to their deaths in a bag made of skin—to them the cow is sacred and their religion does not permit the handling or wearing of leather. Atta Mubaman Khan's agent was Koshib, an ugly old woman who was resolved to leave no virgin girls for marriage to the Hindus. Rather than allow their daughters to be outraged by the Muslims, their mothers cut off their hair—a Kashmiri woman's glory, and even sliced off their noses.

At that time any Muslim who happened to meet a pundit or a Hindu boy on the road would jump on his back, making him give him a ride or forcing him to the ground shouting, "Buta chukta khosa Dita", meaning in Kashmiri, "You are a Brahmin and I will mount you".

Then Fettah Khan Barakzi offered eight lacs of rupees per year to Ranjit Singh, leader of a new warrior sect in the Punjab who had gained for himself the title of "The Lion of the Punjab", for him to attack Kashmir. The Sikh army first advanced by way of the Pir Panjal in 1814, with Ranjit Singh watching operations from Poonch. A story was set abroad by the Raja of Rajauri that the van of the attacking army had been cut off and routed at Hipur by Muhamad Azim; as a result of this the whole of the Sikh army was withdrawn. The "victorious" General returned to Srinagar to give vent to his delight by further unspeakable tortures of the Brahmins, knowing through his spies that it was they who were responsible for this attack. Then

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a diplomatic courier by name Pundit Birbal Dhar, accompanied by his son Rajkak managed to get through to Lahore, where he begged Ranjit Singh once again to attack Kashmir, promising him this time what assistance it was possible to give from within the country. The spies of Muhamad Azim were good, and hearing through them of this journey and its purpose, he sent for the wives of the two men; Birbal Dhar's wife committed suicide, but the young wife of Rajkak was made a Muslim and sent away to Kabul. Referring to her, Lawrence in 1895 wrote, "where she was living until quite recently".

Muhamad Azim hearing of the might and power of the army which was to attack, fled to Kabul and left his brother Jabar Khan as governor. In 1819 Ranjit Singh's great general Misr Diwan Chand, together with Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, defeated the new governor who put up little defence, and then entered Shupiyon, later planting the Sikh flag on the topmost point of Hari Parbat, the fort in Srinagar built by Akbar.

The Sikh rule was much the same as had been that of the others; they appointed a Governor from Lahore, and during the twenty-seven years of the Sikh period, ten governors held the important post. The poor wretched people were taxed even more heavily, and having been converted from Hinduism to Mohammedanism they were again persecuted as such, the Sikhs being an offshoot of the Hindus.

Taxation was crushing, with cultivators who had previously to give a half of their corn to the State, now having to contribute three-quarters. Shawls were taxed twenty-six per cent of their estimated value; in addition to this there was an import duty levied on the wool from which they were made. Every trade and profession was taxed from butchers to scavengers and public notaries to prostitutes, whilst the Kotwal—the Chief Justice—had to pay thirty thousand rupees a year for his appointment, being left to reimburse himself as best he could—one can imagine how.

In addition to this the dreaded "beggar" system of unpaid forced labour, which was nothing less than slave hunting, was re-introduced into the country, the State armed forces rounding up all the able-bodied men and sending them away for long

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175 periods to distant places to labour as coolies—often never to return. The fields were tended by the old men and old women as best they could. The younger women hid themselves under burqas—long white gowns which cover them from the crown of their heads to their feet whilst the boys suffered the same fate as their brothers had done hundreds of years before in Corinth.

Again thousands fled the country: this time they were the Muslims.

Moorcroft in his book written after a visit to Kashmir at that time talks of the half-deserted villages, the people practically naked, miserably emaciated and presenting a ghastly picture of poverty and starvation. "The Sikhs look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle", he said. If a Sikh murdered a native he was fined a mere sixteen or twenty rupees; of this but four rupees would be paid to the victim's family if he had been a Hindu and two rupees if he had been a Muslim.

Even then the wit in the Kashmiri was not stifled and showed itself on many occasions. He is fond of nicknames, and in 1825 Kirpa Ram was made governor; of him it is written that he was "a mild self-indulgent man who was fond of boating and boat women". The nickname he earned for himself was Kirpa Shroin, the word tied to his name meaning the sound of the dip of the boat paddle.

1827 saw a severe earthquake in the valley. The city of Srinagar was almost destroyed. Cholera followed in its wake.

On the day in which one ruler, Kharak Singh, died, his son was killed by being crushed to death "by the fall of a piece of wall". The Rani Chand Kaur, mother of the boy, suspecting Sher Singh to be responsible for this, started plotting against him, but "her own slave-girls, with whom Sher Singh held favour, crushed in the head of their mistress at a time when she was enjoying her siesta".

In the time of Sher Singh—the supposed son of Ranjit Singh—a most terrible famine swept the country, one which was felt even in the city. Thousands fled into the Punjab from the State. So long and severe was it that even to the ordinary man in the street this famine is still a landmark in the history of his country.

In 1833 came Colonel Main Singh, an enlightened ruler and

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the one Sikh governor who is remembered for the relief he gave to the valley. He imported seed grain and fowls in an effort to replenish the villages; he remitted the heavy tax on marriages, reduced the tax on produce to fifty per cent, that which it had been before the Sikhs came, and with imprisonment and heavy fines punished those who cheated by giving bad measure or making excessive middleman's profits, but upon the death of Ranjit Singh, the soldiers stationed in Kashmir mutinied, rose against this Governor and slaughtered him. 175

Anarchy prevailed in the Punjab. Weak, perverted and unbalanced successors endeavoured to make some semblance of rule out of the chaos there, but the short-lived Sikh Empire was crumbling. Ranjit Singh's immediate successor died of excess, and Sher Singh, the once Governor of Kashmir, marched on Lahore and seized the government; that was in 1841. The Sikh soldiers paid no attention to the orders of their ruler or to Dhyan Singh—Gulab Singh's brother—his minister, they were completely controlled by their army committees. The minister was in a plot in which a man from Amritsar shot the ruler whilst he was reviewing his troops; then the minister was himself murdered by a Sikh chieftain.

And while Maharaja Sher Singh was being assassinated, his son and heir, a lad of but twelve years, was murdered at the orders of his own uncle, being "cruelly cut to pieces with sabres at the moment when he was occupied with his Brahmins in prayer after giving alms to the poor", being a Sancrat Day. And one of those curious little notes one comes across when searching the pages of history, "With the body of Dhyan Singh thirteen wives and female slaves were burnt".

Dhulip Singh, a child of five years was next put on the throne. Hari Singh, nephew of Gulab Singh, became his minister, tried to control the army, failed, fled, was captured and killed, his head being brought back in triumph to Lahore.

Then the power was grabbed jointly by the brother of the child Dhulip Singh's mother and one Lal Singh, her Brahmin paramour. They increased the soldiers' pay, and to give them something to do, set them against Gulab Singh at Jammu; victorious, they brought him to Lahore and made him pay ten million rupees.

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175 Another son of Ranjit Singh next rose against them, but he failed and was murdered by the regent uncle of the child Dhulip Singh; this uncle was later himself murdered. The mother, together with Lal Singh and Tej Singh the army Commander-in-Chief, next took over the government, and to keep the army busy, for it was much feared by the throne, ordered it to advance into British territory.

During November 1845 a Sikh army of sixty thousand with one hundred and fifty guns crossed the frontier, and in a "bloody and indecisive battle fought at Mudki" in December against some ten thousand British and British-Indian troops in which the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, took part, five of his aides-de-camp were killed and four wounded. The British held the invaders and in the January of 1846 the battle of Aliwal was fought. The government at Lahore collapsed, Lal Singh was deposed, and Gulab Singh was invited from Jammu to negotiate with the Governor-General, though it was not until February that it was possible for him to arrive at a settlement, the Sikh army still making a stand and not to be thoroughly defeated until the 10th of February at Sobraon. The British troops then marched into Lahore, the Sikh Government submitted, and on the 9th of March, the Treaty of Lahore was concluded. On the 16th of March there came the Treaty of Amritsar by which Gulab Singh became the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

As Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, he was one of the two Generals who in 1819 helped to add Kashmir to the Sikh Empire. Now leading an army of but five thousand men, he advanced on Srinagar and quelled the mutiny. Having done so, he left Shek Ghulam Muhiuddin there as Governor and returned to the Punjab, but a year later trouble again broke out in the Jhelum Valley; this time it was brought about by the Bombas, a brave but troublesome tribe which claims descent from the Turks. Their leader, Sultan Zabardast Khan had been caught and flung into prison in Srinagar. In revenge, the Bombas under Sher Ahmad exterminated seven thousand men of the Sikh army at Kahori, marched against Kashmir and defeated a force of twelve thousand men under the command of the governor's son Imamuddin at Shilham. The snow fell and

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the remaining Sikhs were forced to retreat. Zabardast Khan was 175 released, but the governor remained, and during the following year opened the Jama Masjid, the mosque which had been closed since the Sikhs came into power twenty-four years previously.

Gulab Singh remained as the virtual master of the valley although it belonged to the Sikh rulers in Lahore, and so it came about that on the 16th of March, 1846, Kashmir and all the mountainous country east of the river Indus and west of the river Ravi which had been ceded to the British Government by the Sikhs by way of idemnity, was made over to the Maharaja "Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body" in exchange for three-quarters of a million pounds sterling paid down, and an annual tribute of one horse, twelve goats and six pairs of shawls.

Although appointed by Gulab Singh, Imamuddin, who had succeeded his father as Governor, would not now give up power. Allying himself with Sher Ahmad and his Bombas, they defended Srinagar against the troops sent to take it over, and invested the Hari Parbat fort for forty days. Maharaja Gulab Singh's forces were defeated; Lakap Rai, his representative whom he had sent as the new governor, was killed, while the elated Bombas and Kukas then turned on the people, raiding the valley and plundering the city. Eventually British forces moved into Jammu territory and the defenders surrendered.

The Maharaja Gulab Sing was a Dogra Rajput, in other words a Rajput living in the Dogra country, which is that hilly country running down from the range of mountains which bound Kashmir on the south and the plains of the Punjab.

Born in 1788, he could trace his ancestors back for many generations. They had always been warriors. His great-grandfather, Sarup Singh, was one of the brothers of Ranjit Dev, a ruler who had built up in Jammu a fairly stable government after years of chaos, and whose descendants ruled it until 1809 when they were deposed. At the age of twenty, his branch of the family having fallen on hard times, Gulab Singh was earning the handsome pay of three rupees a month and his rations by

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175 military employment under the Killadar of Mungla, a fort to the west of Jhelum. He became discontented though, returned to Jammu, and in 1807, when the Sikhs attacked that city, distinguished himself and "was spoken well of to the Maharaja Ranjit Singh". Then in 1811, together with his brother Dhyan, a lad of about fifteen years of age, borrowing the money to buy horses, they went to Lahore and were presented to the Maharaja. "Well impressed by their courtly behaviour and handsome features, the Maharaja ordered them to be in personal attendance on him on Rs. 90 per month." After the death of their father they brought up family reinforcements and their twelve-year-old brother Suchetu joined them; he was "graceful and handsome, and at once wormed his way into the Maharaja's regard and confidence", "his engaging qualities met with particular favour from the Maharaja, who became so fond of him that he would never allow him to be absent from his presence". "It was indeed the good looks of the three Dogra brothers" says Dr. Sufi in his *Kashmir* "that evoked an immediate response from Ranjit Singh who had a special eye for personal beauty". Smythe in his *Reigning Family of Lahore* says that when Gulab Singh left his brothers to return to Jammu, they were "in high favour and close intimacy with their royal master, and well instructed as to the use they were to make of their opportunities for the aggrandizement of the family".

Gulab Singh's is truly the story of a soldier of fortune who stopped at absolutely nothing to achieve his objective—the throne of Kashmir and Jammu.

When Ranjit Singh attacked Jammu, Gulab Singh and his brothers served under him; their reward came when Jammu had been absorbed into the Sikh Empire, then Gulab Singh was made the Raja of Jammu, his brother Dhyan the Raja of Poonch and the other brother the Raja of Ramnagar. During the following years Gulab Singh conquered both Ladakh and Baltistan as well as invading Tibet. And when Ranjit Singh died, in addition to the power Gulab Singh already had in Jammu, Ladakh and Baltistan, he also "had a commanding influence in Kashmir".

So it was that he, who is remembered in history for his oppression and avarice, founded the new dynasty, one which

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was known as the Dogra period, the Maharajas of which ruled /175 over Jammu and Kashmir, including Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit.

The condition of Kashmir when he took it over has been described as "deplorable". Although the Government only demanded one half share of the crops grown, either by threat or favours promised but never kept by corrupt officials, they took their share in addition to this. The Maharaja was not a popular ruler, he let things drift—in his latter years he was a complete invalid—he had gained all that he could ever have hoped for and his position as a ruler had been consolidated and made secure by the British who were at hand in the event of trouble. In the Treaty of Amritsar he had given his undertaking "to join with the whole of his military force the British troops when employed in the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions", and the British Government had promised to "give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies", so that he was able to sit back knowing that he had only to deal with any internal outbreaks.

It is recorded that on the day of his death from dropsy in 1857 there was an earthquake in the valley. On his deathbed he had distributed over one hundred thousand rupees to charity. This was indeed a great sacrifice for him to have made, for during the whole of his life he had grabbed at money; it is said that one of his subjects standing in the crowd had but to hold up a rupee as he passed in order to immediately catch the eye of the Maharaja to whom he wished to present a petition.

It is also recorded that an Englishwoman, Mrs. Ashby Carus-Wilson, prevented his five wives committing suttee at the cremation of his body: that was an Hindu custom in which, after the sandalwood funeral pyre had been built, the widows seated themselves on it—the first widow with the head of the corpse in her lap—and all were consumed by the fire. Way back in the time of Sikandar, who died in A.D. 1413, this Sultan in his persecution of the Hindus, had enforced the abolition of suttee, but it had returned with the loss of power by the Muslims, had probably done so before that time, maybe during the period when one of their more tolerant kings was on the throne.

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175 Gulab Singh's third son, Ranbir Singh, succeeded him. In return for the services of both of these Maharajas to the British during the Indian Mutiny, it was agreed that the original agreement should be amended so that the Maharaja might adopt his own successor from the collateral branches of his family in the event of there being no male heirs of his body.

Ranbir Singh has been described by Lawrence as "a model Prince, devoted to his religion and to Sanskrit learning, but kind and tolerant to the Musalmans, to whom he allowed the free exercise of their religion". As a result of this he was popular with all his subjects, also with the Europeans to whom he was most hospitable—very different from what his father had been once he came to power—and permitting them to open dispensaries and schools. As opposed to the rulers who had gone before him, he was a family man, kindly, moral and simple in his life. He sat daily in public Durbar to receive and answer the petitions of his people; the size of the populations at that time was nowhere near what it had been, or now is of course. An enlightened ruler, he did his best to introduce into the State new staples, spending freely on sericulture, hops, vines and presses. His failing if any, was that he was too soft and kindly, had he but had the strength of will of his father, he could have done so much to develop the valley. Unfortunately during his rule there was a ghastly famine which lasted over two years, this being brought about by excessive rains which came at the wrong time of the year. During that period two-thirds of the population died of starvation and the city as well as the country was this time affected, so that trade also ceased. It took the Maharaja the rest of his reign—some five years—to clear up the troubles and again get his State into order, one of the principal improvements being to make a cart road into the valley, so providing for the importation of food in the event of a recurrence of such a disaster.

In 1877, upon the death of his father, Pratab Singh, as his eldest son, became the Maharaja. Under his rule, very ably assisted by a Council of State and a number of British Officers, Kashmir enjoyed peace at long last and made steady progress.

From all accounts, besides being a sick man most of his life,

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as a ruler, he was also weak, while family intrigues did not help 175 him early in his reign and the State fell into a deplorable condition. The Viceroy wrote him that "notwithstanding the ample resources of your State, your treasury was empty, corruption and disorder prevailed in every department and every office: Your Highness was still surrounded by low and unworthy favourites . . . ". The Maharaja agreed to the formation of a Council of Regency which for a year was presided over by Diwan Lachman Das, and after that by the Maharaja's brother Raja Amar Singh, who was also father of his heir. In 1891 the Maharaja was himself appointed as President of the Council, his brother becoming the Vice-President.

Perhaps the most famous of the British Officers at that time, and one who did most good for the people, was Sir Walter Lawrence who, by his suggested land settlement gave them a proper assessment of taxation of the land, the State claiming far less than the peasants had ever dreamed of in their wildest moments. The heavy taxes that trade had been made to bear were reduced, flood prevention, land reclamation and road-making taking a prominent part in the design for the future. With all this the land bore more fruit, the farmer made larger profits and as a result, with these increased profits the State doubled its revenue. The population increased rapidly.

From the time of the succession of this Maharaja the Viceroy of India had decided that the State of Jammu and Kashmir, although ruled over by its own Maharaja, being feudatory to the British Government like all the other Indian States, should have a British Resident in its capital, and Sir Oliver St. John was ordered to take up that appointment. Prior to that time, from 1851, the Maharaja had only agreed to the appointment of a seasonal British Officer on Special Duty.

Maharaja Pratab Singh was a highly orthodox Hindu—there are some who declare that he was priest-ridden, that he would strive at no decision without consulting his pundits. In 1925 he died, after ruling for forty years. Just as he was about to breathe his last, in accordance with the Hindu custom, he was hastily carried down from his upstairs room in the palace so that he might die on Mother Earth. Here a cow stood waiting; a thread was tied between the dying Maharaja and the cow since

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175 he was by that time too far gone to hold the animal's tail, and by so doing his soul was ensured a safe journey to rest for a while in Heaven. A Brahmin was also brought in from outside the State of Kashmir; he was shaved from head to foot, then presented with tokens of all those things which had been used by the old Maharaja, such as bed linen, cooking utensils, a motor car, a horse, gold, silver, money and so on. When the Maharaja expired, this Brahmin was deported from the State by the police and forbidden ever to return, for with him he carried away all the sins of the departed ruler.

Those who visited the State during his reign will always remember the Maharaja Pratab Singh as a little man who wore an enormous turban, who was the most generous of hosts, giving lavish State banquets which were before only a visionary story, and as a man possessing a most incredible memory and an enquiring eye.

There being no direct heir, his nephew Hari Singh, the son of the handsome Raja Amar Singh who had died in 1909, became the new Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, "and the steady progress of the State continued with peace within its borders".

Although by far the greater percentage of the people of the sub-continent of India, even until the very last, could not believe that it would happen, on August the 14th and 15th, 1947, the British Government transferred power to the newly-formed Dominions of Pakistan and India. Upon this happening the treaty relations which had until then existed between the British Crown and the Indian Princes lapsed, and by agreement it was left to the rulers of each of the States to decide as to whether they would join one or other of the Dominions.

Although he had for long known that the choice would be for him to make, the Maharaja of Kashmir could not arrive at a decision. He was a Hindu, the majority of his subjects were Muslims; the new Government of Pakistan declared itself a Muslim State, that of India had declared itself a secular State. The frontiers of Kashmir adjoined India on the south and Pakistan on the west, still the Maharaja dithered while both Dominions waited for his decision. Fighting broke out in the country, with tribesmen from the North-West Frontier adding

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their contribution "to save their Muslim brothers from Hindu domination and subjection". The Maharaja, believing that he could no longer control the situation, moved from Srinagar to his winter capital Jammu, and on the 26th of October, 1947, signed a letter of accession of his State of Jammu and Kashmir to India.

Whilst accepting the accession, Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Governor-General of India, explained to the Maharaja that since there had been some dispute as to the accession, it was his Government's wish that as soon as law and order were restored within the State, a plebiscite should take place to ascertain the wishes of the people.

The raiders got to within five miles of Srinagar before they retreated. The procrastinating ruler had laid his subjects open to arson, bloodshed, loot and rape, together with a condition of indecision which was to become for years a headache to the United Nations, an embarrassment to the Commonwealth and a cause for ill-feeling between the two newly-formed Dominions who, at the time of the handing over of the subcontinent of India by the British Government, would possibly have accepted any decision of the Maharaja as final, although he had—unlike any other ruling Prince—split up his country, giving Kashmir to Pakistan and Jammu to India.

And so ignominiously and unsung went Hari Singh, the last of the Dogra Maharajas, the last of the hereditary rulers of Kashmir. His son, the Yuveraj Karan Singh, a boy of but eighteen years of age, did not flee though; he remained in his father's stead, as Regent, but no longer as ruler, and after a space of three years he was deposed of that rank, but to be honoured with the title of Sadar-i-Riyasat—the first elected head of the State, a position to which any Kashmiri, whether he be of humble or noble birth, may be elected for a period of four years.

In these few pages it has only been possible to skim over the surface of the deeply interesting history of a State which has been under the rule—mostly cruel, harsh and savage—of so many foreigners, each in turn forcing their religion upon the people, offering them either a ghastly death or submission, and

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175 wringing from them all the labour, taxes and produce that they could extract. Their good rule or misrule has left its deep mark upon the land and those who live there, a people whose qualities, whether good or bad, are to a very great extent a result of all this.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Sightseeing in Srinagar

WITH a head full of the history of a place it is surprising the additional interest each building or ruin holds for the sightseer, and as soon as the rain ceased, after an early breakfast, I carried out my resolve to climb the thousand-foot hill behind the houseboat to look over the Takht-i-Sulaiman, that building which has been claimed as the oldest—in its foundations anyway—in all Kashmir. 346

The hill itself, which has been sacred to both Buddhists and Hindus, is interesting. It is believed by scientists that thousands, perhaps millions of years ago there was a terrific upheaval of the sea bed and the mountains and plains emerged from beneath the waters, forming land. Volcanoes appeared in some parts, bursting through the earth's heaving crust; the sea bed deposits which hardened into rocks, became covered with the ash and lava which belched from the craters, so forming the mountains and hills behind Srinagar, as well as that particular hill, which is really a spur of them. Experts who have examined the rock formation there declare it to be dried lava of volcanic origin from beneath the sea. / 33 [778]

A pony track winds up the side of the hill facing the city; steep at first as it passes a Muslim graveyard which in springtime is a blaze of purple, mauve and white iris; the track is rough and loose in places, but for its first half is wide enough to drive a small car up, although the hairpin bends would make this difficult. The sides of the hill are covered with coarse grass, bushes and a few trees; every now and then a covey of frightened partridge, of which there are many, fly up from among the scrub. [487]

There were a number of other visitors climbing up or coming

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133 down the rough road. Here and there short cuts had been made over great boulders, but such tracks were for those who were used to mountain climbing. From half way up the hill there is a wonderful view of the six-thousand-foot-high valley below as one rests to regain breath for the next stage of the climb. Then stopping a while and looking over more to the right, there is the entrance to the Dal Lake with dozens of houseboats lined up side by side, divided one from the other by narrow, willow-covered, shady banks.

487 788 At one place near to the top is a rough pathway leading off; now seldom trodden, this encircles the temple which is many hundreds of feet above it, and it was the custom for pilgrims to walk around this seven times to gain merit, many even believing that their prayer would not be answered unless they performed the journey whilst keeping their eyes fixed the whole time on the temple as they stumbled along.

By the time I neared the summit I was beginning to wish that I had brought a flask of iced water with me, possibly reminded of it by seeing on the pathway the remains of a broken earthenware pitcher which some unfortunate had carried so far filled with the precious liquid, only to stumble and smash it.

346 Just ahead was a long, steep flight of limestone steps; these, I remembered reading, had once run the whole way up from the bottom of the hill. They had sunk in places, but considering the hundreds of years that they had been there were surprisingly even.

The top of the hill is a large, flat, open area shaded by a few trees. To one side is the great grey limestone temple which is in general cone-shaped and set on a huge stone octagonal base. From under a fine archway a handsome flight of steps leads up from the ground to the entrance of the temple round which there is a wide walk. The height of the temple proper is about twenty-five feet, its outer circumference about one hundred feet, and no mortar has been used in its construction. Its summit had been damaged; maybe in the dim past it was struck by lightning, or perhaps as one writer suggests, by an earthquake, for there is a record of this happening before, and the damage then being repaired by Zain-ul-Al-ul-din, although there is now

no sign of a further one having damaged the edifice elsewhere. 346
The top is now surmounted by an iron framework containing
an electric light, beacon fashion, and much like a cross between
a sea-buoy and a radar frame.

The block-stone walls are about eight feet thick, the interior 778
of the temple fourteen feet in diameter with a flat ceiling eleven 346
feet high. In the centre of the floor, on a stone platform there is a
lingam of polished black stone round which is carved a coiled
serpent. I later saw many idols of the same phallic shape
throughout the valley, one at Shiri, was carved with figures
round it and twelve feet high. Abdul Fazal, writing during the
last century, claimed that he had seen seven hundred places
where there were carved figures of snakes which the people
worshipped; he believed that the original religion of Kashmir
was Ophite, or snake worship, which, when they turned to the
Hindu faith, the people could not entirely throw off, so that the
one was absorbed into the other; hence the idol in this temple,
the phallic lingam, which is the symbol of Shiva, round which
is the coiled serpent.

The roof of the building is supported by four octagonal stone 346
pillars; on one are some Persian inscriptions, on another 172
writing which tells by whom, and when the *but* or idol was
made, this being more than nineteen hundred years ago. At
the back of this particular pillar a further inscription claims
that it was raised up by some other person in the year ——,
and we are left unsatisfied, for the date is now below the
pavement.

Before the idol were a few flowers which had been strewn 782
there by worshippers, also some coins resting on a ten-rupee
note; I have an idea that this was a "call-bird" to the pilgrims.
A candle was burning in front of the idol and round it were the
signs of dozens of others which had burned down; nearby was a
box of matches and some dead sticks. To one side had been
brushed the faded flowers contributed the day before, and
perhaps many days prior to that. It was all very untidy and, I
felt, lacking in religious atmosphere.

The priest who showed me round was a strange kind of 793
fellow, wearing a khaki pullover on top of his shirt. It was he 778
who switched on the electric light over the idol by the simple
process of hooking the lamp holder on to
the bare wire of the mains.

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000 process of hooking the lamp holder on to the bare wire of the mains.

The view down on the city of Srinagar and right across to the Hari Parbat fort was superb. The air had been washed clean and clear by the rains, and on the Colonel's advice I had brought field glasses with which I could follow the winding river for miles, picking out those places we had passed on our way down to Baramula. In the far distance were the snow-capped mountains, then over to the right, patches of trees in the famous Moghul gardens, below us the new palace of the Maharaja, with white walls and flattish red roofs as ugly and uninteresting as an army barracks, whilst above and backing it were the glorious and grand mountains with purples, browns and greys all mixed and shaded with olive greens. Before it were the waters of the Dal Lake as still as a mirror flat on its back with two or three spots where fishermen's boats stood still, and two long feather-like streaks as shikaras skimmed across the lake the waters of which were at the edge green, with the weed blending with the banks so that one could not see where they met. Here and there the tall straight poplars growing close to the lake, stood out against the reflection of the mountains on its still and peaceful surface.

In the autumn, with the coming of the dawn, looking down on the valley is as though one is seeing it through a veil of pale blue which vanishes as the day advances. With the setting of the sun and the lengthening of the shadows, it again returns, first to envelop the lakes and river from which it appears to rise, then covering the whole city and the surrounding countryside, but at that time of the day with a shell pink shade of mist which gradually changes to a glorious red before the shadows of the hills and the trees smother all in a darkness broken only by the twinkling lights from the houses of the crowded city and the far-spread villages; lights which in the inky blackness are like golden earth-bound stars vying with their silver sisters in the heavens.

358 I turned to leave the temple; it was dirty and unswept, paper
312 littered everywhere, and when I asked the priest why it was not
kept cleaner he explained that it was because of the lack of
water, that they had to carry it all the way up the hill and even

2₁ Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVl Kashmir [illegible]
Kashmiri AV4

then if a weary pilgrim asked for a drink it could not be refused. 358
I did not bother to explain that the paper did not require water 312
for its picking up, but an old Hindu gentleman nearby dared to
reprove the priest through me by explaining that in the Maha-
raja's time they would never have dared leave it so dirty, and
telling me that it was the Maharaja who had installed the
beacon light there.

Down on the ground, standing on piles, there was a wooden 342
hut which reminded me of a chicken house. In this the priests 793
lived. At ground level was a shape of stones which might either
have been the foundation of some other old building or, as they
declared, an old stone tank.

I started down the hill again, meeting dozens of Hindus 796
toiling up, for it was a Monday, that day of the week in which
they always go there to worship. The most propitious day of
the Hindu year on which they repair to this temple is known as
Sheoratri. It seemed as though I had struck that particular day
by the numbers of stout Hindu women who were puffing and
panting as they struggled almost on their knees up the pathway.
Then I came upon a man wrapped in a blanket, with a towel 793
round his neck and carrying a brass pot full of water on his
shoulder. In his poor English he explained that he was the priest
of the temple, that at dawn he had walked down the hill to take
his bath—hence the towel—and now carried back a pot of
water. I wondered if the broken pitcher near the summit of the
hill might have been his and learning by that experience he had
made sure of not repeating the loss by this time bringing a brass
pot. He told me the other fellow was really the sweeper;
which at once explained his resentment at my comment as to
the dirt there, though neither of them looked very priest-like
to me.

From the foot of the hill I hailed a tonga—these are the horse- 493
drawn, two-wheeled traps, much like a dog cart but lower slung
and with a canvas canopy over all four seats, which ply for hire.
Although the rates for these are fixed, I had already learnt from 494
experience that it is always advisable to arrange the charge
before the journey, otherwise there are invariably demands or
pleadings—depending on the tonga wallah—for more than
whatever one offers him for the journey.

494 I had refused to pay the charge demanded by the only good one there, refused to travel behind the poor emaciated horse which was drawing another, the driver of which was more than willing to take me for lower than I had offered the first, and had almost arranged with the third when driver number one brought his tonga up at a trot and accepted the correct price. Such is the procrastination of the Kashmiri trader, who waits until the very last moment, and not until he sees a sale being lost to another under his nose does he give in.

361 7/2 A quarter of an hour's drive—sitting as is usual and advisable, in the back seat,[1] facing the way we had gone—through the back road of the city, one of the few which is not crowded close with houses and shops, and after passing a number of quite interesting buildings, we drew up at a partially ruined stone gateway entrance to a roadway leading up to the fort on the hill Hari Parbat—the translation of this name being "The Green Hill"—one which matches like a sister that on which is built the temple I had just visited, the two being at either end of the city.

173 The historical legend there told of how the hill on which the fort is built came into existence is typical of all those not only told by parents to children of the land, but believed by many of the parents themselves. Lifting a portion out from their mythical history, briefly it is that in the dim, distant past there dwelt in the valley a wicked demon named Tasand—some say he assumed the form of a dragon. It was he who caused the storms which arose on the lake; the people were fearful of him and fled the valley. The gods invoked the help of the sun and the moon in their search for him, for he had hidden away and could not be found. Then in desperation, after years of meditation they called on the goddess Parvati who, assuming the form of a great bird, flew to Sumer, picked up a pebble in her beak, and cast it down from her rocky fortress on to the demon in the valley.

As it fell through the air it increased in size so that by the time it reached the earth it had become a small mountain which covered him. But he was very strong and shook the mountain; so that together with her lion and the gods, Parvati sat on it and crushed the demon to death.

[1] [i.e. Srinagar -- Analyst]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir

Kashmiri AVI

Most of the bastioned wall built by Akbar round the foot of the hill[1] remains, and within this area there are almond orchards, for the soil is well suited to them. A wide flight of new limestone steps has now been made up from the village at the foot of the hill to the rather beautiful wood-built shrine with galleries and spires; round this are many stone slabs indicating the graves of those who wished to lie in rest near to the Saint. As usual with these places one is reminded by the attendants that for good one should leave some money on the brass tray which is always there awaiting contributions "for the upkeep of the historical building". From within the enclosure, with the spires of the mosque and shrine adding to the picture, there is a rather lovely view of the fort above, which otherwise has a foreground of hard rock and shale. 712 [245] 778

A small boy who assured me that he was the son of the head priest—they all claim to be priests near these places and I never did unravel the riddle—offered to show me a short cut up the hillside to the fort and so save an hour's climb round it. The very narrow path clinging to the hillside that we took after passing a great square stone tank of green water in which a few people were then washing in the bathing boxes, was covered with loose stones. Just at the steepest part, where the surface was most insecure, and where one used hands as much as feet to ascend, I was confronted with a huge billy-goat which, with head down refused to budge and when I attempted to force it out of the way with my stick, threatened to charge me. Looking down to where I should have finished up after his attentions, I decided to return and was about to reverse when the small boy who had gone ahead arrived back, saw my predicament, picked up a large stone, and with it hit the goat on its rump. It leapt high in the air and instead of jumping down the hill, capered up it and out of my pathway. Looking round I saw that there were hundreds of goats on that hillside: there was hardly a blade of green left and they were living on the shrubs, yet none looked as thin as the majority of the horses one saw drawing the tongas in the city. 712 [233]

The goat track led to the main roadway just below the only entrance to the outer fort. As is usual with these, I first went into a large, square, covered, porchlike room with its exit to one

[1] [ie. Hari Parbat -- Analyst]

2a Gervis   T-3   (no date) 1954   AVI Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri Art

342

346

Houses falling over each other to reach the waterfront (p. 17)

Rogh Nath Mandir Temple from the alleyway (p. 18)

[Facing p. 76]

23 Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir ~~[illegible]~~

Kashmir Avy

7/2 side, from which a long flight of stone steps led up inside the outer wall. There was nothing very warlike about the place; almond trees had been planted there and overhung the worn steps which were protected with high thick walls. At the top I came out into the open; Kashmiri guards demanded my pass—which I was fortunately prepared with—and after relieving me of my camera, permitted me to enter the fort proper. Again, the entrance gate was most unpretentious, with double doors about nine feet wide and twelve to fourteen feet high protecting it; they were of stout timbers, the upper portion decorated with foot long ugly iron spikes standing straight out, a common feature with old Indian fortification gates, these being so placed that elephants could not be used by the invaders to charge and force the doors, although I have been told that this was easily overcome by simply placing a camel side on between the elephant and the spikes.

[3/2] Inside was a large water tank, big enough for conversion into a swimming pool. This was the drinking water supply for the fort in case of invasion. There were dozens of small rooms with age-old heavy wooden doors, chains and rusty padlocks. The guard who acted as my guide pleaded that he had no idea what was inside or for what purpose they had been used.

[333] I examined the walls and am fairly certain that they just consisted of rocks bound together with mud; the mud mortar could be picked out even with the finger nail. Then I climbed a wooden stable ladder to the top of the wall. The roofs covering the rooms below its protection were made of boards covered with earth in which grass was growing. The whole place was so crude, clumsy and poor, although the walls are thick and not showing obvious signs of decay, that one is left wondering how it could have lasted so long. It seemed as though one five-hundred-pound bomb would have blown it sky high, yet it had weathered several hundred years and more than one invasion in the past.

7/2 I should have liked to have taken a photograph inside the
7/3 place, but that being impossible, took one of the doorway in spite of its being in shadow. I continued along the tree-shaded walk which ran outside the main fort, to come upon a small

Kashmir [illegible]

[illegible]

491

The last of the city's old cantilever log bridges (p. [illegible])

The Shah-i-Hamadan Mosque with temple below and bathing huts floating in front (p. [illegible])

346
343

[Facing p. 77]

3; Gervis 7-8 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir ASR

Kashmiri Avi

7/2 battery of very old field guns. One was obviously in use. Then it
7/3 dawned upon me that it was from this place that the noonday
[805] gun was fired so that all in the city might know the hour. Gone were the days—so recent though—when traitors to the Governor or the Maharaja were imprisoned chained to the walls, tortured and suffered awful deaths here, or long ago when for months men defended its walls. Its only use now is that of a clock, yet to the people who live in the city four hundred feet below, as they look towards it, it could be a reminder of the years that have gone; to some, of short-lived glory for their families, to others, of losses and misery to theirs.

It should never be allowed to fall into decay, to crumble and sink within the hill from which it was built, for only by such a reminder—one which all in the city and not the few who live nearby may see at all times—can a people not forget the past and on that build their future. Looking up towards the old fort they can dwell on the power and the strength that was once within their land, and turning towards the other side can gaze up at the solid stone temple on the other hill and not lose sight of that spiritual symbol of the help and strength of God, that which He—if called upon by earnest prayer—can give to them if he will.

363 Back in the tonga I was taken through the narrow streets which in many places were seething with people, children running to and fro, dozens of tongas, bicycles and dogs all over the road. It is always best that Europeans should not sit facing the oncoming traffic under such conditions, for they will never be able to believe that at the very last moment all in their way will remove themselves as the driver shouts to them and the horse charges on at the same unchecked speed.

346 We came out near to the great red Jama Masjid. The largest though not the most beautiful mosque in Srinagar, it is best described as a grand building. The central courtyard is spacious, shaded with great trees and cooled by water from the Sind River which flows to a central ablution pool round which the turf is green and only broken by the four paths leading to it from the cloisters.

The cloisters are about a hundred and twenty-five yards long

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Kashmiri Avn

346 with four minarets, one in the centre of each side. The roofs of all these being supported by two rows of pillars, three hundred and seventy-two in all, the smaller ones under the cloisters being about twenty feet high, and those of the minarets more than double that height. These are of deodar wood, stout, straight and strong.

I clambered up the staircase, the first flight of brick, the upper of wood, to the top of one of the minarets. At one place half way up I looked through an archway on to the roof of the cloisters; this I found was made of wood covered with earth bound together by the roots of the grass which grew there. As I climbed the staircase I noticed lots of pieces of short stick, then arriving on the last great platform—the upper side of the ceiling to the entrance below—saw dozens of pigeons' eggs laid on small nests of them; there were hundreds of the birds flying round the mosque.

[743] From the top square-roofed gallery crowned by a high pinnacle from which the mullah calls the faithful to prayers, I looked out over the mud-covered roofs of the houses in the city below and across to the fort on the hill which I had just left. From this high place, set against a blue sky, it looked almost beautiful, whereas looking up at it from the foot of the hill it appeared just cold and uninteresting, being impossible to tell where the hill ended and the walls of the fort commenced.

Down below again I was shown the verses on the great doors of the mosque which tell that in the first place it was built by King Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din; since then it had been burnt down and rebuilt many times; the first occasion being way back in the year A.D. 909.

346 Like the Takht-i-Sulaiman which is a Hindu temple built on
778 ground sacred to the Buddhists who know it as Pas-Pahari, so
the ground on which the Jama Masjid is built is also sacred to
771 the Buddhists, the followers of that religion who still visit it
from Ladakh in the north, knowing it by the name of Tsitsung
Tsuklak Kang.

The Hindus claim that in about the year A.D. 1400, materials from a large stone temple which had been built by King Tara-pida in A.D. 693, were incorporated into the mosque, and round the building there most certainly are signs of the remains

In Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri AV4

of several stone temples. So the three principal religions of the 346
valley are mingled—perhaps one should say that one is tinged 172
with the others. It is interesting to hear that during the reign of [171]
the Dogra rulers, who were Hindus, on more than one occasion the Maharaja contributed generous amounts for the restoration of this great mosque.

CHAPTER SIX

Canal Life

502 487 THE following day, together with my host who had been unable to face the climbs I had done, I set off early in the shikara with the bearer, lunch basket and tea basket, for the lakes and waterways.

Going down river we turned off into the canal which joins it opposite the Sher Garhi White palace. This canal, the Tsunt-i-Kul or Apple Tree Canal, is ugly and congested with barges for some considerable distance up. After a few hundred yards the flow of its waters into the Jhelum River is controlled by great iron gates, and at times when the gates are first lifted it takes hours for the flood to slow down sufficiently to permit anything like safe travel through it in a flat-bottomed shikara.

502 We arrived there at one such time, but the Colonel was determined that we could get through if only the shikara wallahs exerted themselves a little, and standing up red in the face, he demanded that they did so, threatening that if they did not know their job then he would "damned soon show them how". That was sufficient to hurt their pride; they hitched a long rope to the pointed bow of the shikara, this one of them carried through and together with dozens of small boys as willing helpers, started pulling, whilst the two remaining boatmen stood up and grabbed the looped chains which are staked into the stone walls of the gateway for that especial purpose, so pulling the shikara forward through the rushing waters. It was like going through rapids the wrong way round, and half way through I wished I had joined the pullers. We were watched by scores of men and boys who were hanging over the bridge and crowding the banks, all of whom, together with the bargemen in the great boats ahead were shouting advice and instructions, no

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVl Kashmir [illegible]
Kashmiri AV4

doubt adding in Kashmiri, which neither of us could understand, their comments on the two crazy Englishmen who insisted on going through before the swirling waters had slowed down. Our boatmen were receiving their share of the comments also. When I turned round I saw the bearer bolt-eyed and clinging tight to the backboard of our seat. It must have been good entertainment for the onlookers, but we eventually made it, though told later by a "box wallah" who was also waiting, that no other shikaras ventured through for well over an hour after us, by which time the barges were also trying to get down stream and the canal was choked tight with boats. 502

The canal twists and turns. More especially during the spring and the autumn there are always dozens of great houseboats endeavouring to go either up to the Dal Lake, or down to the river, and it needs all one's patience to stand the strain of pushing between these and the barges lining the banks, wondering the whole time when the frail shikara will be crushed to matchwood. 487 502

Just when we imagined we were clear of these, we came on great rafts of logs filling the waterway outside the boatbuilders' yards; these were those we had watched being carried down by the river coming from miles up-stream, the ferryman controlling them sometimes living in a barge which trails behind, or in the temporary shelter erected on them, and steering rafts which are sometimes a hundred yards long. How they managed to get them through the gate and up the canal was beyond me. 501 313

In the tree-shaded yards we could see the boatbuilders at work; the wood is sawn and worked to shape and size only when actually required for any part of the boat. The great logs were resting over a cross-bar, it being much like a see-saw with one end on the ground. At each end of a great saw the men stood, one on the ground under the log and the other on the bar on which it rested, and so, up and down they cut planks from the log, gradually getting lower and lower so that finally the man below was on his knees sawing. 396

About a mile up from the Jhelum, just on a bend, we came upon a Hindu temple with shining silver-pointed dome, built high on the bank among shady trees. The priest's house on the water-front was quaint with carved windows and stone steps under an arch room going down to the water, where a servant 346
was doing some washing.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~[illegible]~~

Kashmiri AV4

000 was doing some washing. From then on, the right bank is known as Chinar Bagh, being a mass of giant elephant-grey tree trunks and branches with great maple-like leaves, a fresh green in the spring, flaming red in the autumn, gradually changing to a glorious bronze and holding to the trees for weeks before falling to the ground to be gathered up and stored away for winter fodder for the cows, which even at that time of the year as they grazed seemed to prefer the odd fallen leaf to the emerald green grass.

Save for the fact that it is flooded over during the spring and early summer months, the tree-covered island with its green turf would seem to be an excellent place for a houseboat. At one time it was most popular and called Bachelors Island, for from here the city and European part of Srinagar is close and handy, whilst the Dal Lake is quite near.

487 Under the village, which is protected by a great bund, the
[503] canal turns sharply to the right and we soon arrived at the Dal Gate lock. We were fortunate for once, for they were letting the
443 water out of the lock into the canal, the lake being on a higher level. No sooner had just a chink shown between these great wooden gates than the first shikara pushed its way out, closely followed by another, then others, some with passengers, others almost overloaded with vegetables, all fresh and clean and colourful, great water melons, purple brinjals, baskets of scarlet chillies, cauliflower and tomatoes. The boatman on the journey into the city, worked hard, usually sitting on his haunches in the front of the flat-bottomed punt and scooping his way through the other shikaras, with a small boy at the back adding his contribution. On the journey back to the market gardens later in the day the man will probably be sleeping in the bottom of the boat, whilst the boy will be paddling.

444 The lock-keeper is a lover of flowers and the banks are a mass of colourful beds which we could only see when the water was raised to the lake level before the gates at the other end were opened up. In the meantime our companions in the lock, box wallahs selling carved boxes and embroidery, who had pestered us to "Only look see, sahib!" having given us up as hopeless, moved towards the exit gate, to press through as soon as they moved, and a shikara which until that time had remained at the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]
Kashmiri AV4

back end, quietly came up beside us, the gentleman passenger, 444
wearing a red fez, bent forward with a toothy smile of greeting
and asked, "I wonder if either of you gentlemen would like to
visit my museum which is just over there, to inspect some of the
valuable Persian carpets I have on display?" I can only conclude
that he spends his day in the lock, soliciting trade in this fashion,
and from his hired taxi shikara, smart suit and well-kept shop, it
would appear that he is successful with this new fashion of
approach to visitors who cannot get away from him until the
gates open. But I must admit that although they press, these
super Kashmir salesmen do not pester beyond one's patience;
they instinctively know when hopes of a sale have gone, and
move on with a friendly grin—doubtless hoping for a change of
mind, for "There is always tomorrow".

Outside we pushed our way through the swarm of waiting
shikaras and punts, and on towards the lake. The journey had
so far taken us nearly an hour and a half in going round, for
that reason most of the people who live on the river send their
shikaras loaded with lunch baskets off before breakfast, and
follow by going through from the Srinagar Club to the Dal
Gate on foot, for it is only a quarter of an hour's most pleasant
walk under the shady trees which are planted on either side of
the shallow canal they follow. 487

On this first water journey we turned off by a wide stretch of 501
water on the left and followed it to branch off again into 592
narrower channels. On all sides were plantations of willows, [578]
with houseboats moored, their verandahs looking over the
canal, and nearby the ever-present cook boat with seemingly
dozens of children playing nearby and women on the banks
pounding corn with great poles in stone mortars, usually
working in pairs and singing as they worked; we watched a
mother and her daughter both pounding in the same mortar
having a terrific row, both venting their temper with each
thrust—the corn made into flour no doubt in record time. They 301
seemed to be covered with silver ornaments, many bracelets on [304]
the arms, and dozens of earrings hanging, which with the older
women were actually passed through the lobes which had been
dragged down in a most ugly fashion; with the younger ones
these had been supported by a wire which passed over the
crown of the head, but this I did not know for some
time, since the women are seldom seen with heads uncovered.

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000 crown of the head, but this I did not know for some time, since the women are seldom seen with heads uncovered.

312 On either bank the earth had been built up with silt or weeds from the water; it was black and looked good. Here and there a pair of twin poles was set upright on the bank, sometimes a growing tree was used: on top of this a pole was balanced, one end held the weights, great stones, the other had a bucket shaped like the traditional witch's cauldron suspended from it [291] by a long rope. A man wearing only a dirty cloth skull cap and baggy pyjama-like grey cotton trousers—with no shirt or shoes —stood on the bank edge holding the rope, dragging it down to dip the bucket in the water; the weight did the heavy work of lifting it from the canal, and all that he had to do was to tilt it with his foot into a gully which led away through his garden. [461] He worked as though mechanically; seemingly untired he did not even welcome my asking him to stop for a minute so that I [147] could take a photograph. These Kashmiri men are certainly tough and strong, more especially when working for themselves. Their physique so seen is magnificent, their colour a glorious bronze.

288 We continued on until the canal divided, on the right side we could hear and then see through the casement windows of a factory, the looms on which mats were being made, the verandahs were festooned with hanks of dyed wools. In the centre of the V was a garden, garlanded with climbing roses and the rest a splash of many colours. The house was not unlike the Residency in its design; it was that of the Governor.

487 Following up the canal I realized that although we had for the 364 past hour been right away from the city, we had now returned by a back way to it, for when I looked up at the buildings which were getting close upon us as the canal narrowed, I occasionally caught sight of alleys so common in Srinagar. We passed under a very old stone camel-shaped bridge which reminded me of willow pattern china; ahead some of the verandahs which overhung the canal were supported on long poles which were set on its banks. The water was getting shallow, it was filthy and stank, whilst its flow was blocked at places by truckloads of garbage which had been thrown there. The Mar canal, the spring beauty of which I had read and heard so much, had become nothing

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more than a rubbish dump, so that we were glad to scramble 487
ashore, climb up the steep flight of stone steps and walk back 364
on a road to meet the boatmen who had somehow managed to
get the shikara stern first into deep water. In it we made a
hurried return to cleaner water and fresher air.

487 As we came into more open country the canal gradually spread its banks, the main waterway down which we had come turned off to the right; to the left, we came out on a wider part close-covered in water-weed, emerald green in colour and as bright, soft and flat as a velvet billiard table. Looking ahead we saw that the canal continued, gradually becoming less wide, shaded by overhanging silver-grey willows on the banks. It seemed as if there could be no way through, but as the shikara moved forward the men kept to the middle of the stream and the weeds opened up for our passage as the nose of the boat touched them, closing again after us, but making hard work for the paddlers as they dipped into the masses of weed which below the surface were matted and long like tangled hair so that it had to be flung off after each dip as it clung to the heart-shaped paddle.

231 It was interesting to watch the little flock of fat geese and ducks which every house, whether large or small, seemed to own. On our approach the drake would call to his busily working wives who were only visible by their tails, their heads groping about under the water, and then the head of the family would quack his way ahead of them, making a passage through the weeds, while his drab grey women-folk bustled along behind him exactly following the course he had taken.

There were always dozens of children playing in the water, 857
usually naked and always laughing and shrieking, the sound of
their voices only broken by the occasional shrill shout of one of
the mothers—Kashmiri peasant women's voices are not pretty
when they are excited or shout. It was amusing to one who 186
knew his north-west India to see the bigger boys, on seeing the
pugaree of my Pathan bearer, yelling to each other, dash out
from the water and race as though for their lives; such is the
Pathan's reputation after hundreds of years of raiding Kashmir,
when among the loot, they carried away as many good-looking
boys as they did beautiful Kashmiri girls.

Kashmir; AV 4

285 Nearby women were making rush mats on the bankside,[1] Two trees had been selected some twelve feet apart, and suspended between these at about two feet above ground was a framework, the ends being wooden poles, much like broom sticks. Between them harp-like strings were run some six or eight inches apart. Through these strings the women were threading the rushes—hand weaving—and after two or three had been so worked between the strings, a loose wooden bar—itself on the strings—was pushed down on to the rushes to make them sit close. Nearby stood bundles of rushes which had been collected up from the ground after being dried off, and as we watched a boat came alongside the bank stacked high with more which had just been cut, these being easily ten feet long.

501 We passed close to other passenger shikaras, both crews of boatmen endeavouring to hold the narrow cleared channel. There was a college boat, the master sitting on a kitchen chair in the middle of it and the boys, many of whom had given up oars for paddles, rowing and scooping among the weeds, hopelessly out of time and moving forward at a slower pace with their twenty-four than we did with our three. Then there were the flat-bottomed grey little punts, each with an old woman squatting on her haunches at the front, grey hair hanging round a weather-worn face and grey eyes now dull, throwing back the wide sleeves of her frock-like gown and scooping away through the weeds, for she would cling to the side of the canal in the same way as the younger women who continued scooping the
water though feeding a baby which they somehow contrived to
501 rest across their knees. The men who passed us with punts
142 would be standing up and bending as they went their way,
291 pushing with long thrusts of the pole instead of a paddle
through the dense water weed, their magnificent muscles standing out, many unusually handsome in countenance, so that one wondered, if brain matched brawn, why they continued to labour as they did with small patches of land, or in meagre jobs, for all wore the stitched cloth skull cap of the peasant class, the more intelligent ones affecting an individuality by placing them at jaunty angles, the less bright ones planting them glumly and squarely on their heads.

000 Here and there, usually at places where the waters branched

[1] [along the Mar Canal near Srinagar - Analyst]

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AVI~~

Kashmiri AV4

Here and there, usually at places where the waters branched 347
off, small shops would be found, either built on a little patch of 443
ground or on piles driven in close to the bank so that boats and shikaras could come up alongside. Most of them sold groceries and foodstuffs, but there were some with sewing machines whirling, even potters' shops where the crude but serviceable Kashmir "china" is made, this being glazed earthenware coloured yellow, green, red or brown, with thumb mark patterns and quite serviceable for everyday use, besides being extremely cheap and decorative though brittle. There was one shop, the owner of which also plied the waterways and lakes in his shikara, where miniature wooden houseboats, cook boats and shikaras were made and sold, these being souvenirs the visitors love, especially if they happen to be models of the houseboat on which they are living, and the majority are standard to type.

There were well-built houses with gardens, one or two of 342
these laid out in the English fashion, much as one would find on the banks of the River Thames, others after the Kashmir style, with little garden, a many-storied house of red brick, flattish roof and open windows, near to the water.

At one place we saw a shikara being loaded skyscraper high 285
with willow baskets of all kinds, lunch baskets, work baskets, bottle baskets, market baskets and shopping baskets of many shapes and sizes, with sets of these fitting one into the other. These were being carried out from a so-called "factory", a shed in which, we found when we got out to have a look at it, a complete family of basket-makers were working. The head of the family, a very old man, was blind; his grandson was telling us that he also expected to become a grandfather at any time. They proudly explained that it was English Willow that they used, meaning that it came from willows which had been imported from England long before. As I watched the family working on the cane, although by then not moving so quickly with his fingers, the old man finished his baskets well before the others who stopped to look up to make a point as they spoke to us.

The canes are hacked from the trees in the late summer, tied 314
in bundles and placed in a high V of the branches so that the 231
cattle and goats cannot get at them. In the winter the leaves are

314 stripped as fodder for the cattle and the canes of suitable size
231 then graded and used for basket making, after being steeped in water. The work coming out from this garden factory was
[442] excellent. I checked up on prices[1] in the city and found that the middleman made a profit of nearly two hundred per cent on that which he paid the makers. I suppose it had never dawned on those people to look into this themselves and consider the advantage of opening a shop.

222 After a while we came upon the main stream[2] which goes through to the lakes, the weeds had been cleared to some extent here; possibly the constant traffic up and down had made it impossible for them to spread, though in places reeds had taken their place, to be broken only by the great flat leaves of the lotus which are prolific on the lake. With the fall of the year these leaves slowly wither, the flower pods stand up alone above the water, and as we came upon them two children in a punt pulled alongside our shikara and offered first to us and then the boatmen, bundles of lotus pods which are a vegetable in Kashmir. Way back by the reeds we watched a man standing up in a punt and plunging a pronged pole into the bed of the lake, lifting it he brought up to the surface a long white thick growth; it was the root of the lotus plant, known as nadru, again known as a vegetable and much used in winter by the people of the city.

136 Every now and then little brown water hens would half-fly half-scull over the weeds away from us as we went slowly on. In places we came on dozens of large dragon-flies, some light blue, others yellow and yet more with red bodies, their colours seeming to have melted into their near-transparent wings, as for a while they hovered, then darted away; swallows wheeled round overhead when we came near to a house, which was
241 obviously their home. The canal banks were a mass of colour, in parts white with clover, blue with forget-me-nots and yellow with the hanging cucumber, marrow and melon vines which had been planted there at the water's edge, whilst in other places they had been overgrown and were mauve with convolvulus, and red with roses which were wild, but the blossoms double, the petals of some being red inside and orange on the outside.

000 We came upon a space clear of rushes, lotus and water weeds. An old fisherman was baiting a line of hooks as he sat in his

[1] [On basketry made in the home -- Analyst]

[2] [The Mar canal -- Analyst]

shikara which his small granddaughter was keeping out of the 000
way of others passing. Here[1] channels crossed, and standing 778
erect on a small island in the middle was a short, circular column 782
of stone. Another shikara had moved towards it, I overheard the pundit in it, who was showing his friends round the valley, telling them that it was but another idol similar to that on the Takht, the rounded top having been worn flat by the annas placed there by market gardeners on their way to the city in the hope that by so doing they would secure good prices for their produce—advance commission to the gods.

When this shikara had gone off, our boatman moved forward 823
and explained that what we had heard was what the Kashmiri pundits always said, but that the people of the valley knew differently, for there were three stones in all, one also on either bank. The one on the right bank has a pointed top and was once a banker who used to charge more than thirty-three and a third interest on loans, the one with the flat top was a mat-seller who sold mats by a measure which was a fifth short of the correct amount, while the other was a milkman who mixed the water of the canal with his milk. The gods had heard and seen these wicked men doing these things and as a punishment and a lesson for all time to the people, had turned them into stone; so they stand until this day.

We pulled over to the bank for lunch, and sat there watching 136
the many little kingfishers, of which there are thousands round the lakes, on stocky bright red legs with which they never walk, sitting on the overhanging, slender, bending twigs with eyes fixed on the water. Suddenly there was a vivid flash of blue and green as one dived into the water below, to come up with a little silver fish in his long black beak, land on the prow of an old half-sunken boat, there to bang the life out of the minnow before devouring it whole. They uttered curious twittering cries. The boatman sought out one of their nests for us to see, first showing us the small hole which led to it in the river bank, then by carefully scraping away for over two feet disclosing the larger oval egg chamber at the end of the passage. It was out of the breeding season, so that there were no eggs, but these are round and white, numbering up to seven before the hen bird sits to hatch them.

[1] [at a site along the Mar canal-- Analyst]

342 We went on, passing here and there a farmhouse with its buildings nearby. These are all the same, built of wood, the ground floor being used as a sheep and cattle pen, the first floor as living quarters for the farmer and his family, and the roof, the gable ends of which are left open, set aside as a store for winter fodder, so that when the sheep are shut below them with the fodder protecting the roof, the farmer and his family are kept warm during the winter months. Only a very few of the houses had glass at the windows, most were wooden-shuttered, some had tattered pieces of sacking or brown paper which had closed the windows the previous winter and had been torn down with the coming of spring. There was no sign of a chimney stack, and the roofs were either boarded or covered with earth and grass, just as are most of those in the city. It was a Dutch traveller to Kashmir from Antwerp who in about 1625 mentioned that onions were then grown on the roofs of the town houses.

231 In the walls of the houses we often saw circles with a hole in the centre in and out of which bees passed. These were the hives used in the valley. They are made of earthenware and rather like a two-foot-long chimney-pot with a lid on it, or to those who garden, a better description would be a rhubarb forcing pot. The hive is set with its base against the inner wall of the room, a hole or holes being bored through for the bees to leave and enter the pot, while the lid is sealed with clay. The Kashmiri feeds his swarms throughout the winter, but considers the warmth of the room should be sufficient to keep them alive during the cold days; unfortunately it is not and many die, but they do not seem yet to have learnt a lesson. The bees are remarkably tame there; the peasants even resort to tying the queen bee with a cotton from her leg to the comb when they think she is likely to follow the other queens from the hive; often three or four swarms issue from the one hive. To remove the honey, of which two harvests are gathered each year, the lid is taken off, smoke blown in to drive the bees from it, and the combs then cut out.

343 Outside, standing high on big rocks, were the corn stores, separate buildings with boarded floors, walls and roof, the entrance being near to the eaves and reached by a step ladder; the corn is drawn off when required through a hole in the floor.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~[illegible]~~
Kashmiri AV4

the corn is drawn off when required through a hole in the floor. 000

Close to the buildings poplars and willows grew, and in the 245
nearby orchards were apple, pear, apricot and mulberry trees.
Nearby was always to be seen the aged spreading walnut tree,
the gathering place for all in the evening and for the old men
during the day. The walnut trees belong to the village as a [423]
whole; they may not be cut down without first obtaining the
permission of the State. Some are massive. I have seen one with
a girth of eighteen feet and still bearing heavy crops of nuts.

We came upon the floating gardens, a unique feature of the 241
lake. At first I imagined them to be dry land with strips of
water between them, and in fact they do become so after many
years. These are made by cutting off from the side of the marsh-
land a long strip of matted weed and bulrush bed some twenty
yards long and a yard wide; the underpart is also cut away so
that the portion is about two feet thick. This is then towed by a
punt to the desired position and anchored there by poles being
driven into the lake bed at the corners. To this, further weed,
which has been hooked up from the bottom of the canal or lake,
is added, being sandwiched between layers of mud and earth.
It is manured and added to each year with rotted weeds and
canal silt. These floating gardens require no labour expended on
them in watering the crops, and grow such vegetables as cucum-
bers, melons, pumpkins, tomatoes, and such-like whilst the
more solid ones yield peas, cabbages, cauliflower, and even
beets, onions and potatoes.

A few days later we watched one being moved. For this two
punts were used, one on either side as it was being poled down
the canal to another position. At first not noticing the punts, it
shook us a little to see a lump of land complete with cultivated
plant life bearing down on us. They say that occasionally one [674]
farmer steals another's floating garden. It is unusual though,
and they are seldon moved from one place to another.

That day we came upon a punt deep in the water which was 241
almost flowing over its sides. It was piled high like a hay-cart 501
with weeds which the man standing at one end was lifting with
a hooked pole from the bed of the lake and slopping into the
punt. At the other end sat a small boy with an ordinary paddle
with which he was scooping out from the bottom of the punt

241 the water which drained through from the wet weed into th
501 pit at his feet, while at the same time he was keeping the pun
out of the way of the traffic.

361 Further along[1] we came on another village with its old stone
bridge crossing the canal and all the houses, some many stories
high, crowding on each other and the waterway as though every
231 foot of land was precious. At one flight of wide stone steps men
444 were busy washing live sheep in the water, at another boys were
washing the newly embroidered gubbas in order to bring out the colour to its best before sending them on to the shopkeepers; we tried to buy from them but strangely enough they refused, although they could have had from us a much higher price than the trader would have given.

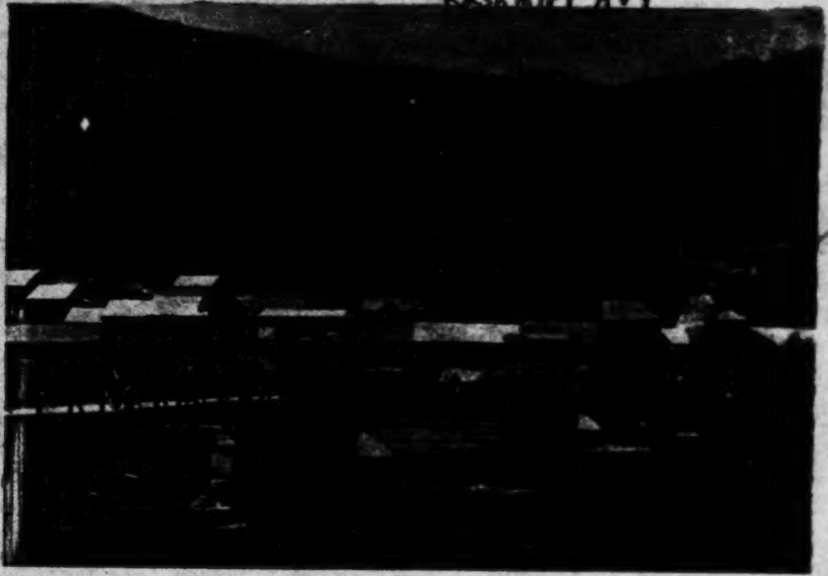
855 Everywhere there seemed to be children, as though fascinated
857 by it, playing in the water with no one near to save them if they
fell into a deep part, and I knew that few could swim. My comment on this to the boatmen brought, "We soon get plenty more where they come from, sahib. Kashmiri men easy getting these chicko!" They laughed as they said it, but the lack of concern left me wondering if they did not really feel that way about these children.

We went up the waterway, through the channel cleared by the frequent passage of shikaras; on the right there is a large island on which are grown Lombardy poplars. Just where the channel narrows before widening out again, a most magnificent chinar stands out from the tip of a small island with a house built near to it, the branches of the tree spreading out so that they cover half the waterway, its roots protected by a stone wall. There must be a perfect view from here during the evening lights, with the lake stretching out to the far mountains the colours of which change with the setting sun and the rising moon, and the occasional light on the water from a night fisherman's shikara, while across the sky come the dark shapes in formation of flighting night herons which live in the chinar grove near to Hazrat Bal.

346 Eventually we found ourselves on the lake and close upon
778 that particular village with its spread of stone steps leading up
from the lake. A little over to the left of the village is a mosque which is the greatest shrine of the Muslims in Kashmir, for

[1] [along a canal near Srinagar--Analyst]

2: Garvis T-2 (no date) 1884 AVI ~~[illegible]~~ Kashmiri AV4



Moghul bridge at Baramula (p. 32)

Sunset on the Jhelum (p. 72)

[Facing p. 92]

[illegible] Gervis 7-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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493

A Srinagar tonga (p. 73)

778

Flower-adorned phallic idol in a temple (p. 71)

[Facing p. 93]

346 within it rests one of the Prophet's hairs. This sacred relic is
778 held on high and shown to the people on certain days of the
year. It is recorded that it was brought to Kashmir by Khwaja
Nurdin from Bejapur in A.D. 1700. It is also said that one lac—
that is one hundred thousand—rupees were paid for it.

346 During recent years the outer courtyard has been rebuilt
796 with a wall of limestone and paving stones. Still the old chinars
292 and willows remain to shelter the masses of Muslims who congregate there always on Fridays, but many more on the special
occasions, then they number thousands wearing their best
clothes, the children with gold embroidered, brightly coloured
velvet hats shaped like page-boys' pillboxes, but worn straight
on the head; for these occasions new clothes must always be
562 worn. The men outnumber the women by ninety-nine per cent,
most of the women having to remain at home although they
may not be strictly in purdah. Just a very few may have come in
the hundreds of shikaras which tightly pack the steps, but they
stop in the boat covered in their burquas, the smaller children
either remaining, or occasionally running back to them.
A few will venture up the stepway to the many shops which sell
sweets and toys on all festive occasions, some may examine
pieces of cloth, keeping their backs to the masses and only half-
[777] uncovering the face as they finger it. They imagine that cloth
purchased on such a day and from such a place cannot fail to
bring good fortune with it.

796 The men and young boys go forward, they stand in long rows
in the courtyard, and following, repeat and perform their
prayers, all standing with heads bowed, hands clasped loosely
before them, all holding their hands to heaven, all going down
on their knees, all touching the ground with their foreheads
837 with eyes closed in prayer. There may be a few purdah women
301 of the poorer men standing at the very back of the multitude,
302 occasionally a courtesan will be seen; as so happened we saw
one arrive in her private shikara with a beautiful young ayah
—or maid—sitting at her feet, and being paddled along by
four handsome muscular boatmen. The woman beneath the
canopy which had curtains of gauzelike material and cushions
of silk, wore heavy make-up, bright red lips, blackened eyes;
gold tissue was worked into her expensive clothes, her red-

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri AV4

837 tipped fingers were flashing with rings, her arms jangling with
301 gold bracelets, whilst round her neck were ropes of pearls; she
302 reeked of scent. As she was helped from her shikara I saw that
she was stiff and bent with age. The manji told me later that she was a famous character, having a fabulous fortune which by speculation she had increased ten-fold since the death of the millionaire merchant who had kept her. It was said, but could now never be proved, that she had caused him to send his four wives from the house, and after discovering where his wealth was hidden, had killed him slowly by feeding powdered glass in his favourite cakes which only she could make. But she was now getting near to the age when death overtakes, and of recent years had often repaired to the mosque. At first it had been to the Pathar Masjid, "The woman's Mosque", but one who had wished her ill—it is said one of the wives from whom she had stolen the inheritance—was always waiting at the gate to offer her some of the same kind of cakes in which she had fed their husband the glass. So now her pilgrimage was to Hazrat Bal where, as we followed, we saw she was well received, no doubt paying heavily for such attention when she prayed for her own soul and those of her three sons who had died a year after each other on the even of Id—the great Muslim festival.

353 The inside of the mosque is heavily decorated with hundreds
778 of coloured glass and brass lamps dripping from the lofty
ceiling, and thick Persian carpets covering the entire floor, but none are as beautiful or gorgeous as those in the Shah-i-Hamdan mosque on the Jhelum River. To one side is the famous shrine, the entrance made low so that those who wish to see the hair of the Prophet must go down on their knees to do so. Inside the glass case which is lighted, there are many hanging lamps and coloured globes, on its floor other decorations, but to this day I do not know if it was the hair of the Prophet which was pointed out to me. If so it must have been magnified to account for its being so thick.

794 Never before have I been so pestered for alms as I was in that one by those who attend in the mosque; having dropped a note into one box, my attention was drawn to another which was for some other "upkeep" and yet another, until finally after giving money to the old man who had looked after our shoes

2c Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri Av 4

when we went inside, the "guide", as the priest had now become, pointed out a special box for such gifts, the contents being divided among all those who looked after shoes. It spoilt an otherwise interesting visit; especially when the manji told me afterwards that the attendants at this particular mosque receive a salary from the State, maybe this actually comes from what remained after the new surrounds had been built and the shrine made good, for there were few Muslims in the valley who failed to contribute generously for this work. 794 [859]

Working our way round, by keeping first to the edge of the lake and then through a maze of waterways, we eventually came out to that part of the Dal Lake known as the Gagribal Lake, having on one side a stone wall covering the Boulevard Road at the lake edge, and on the other rows of houseboats which are as though shunted into small single docks, the verandah ends facing on to the wide clear waterway to the Dal Gate and the Boulevard, the bedrooms protected at the back and sides by narrow strips of land which are covered with overhanging willows. Here I found that whilst we had been away the manji had brought our houseboat and cook boat to a new ghat for a few days, it being a favourite and convenient site for visitors' boats during the spring and autumn weeks when they wish daily to visit the Moghul gardens or swim in one or other of the lakes. 583

[illegible] Gervis T-S (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]
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CHAPTER SEVEN

The Moghul Gardens

444 THE houseboat had been moved on to the Dal Lake with our intention to make several trips by shikara to the Moghul Gardens, which at one time numbered many dozens, but are now reduced to three, as they were originally made upon its shores, yet the first of these we visited by tonga after being taken over to the other side of the narrow neck of the lake to the Boulevard road by shikara. The Colonel had his pet tonga, one which had, by order, come all the way from the First Bridge to pick us up; after carefully with expert eye examining the horse and telling the tonga wallah that it was not in too bad a condition, he inspected the tonga, making several suggestions to the man and brushing aside his pleas and protests of "I am a poor man, sahib"; only then did we get in. For short journeys in Srinagar and the surrounding district, to travel by tonga is by far the best, one can see so much more from them, although I have never got used to riding backwards, and still crane my neck to see what is coming ahead.

361 Chashma Shahi, the little Moghul garden of the Royal Spring, was the one to which we were first going, and we had chosen Monday as the best day, since the crowds of visitors would not be there. We followed the Boulevard round past the European-style houses and private hotels which are backed by the hill surmounted by the Takht-i-Suleiman, then leaving it, looked across to the rather lovely little house now occupied by the ever-smiling son of the Maharaja Hari Singh, beyond which was the 344 turn of the river on which we had a houseboat ghat. Next, going past the Maharaja's new palace, the one I had gazed down on from the temple, I thought it still looked so much like a barrack even on this closer inspection, for the laid out gardens

Sir Garvin T-3 (no date) 1954 AVL Kashmir-497

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before it did not alter my opinion. This building, to know its 344
proper occupants, should be converted into a university, for which it might have been built and is far better suited.

Turning to the other direction there was the lovely Dal Lake 361
of which so much has been written and much will doubtless be for ever told. Large stretches of its still waters are weed-covered but others are free, reflecting the mountains on its clear smooth surface. In the distance is a little summer house with the lotus breeding beds; a causeway reaches out from the mainland and almost touches it. Behind this, making a lovely 367
picture for the artist, is a farmhouse which is a perfect model tucked away between poplars and willows. I imagine it must be occupied by the head mali or gardener, the one who is responsible for cultivating the lotus of the lakes. But the summerhouse might have been lifted out from some Ideal Home Exhibition; it matches perfectly the new Palace and spoils one's immediate rustic vision of Kashmir.

From behind us an open car overflowing with young Indians 000
hooted continually, almost physically forcing our tonga off the road, as the screaming moderns flew past us; they had come up by air from Bombay for the long week-end, a short respite from the glaring lights of the cinema studios, and were dressed in the American fashion, aping the youths of that country, the "boys" sitting on the folded hood wearing dark sun glasses and brightly coloured, gaily patterned silk bush shirts, the "girls" in tight figure-revealing frocks and tresses flowing out behind them. They were thoroughly enjoying themselves, admired by the other young Indians holidaying there, despised and detested by the older ones, who were openly ashamed of them in our presence, even suggesting that they were really Anglo-Indians. They were the same party as occupied the boat adjoining ours and who, watched by a huge crowd of admirers on the Boulevard had, the previous night, played dance records into the small hours, dancing on the brightly lighted flat roof of the houseboat, couples periodically leaving it in a shikara to be paddled out on to the lake for a short while. They had doubtless told their friends that they had come to Kashmir for a quiet rest away from the turmoil of Bombay. Many of them I knew and they cheered us as they passed the tongas, a few of the girls

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AVF

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000 blowing kisses—although quite proper in Europe and America, far from correct for Indian girls; until recently only "a certain type of girl" would have done so.

346 We stopped the tonga to allow the road dust to settle and found ourselves on the turn of the road at the foot of the Zebanwan mountain. The Colonel drew my attention to some mellowed grey ruins standing out on the spur of the mountain above us. These were all that remained of the partly overgrown Pari Mahal, a school of astrology which was built for his tutor, Mulla Shah, by the eldest son of Shah Jahan, Prince Dara Shikoh, who was murdered by his brother. This building was terraced up the hill-side, the face of each of these having deep arches, a
[276] favoured Moghul decoration. Now with the typical Kashmiri choice of charming names, it is known as "The Fairies' Palace", and there are few children who do not believe, as do many of their elders, that the fairies of the lakes go there to sleep during the winter when the land is covered by a deep blanket of pure white snow. By the time I had finished that holiday in the valley, I too had joined them in imagining it to be a possibility.

241 We ran close to the lake again, then at a point where there was a break in the wall so that shikaras could come close for their passengers to disembark, the road branched, and we turned off slightly up hill and inland. Willows, poplars and orchards covered the right side, whilst rice fields spread across the left, the peasant women were bending over and cutting the rice by hand in one field, two small Kashmiri oxen, with the driver standing on the wooden plough to which they were yoked before the humps on their shoulders, were turning over the ground which had been cleared of its crop.

485 After about a mile we came out under a large modern house, near which a number of soldiers were camped. This is the State guest house for "Very Important Personages" who must be entertained but have a separate establishment run for them, and therefore are unable to be accommodated in the other two State guest houses which contain many suites. It is indeed a wonderful position for any mansion.

367 And directly behind it, a little to the left, is the lovely little Chashma Shahi garden. It is set on the hillside, the first terrace to the high garden wall entrance having many steps to climb

21 Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir

Kashmiri AV4

up, past the masses of flowers planted there, trees overhang the old walls, and here is always to be felt a gentle breeze. At the top we instinctively turned to discover over the rice fields the most enchanting view of the Dal Lake with the Rupa Lank or Silver Island as Char Chinar is sometimes called, this being a tiny island in the middle of the lake with a summerhouse which once had a silver domed roof, and planted with four great chinar trees, all mirrored in the waters. Over to the right and further along the road, were pointed out to me the orchards which had been planted years before with the choicest of fruit trees imported from England by Colonel Anderson. I knew that somewhere among them was the charming little house which he had built and occupied until—so the story goes—he was unwise enough to invite the old Maharaja Pratab Singh to visit it. Then it was a repetition of the story of Naboth's vineyard. Anyway, Anderson left behind him the beginning of what could now be a flourishing fruit industry if only cheaper and easier transportation out of the valley could be made available, for the State is famous for its perfect, luscious fruits.

The Chashma Shahi garden, only about an acre in area, is surrounded by a high wall. The famous spring rises at the south side of the garden, that is, the top end; its water is crystal clear and ice cold, so cold that it is usual to challenge the visitor to hold his hand in it to below the wrist for one minute.

The whole garden has been arranged in three terraces, the spring gushing up into a large stone vase built on the centre of the ground floor hall of the upper pavilion, and surrounded by a white marble screen which also covers it to prevent people from dipping into or washing in it. From this the sparkling water shoots out into a large square tank which is surrounded by pots of the most prolific maidenhair ferns; others suspended above in hanging pots also decorate the place. Continuing on its way the water runs through a carved fountain basin, dashes over a water chute which has its surface serrated and down to the second terrace in the centre of which there is a single fountain. From here it flows on and, as is usual with Moghul pavilions, runs in a channel through the centre of the second summerhouse. Both of these buildings are rather after the Afghan type, being built on old stone foundations; the ends are

2: Gervis T-3 (no data) 1954 AVl ~~Kashmir~~
Kashmiri AV4

367 open to allow the passage of air thus assisting with the cooling, and as one goes forward to the other side through the arched entrances there still remains in place an old Moghul black marble rail. The lower garden is way down, the glistening water cascading over a narrow chute which drops it some twenty feet into this garden in the centre of which is a tank with five fountain jets.

Emerald green lawns of velvet soft turf, which are always in the same perfect condition, are broken up in patterns by flower beds of all shapes and sizes; never can one find one which is not a mass of bloom, whilst the high mud and brick walls, with iris planted on the top of them, are almost hidden by flowering shrubs and fruit trees.

The design of a central watercourse flowing down through formal terraced gardens was favoured by the Moghuls. In Kashmir they had the advantage of being able to build them down from a spring or stream, yet in the plains they still had such gardens, the fountains and channels being occasionally fed from a distant river, brought for miles, though more often supplied by water which was drawn the day through from a well just outside the garden wall and fed by leather bags into a large supply tank.

Pavilions which were open on all sides were also a feature, the water either flowing round them, with fountains which were themselves in the water spraying more into the air, or others with it passing in channels through the centre of the pavilion, sometimes over marble serrated sloping slabs, a few that were inside buildings being made up of layers of pearl oyster shells, giving the appearance of waves and upon its leaving the building, forming a waterfall to the tank below, the wall over which it fell having rows of small compartments, honeycomb fashion in which lights were placed at night and bunches of flowers by day, so decorating the gardens. And with the many fountains and the gentle flow of air passing over the clear ice-cold spring waters, the rooms were cooled; sometimes scented by the blossoms of jasmin and roses scattered on the surface as it left the bubbling spring.

367
345 The pavilions, some built of marble, some of stone, some of wood, all had cool marble floors, carved posts upheld the roof,

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir~~AV1~~

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which together with the ceilings and walls were decorated in 367
bright colours and lovely designs, the pure white plaster being 345
made of crushed marble. Small retiring rooms were set in the corners, and many of the larger pavilions had upper stories, strangely enough usually led up to from the outside by narrow and steep stairways, the first floor usually having a central open room with smaller ones off from it; maybe these were used by the men, the lower room by the women. During the wet seasons the openings would be covered by beautifully worked curtains. Kitchens are not to be found, which suggests that these must have been outside the walls of the gardens, the scent of which was not spoiled by the aromas coming from the highly spiced dishes beloved by the Indians, aromas which although often noticeable during the cooking, are no indication of the flavour, much as is the case with many of the European cheeses.

It is questionable as to whether the gardens were used by the 644
Emperors and their Court during the colder months, for one reads that they came to Kashmir from the scorching plains for the summer months. The whole of the court could not be moved from Delhi or Lahore though, and a few remained in those cities though most of them went towards the hills with the Emperor and the Empress and then remained on the other side of the pass—the wrong side—only the principal members continuing the whole way, since to move a complete court each year would have been a heavy drain on the treasury. There would however have been the rains of July to contend with, the ideal months in the valley being May and June, September and October.

We left the little gem of a Moghul garden Chashma Shahi, by 367
a doorway which led through the side wall. Here we discovered a tree-shaded square framed in by stonework at ground level. It might have been the foundation of some demolished building, but I doubt it for the surface of the stones was both level and smooth. It could also have been, and probably was, a portion set aside outside the garden as a kitchen, for nearby flowed a little stream.

Followed by the tonga we walked down the hill on the grass roadside which was good to step on; the breeze which could not get within the walled garden now reaching us, the view before

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri AV4

367 us was quiet and peaceful, the still waters of the lake only disturbed by an odd shikara as it moved through, leaving an ever-spreading, feather-like wake. As we passed them we saw that the smaller trees protected by the tall poplars were cherry—
241
[854] I remembered that Abul Fazal, a scholar in the court of the Moghul Emperor Akbar, mentioned these particular trees and their rich red fruits in *Ain-i-Akbari*, his biographical chronicle of that Emperor's reign; the women were still bending down and reaping the rice, the tiny baby of one was crying under the shade of an earth bank, but none took any notice; the man was still standing on his wooden plough, adding his weight in order to drive the blade deeper into the good rich earth, whilst the little dun bulls continued up and down the field; his shouts to them were much like a song—he was probably telling them how wonderfully their fathers had worked for his father, for he had no need to lift a stick to drive them on as did the tonga wallahs to their ponies.

000 We returned to lunch on the houseboat; all was quiet in the one next to us, for the bright young things had left to catch the mid-day 'plane south, all that remained were two of their number, a "play back" artist and her brother. That afternoon seeing them taking tea on their roof garden I could quite understand why the young woman could only be heard and not seen on the screen, for even the most clever of make-up artists could never have hidden the deep pock-marks on an otherwise clear-cut lovely face. Why is it that those who are marked for life by such a disfigurement usually have really beautiful or handsome features?

That evening after dinner, the moon being at the full, we called for the shikara, and ordered the men to paddle slowly out on to the lake. The snow-capped mountain tops had become silver, the slopes deep purple, the waters of the lake reflecting all the colours but basically green, much like the Alexandrine the jeweller had only that afternoon tried to sell me, insisting that I test its quality by taking it to a dark corner to watch the purple change to emerald.

Very occasionally we heard the splash of another shikara's paddle, but otherwise all was quiet except for the cry of a night bird. It was perfect peace, the water and the air still, silent and

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smooth. Then in the distance we heard singing, not the loud notes of a gramophone, not the chorus of a party, just the pure crystal notes of a girl's voice accompanied by the occasional blending chords of a string instrument. 000 533

We ordered the men to quietly glide towards the place from where the sound was coming and as we got nearer saw one or two other shikaras silently joining us. Then silhouetted against the background we picked out the Silver Island with its four great chinar trees shading a once marble, silver domed pavilion, this, now gone, has built upon its foundation an ugly edifice best called a shelter, but in the moonlight again becoming a lovely jewel. From here the liquid voice was flowing; drawn towards it, we felt almost ashamed to encroach. In a whisper the Colonel told me the songs were old Kashmiri ones then being sung on the island as doubtless they had been hundreds of years before.

We could make out the singer standing leaning against one of the pillars of the summerhouse and looking towards the moon; behind her on the ground sat another figure, a man playing a sitar, a large, long-necked, mandolin-like wire-strung instrument which, plucked with a plectrum, has the quality, at the will of the player, of harp, guitar or viola. No one spoke in the shikaras, none applauded when the girl had finished her song; all of us must have been carried away and lost in admiration at the beauteous quality of the smooth notes which were as though wafted on the surface of the waters by the cool breeze then just lightly rustling the leaves of the overhanging trees. [534]

The moon slowly slipped behind a feathery cloud, the picture on the Silver Island was lost for a while, but the songs went on; then as the moon again appeared it was brighter and I saw the girl was the one who was living on the houseboat next to ours, the musician her brother. In that kindly light her pock marks were lost, all that we saw was a lovely, perfect figure in a glittering sari, the beauty of the picture being completed by the exquisite voice and the scent from the flowering shrubs blooming round the summerhouse. It is a scene I shall ever remember, and at times as I hear that same voice singing on records the latest modern westernized Indian film songs, I wonder if her 000

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000 fans have ever known how she can so softly and sympathetically sing the sweet love songs of her motherland.

Later, when she knew me better, she told me that her mother had been a Kashmiri singer, as also had her grandmother before her, and even further back; how as a small child her mother had brought her to Kashmir, sung to her on that same island and told her that her great-grandmother had sung there for the Emperor and his Empress. The story which had passed down was probably true, for the daughters of singers and dancers usually inherited their mothers' beauty and qualities. As the years passed, the beauty of the daughters became enhanced by the high breed blood of their fathers, for most became courtesans or the concubines of rich men and princes, so that in this age they have lost all trace of the peasant and become ladies of quality with graceful, natural movement as dancers, and clear musical voices as singers.

263 Next morning I awoke to look out from my bedroom window on to the willow bank alongside. I saw our boatmen's women were preparing the scarlet chillies which had festooned the boat for days, drying. These they pounded into powder in the mortar, then taking it out they handed it to the old mother who sifted it, the red powder passing through the criss-cross cane, the yellow seeds and coarser stalks remaining. The powder mixed with water into a mudlike state is then made into round bricks, dried and stored away to hot up the Kashmiri food during the winter months.

136 The bird life in that part was very alive; a pair of black and white wagtails were busy on the mud banks; when they came close I saw that the black was really a greyish green; it seemed that there must have been hundreds of the tiny insects on which they lived on that damp mud bank; the bird's slim, clean-cut tails bobbing up and down as they searched for them. A magpie settled on the branch of a willow in the distance, forcing me to get up from my bed, for I had to look out for its mate, since I could not start the day with bad luck after seeing one lone magpie—a belief which I found was shared by Kashmiris. A pair of bulbuls flew round. The size of thrushes, they are a dark greyish-brown with black feathers on the throat and the sides of the neck, white-tipped tails, yellowish feathers under, and

white-checked, black-crested heads. This crest, which is bent forward, makes it appear as though the bird is wearing a high hat. Theirs is a pretty little note, a sweet twitter or warbling, hardly a song though. They keep as close to each other as the proverbial love birds; the boatman declared that they must have Hindu blood in them since they mate for life for, unlike the Muslim, with the Hindu there is no divorce. They[1] are supposed to bring good fortune. 136 [777]

One old English lady who had made Srinagar her home and who is a great bird lover, had trained them to come into her houseboat, there to perch on the backs of the chairs. I remember when taking a "dish of tea" with her on the first occasion, being suddenly surprised as I put my cup down on the tea table, by one, on seeing that it was empty, flying forward and after a second or two fluttering over it gently landing on the edge, its wings still moving so that the delicate cup did not tip as the bird dipped its head in to search for any sugar that might have settled there—they love sugar. Then to complete their tricks, the old lady threw them crumbs, few of which they missed. She told me their eggs are pale shell pink with red spots. In parts of India these birds are trapped and, with a piece of string tied round the leg, trained for fighting, and I was assured by a friend I have no reason to doubt, that one such famous fighting bulbul had been sold in the early part of the season for five hundred rupees. The birds are not kept in cages, but attached to a perch by the leg with a very thin wire chain and carried about. 000

That day we took the manji, the bearer and the luncheon baskets and set off for the Shalimar Gardens by water. Can there by anyone in the world who has not heard of this lovely place, even though it be but in the *Indian Love Lyrics* written years ago by Amy Woodford Findon—"Pale hands I loved beside the Shalimar"? And Shalimar means "The Abode of Love" in Sanskrit, though one writer insists the word divided comes from "shali", a mountain, and "mar", beautiful.

The trip to it was full of interest, taking at leisure nearly two hours through weed-choked canals and winding waterways, with dab-chicks, moor-hens and reed-warblers skimming away across the open lake, where one's interest is drawn to the little fishes which dart everywhere amongst the feathery, multicoloured

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[1] [ie., the bulbul -- Analyst]

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000 weeds which grow up from the bottom of the lake, the water
226 as clear as air. We came upon fishermen; some were standing up at the end of their shikaras holding aloft long poles with five spikes, rose fashion, on the end. They stand motionless, their eyes glued on the still water below them; suddenly they thrust the pole down, and lifting it look round to see if a visitor is watching, then display their catch which is usually a fish the size of a herring; when we showed interest the fisherman bent down and held up his morning's catch, some seven fishes, the largest of which must have weighed four pounds. We came on another; at first I thought the shikara had drifted away empty, for it was in a part where the lake had much weed, then I saw a heap of weed at one end with a fishing pole sticking up from it. The fisherman who was lying at the stern of the boat, had covered himself with large Euryale ferox leaves some three feet across, which also extended over his head and shaded the water beneath him; he held ready-poised the same kind of fishing pole, but although we stood by for some time he caught nothing and I doubt whether he ever knew that we had been there.

At exactly eleven o'clock, as we were admiring the perfect reflection of the mountains on the lake's surface, one which always causes the photographer to wonder which way up the print should be, cups of hot morning coffee were handed over to us, not from a thermos, but freshly made, for in the back of the boat the little charcoal stove had been lighted, the water boiled as we went along, and the coffee made.

487 We began to get nearer to the shore and the great bank of chinar trees. The lake was matted with weeds, the channel between them so narrow that it was difficult for two shikaras to pass with ease, and so shallow that the men gave up using paddles and took to poling. The mud they disturbed was not of a very pleasant odour, it reminded one of the finish of the annual clean out of the garden gold-fish pond. At a distance, standing as though stuffed, were a pair of herons.

I then saw that we had arrived between two earth banks and knew that we were entering the mile-long canal which runs through the swamps to the gardens. As we got nearer, willow trees were growing on the banks, there was an untidy and dirty little hamlet, and closer still to the land, great old chinars stood

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back and extended their giant branches. But the water was low 487
and we had to walk the last quarter of a mile to the entrance pavilion in front of which ran the road. A few tongas and old taxis stood nearby; so far I was not very impressed by Shalimar, the last mile of it having spoilt the journey over the lake.

When the garden was originally made it ran right down to the 367
canal which was then doubtless kept clear and clean. It is unfortunate that the road must now run where it does, or that some other layout could not have been designed for it so that although not in the garden it was of it, for having passed through the gates one's breath is taken for a minute at the most amazing mass of colours of the flowers, the perfectly kept lawns, the chinars just changing to orange, and if the visitor is fortunate as we were, he is greeted by the sparkling streams and gushing fountains. It is indeed a paradise on earth, perhaps made the more so because of the contrasting last mile of the journey to it.

Like all the Moghul gardens in Kashmir, the watercourse runs down the centre of the garden for its full terraced length, the crystal clear water glittering like silver as it races over marble, fish-scaled shoots, down in a waterfall before carved decorated marble slabs, the channel so wide in parts that stepping stones were placed across it, and here and there are slabs on which the Emperor sat enthroned with the cool water flowing beneath him that he might be refreshed.

Legend tells that the King Pravarasena II, the founder of Srinagar who used to visit a saint named Sukarma Swami whose abode was near to Harwan, had a villa built on the site of the Shalimar garden, so that he might rest there the night. The villa and its garden fell into decay and vanished, but the small village, which had as is usual sprung up around its walls, remained, retaining for itself the name of Shalimar.

On this site the Emperor Jehangir had laid out the garden which is still there, now far more lovely than in his day, for the giant chinar trees since planted, have now reached maturity. The pavilions may have lost some of their freshness, the watercourses become mellowed by age, but the great stone, ten foot high wall which surrounds the whole place is unbroken, the

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367 mountains which form a perfect background are the same, as is the cool water which keeps fresh the gardens in all their colourful glory, and so it has been for well over three hundred years, for it was laid out by the Emperor Jehangir in 1619. This original garden he called "Forhatbakhsh", which means "Delightful". In 1630 Zafar Khan the then Moghul Governor of Kashmir, added a portion to the north of the garden and named that part "Faiz-Bakhsh", meaning "Bountiful".

According to an old guidebook the Shalimar—in this book the name is spelt Shalamar—is five hundred and ninety yards long, at the lower end two hundred and seven yards wide, and at the upper end *two hundred and sixty-seven yards wide;* the watercourse which runs right through and joins the canal outside, being eighteen inches deep and from nine to fourteen yards wide.

The water comes from the Harwan stream from behind the great garden, and according to this book the canals as well as the tanks were lined with polished limestone resembling black marble. Now the bottoms of the main channels are carpeted with short bright green grass; the tanks remain as before, with cascades, some short and shallow, others long and steep, all highly polished by age—and by the small sons of visitors, whom the gardeners dare not check, using them as slides when the water is not flowing.

There are four terraces to Shalimar, which as a royal garden is divided into three portions, the entrance from the canal and the road leading to the public garden which terminates with the first large central pavilion known as the Diwan-i-Am. The stream of water flows down through the building, which has rooms on either side, into a tank; above the waterfall is still to be seen the black marble throne on which the Moghul Emperor used to be seated cross-legged in this Hall of Public Audience when at certain times the garden was thrown open to enable the people to see their ruler.

We walked up one of the tree-shaded, wide, soft, grass paths which run on each side of the tank, to the second garden which is known as the Emperor's Garden and consists of two shallow terraces. In the middle of this and just above where the second terrace is formed are the carved foundation stones of what was

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the Diwan-i-Khas—the Hall of Private Audience—and over to the left by the north-west wall were the royal bathrooms. 367

Continuing still further up we came upon the two small Kashmiri-style guard rooms built on the old stone bases and set as a gateway through the wall to the fourth terrace above, this being laid out as the Ladies' Garden which is the most lovely of them all, and the one for which Shalimar is most famed.

The centrepiece of this glorious garden is the beautiful black marble pavilion which was built by Shah Jahan, standing as then in the mist of a large square shallow tank from which one hundred and forty fountains play; on the surface then floated white and cream water lilies, pink lotus and mauve water hyacinths, while jasmin bushes adorned the corners, the whole being shaded by old cypress trees. The magnificent pavilion which is raised on a platform about three feet above the garden is about sixty-five feet square, its sloping roof being supported on each side by a row of six polygonal-shaped and elaborately fluted black marble pillars. It was used as a banqueting hall and a place for entertainment. One writer of old says that the tank was floored with blue-green Persian tiles, at evening parties coloured lamps were placed cunningly so that they shed their lights to make the fountains and cascades appear in differing colours, golden fishes with jewelled eyes floated in the tank, silver frogs were suspended on the surface so that they croaked with the movement of the water. It is said that these used to be hidden in some secret place in the garden, after each party by the head gardener, but he suddenly died and none have been able to discover where they were buried. Nightingales in cages were placed in the trees and fed on a seed which gave them song; they died before the light.

Channels of water ran out at right angles from the pavilion towards others set in the walls of the garden, the whole forming a cross of glittering water on this upper terrace, all framed by beds of multicoloured flowers, the four corners being spread with soft green lawns on which strutted proud peacocks brought from Delhi. Shaded by fruit trees, in spring the colours of their blossoms added to the fresh coolness of the garden, in later seasons their bright luscious fruits at hand to be enjoyed

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367 by those upon whom fortune had smiled and permitted to enter within the high protecting walls.

The bearer followed by a troop of porters, each carrying as little as they could in order that as many as possible might earn a few annas, arrived with all the baskets and pots, the brazier and even an ice box which we had brought. This for a lunch for two; and one would have thought the load heavy from the way the porters lifted each to the ground. The bearer told them to go off and come when called to collect the baskets for return; only then would he permit us to pay them.

A durri—a coarse sort of carpet—was laid out on the grass, the bearer disappeared into a hollow and lighted the fire for we must at least start and finish the meal with something hot, even though we had insisted on a cold lunch. So while he heated up the soup, we opened the ice box to extract lager—which we had seen from a notice board at the gate, together with dogs, was not permitted entrance by order of the Maharaja, but it was too late now and we agreed that it was best to get rid of the stuff before it caused the Maharaja any further embarrassment.

Just at that time we saw our houseboat neighbours coming up to the garden, they also were followed by a string of porters; we lunched together, we on European fare, eating cold duck whole like Henry the Eighth and tomatoes and cucumber like apples, they on curried puffs, but aiding and abetting us in breaking the law by helping us to empty the ice box. Then on to the coffee, large cups floating with rich cream, and my introduction by our lady guest to its being sweetened with Kashmir honey, which I must admit does enhance the flavour considerably.

A mali or gardener came towards us; at first I thought it was to check on the ice box, but it was merely the usual presentation of a button-hole from the garden, then a respectful standing back until one produced the expected annas as a gratuity. Mine must have been larger than usual, for to the delight of the lady, he offered to her a large bouquet of giant zinnias as we later left the garden.

535 As we sat there after lunch the girl brought before us a picture of life as it had been in the garden back in Moghul days, a picture built up from the stories her mother and her grandmother

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmir : AVY

535 had told her and which had been passed down to them through a line of women, for fathers and grandfathers were never mentioned—were probably unknown. As she talked on to me, leaning against a peach tree in a half-asleep state, it was as if it was all happening again; the wonderful costumes of the men of those far off days; high turbans set with great jewels and surmounted with a larger stone or a wondrous feather, long coats which reached from neck to knee, embroidered in many colours on a base of silver or gold thread, tight fitting trousers of the same metal thread, slippers—Persian style—with curled over tips, again of gold and set with colours; the women also wearing loose fitting shalwars—pyjama-like trousers—of precious silks, long smock-like jackets of the softest and thinnest materials, heavy jewels round their necks and wrists, with some who came from other parts displaying saris of gossamer silk from Dacca which by their cunning wearing perfectly shaped their rounded figures.

535 837 The musicians—some six or eight of them—would take up their position to one side of the pavilion and after a while the dancers would appear—Tavayaf girls, or Nautch girls as the Anglo-Indians always called them—many only just having reached the age of maturity and in the first flush of youthful beauty, others experienced dancers with figures rounded and narrowed to perfection by constant massaging with scented oils, every movement studied, complete and faultless. The costumes were colourful and teasingly slightly transparent, a tight fitting V neck and long sleeved bodice, a floor length, gold-edged, very full skirt of contrasting shade or colour dropping like a shimmering waterfall from the waist, a finely spun head veil held in place by a glittering head-piece which dropped over the forehead, the veil falling almost to the ground and sparkling with tiny stars, each shiver exaggerated by the clatter of bracelets or the tinkle of ankle bells, the dancer with downcast eyes holding the veil modestly across her face; the wives of the men who were watching, unmoved by their husband's obvious and unashamed interest in a particular girl, being fully aware as to what could and probably would happen after the party, and hoping that it would be the usual temporary infatuation.

The singers, more dignified, wore lovely gowns less reveal-

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535 ing, the heavy silken skirts streaming from waist-belts made of
837 gold and set with precious stones; ropes of pearls and strings of jewels adorned their lovely necks. Always they told of birds and flowers and love as they sang. Some perfected the song with a little acting and with a graceful modest dance, and because few of them wore anklets or bracelets, one at least, the ancestor of the girl who was then describing the scene, held in each of her open palms a golden bell. For a discreetly dropped reward, a string of pearls, a precious jewel maybe, they would recite or sing the words and music of some song a conceited member of the Court, who thought himself to be a composer and a poet, had written in order to flatter his Emperor, or even his loved one who was present.

As the night progressed, by the light of the stars and crescent moon—always a sign of good fortune—although the dancers and singers did not mix with the invited guests, on some pretext the men would slip away, knowing where to find them with the help of a faithful and well-rewarded servant whose duty it was to see that his master was always kept happy.

The next morning when the sun was getting high in the sky the ladies would awaken; women servants looking as fresh as the dawn would bring them cooling refreshment and the tired, crushed and faded dancing girls would have disappeared to some corner pavilion to sleep the day through. There would be no sign of a man within the garden, for even the malis would have done their work and left with the rising of the sun. This then was the picture painted by one who had heard it proudly passed down from one Tavayaf girl to another.

482 We walked down to the gate together, parting there with the
465 brother and sister, for they had come by tonga, and we went on to where the shikara was awaiting us. The baskets and other things had been loaded, the manji had handed the porters their pay, but they still stood awaiting us. Immediately upon our arrival they as usual protested that the manji had not given them sufficient; the manji became furious, there was a terrific row, which could have been settled for a few annas, but the manji refused to allow us to do this. In the end, against his advice, I gave each of the porters two annas extra and they went off grinning and happy with the manji swearing that he would

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never again allow one of his sahibs to employ them as porters. 482
He had lost face and was very annoyed with me. This sort of 465
thing is quite usual up there though, for the amounts laid down for porters, hire of shikaras and tongas were far too low—these men expect, and deserve a tip.

Silently for a while we were paddled down the canal or rather 367
the cleared patch between the mud banks, then out on to the open lake. We were making for Nasim Bagh, which is but a few miles along the lake side from Shalimar, but the dense water weeds forced one to go well out into the lake to find clear water.

Ahead we could see the hundreds of chinar trees which still remain of the twelve hundred which the Emperor Shah Jahan had planted there in his Garden of the Breeze, which its name Nasim Bagh means. As we came upon it we could see about a dozen houseboats moored there. Now no longer the laid out garden that the Emperor had made with pavilions, water chutes, fountains and channels, it has become a delightful camping ground; in a short while you find yourself looking round for the deer, since it is like some lovely old park with the grass soft and green and the trees aged and beautiful. The old walls which surrounded it have long since disappeared, leaving just a few mounds as signs of their existence and of the original terraces.

The view from under the trees, across the blue-green reflecting expanse of the lake and dull rust of those parts which are covered by weed, way on to the multicoloured mountains on the
other side of the Dal Lake is truly enchanting in its beauty. And [423]
the cool breeze which gave it its charming name, still moves at all times lightly through the chinars as it did in the days of the prince who chose this place for his garden, although the chinar trees would not have been planted until the garden was maturing since it is said that Ali Mardan Khan, who came after that time, first introduced them into Kashmir, making them royal trees which could not be cut down without the permission of the ruler, a law which remains and is enforced to this day. Many are the gardens like Nasim, though smaller, to be found round the borders of the lovely lake. All that now remains of them may be a terrace, a broken wall, a pavilion foundation, not unusually incorporated into some farm building or farmyard, the water-

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367 course being used as a dhobi ghat—the place where clothes are washed—the pavilion base now the foundation for a barn.

We sat under the chinars and looked across the lake past the few houseboats and tents of visitors. It was strange that not until then did I realize how museum-like the Shalimar garden had been, as though all the time I was conscious of the watching spirits of those who had originally made it or walked there.

In Nasim all was so different, there was a feeling of complete unfettered freedom in this place of quiet charm and natural beauty where one could meditate undisturbed; the young man build his castles, the old man happily hover over the past, the poet write his ode, the artist paint her picture, the musician compose his score in tune with the cooing of the doves or nightingales, the dancer build her movement to match the flickering of the leaves and the gentle caress of the limpid waters of the lake upon its bank, on which in places grew masses of forget-me-nots, behind which was a tiny cornfield blood-red with poppy and scented with wild thyme and water mint. Indeed a quiet abode for lovers who in that lovely haven would already be half way to paradise.

272 The bearer had brought us tea which he had prepared on the lakeside, and sandwiches which were as fresh as the tea, and with him came flocks of little birds, so used were they to picnickers. When he had gone, we watched him in the distance join a circle with the shikara wallahs who also were having tea, but theirs had been prepared from green tea; instead of sugar, salt had been added, the whole served with bread in a small glazed earthenware bowl—the Kashmiri dish of tea—the result was a sloppy pink mess, which, after noisily drinking the liquid, they scooped up with their fingers. Their tea had not been prepared fresh like ours, it had been brewing for some hours in a samovar, which is a teapot-cum-kettle-cum-stove, for the kettle has a stand fixed beneath it. Up through the centre of the container there is a pipe in which red hot charcoal is placed. The tea is put in the water and stews for as long as the charcoal remains alive.

276 We returned to the houseboat just as night was falling. The noises of the day had worn themselves down, as yet it was too early for the night calls of birds and frogs, so that as we moved

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slowly over the water there was just the musical sound of the dip of the paddles, and the bubble of water as one after the other bearer, manji and boatmen drew a whiff or two of smoke from the hubble-bubble, the pipe which is ages old, the tobacco and burning charcoal container being at the end of a tube which passing down into the water of the bottle-like bowl cleans the smoke before it is inhaled up the mouthpiece tube. There came to us also the soft singing of the youngest member of the crew, a boy of about thirteen whose voice had not yet broken; it seemed a pity that one day it must do so. 276

Nishat Bagh, a name which means "The Garden of Delight", was the last of the Moghul gardens we had to visit on the Dal Lake. This was made in about A.D. 1630, some writers say by the brother, others the father of Nur Jehan, the Queen of Jehangir. 367

Again we went by water which is amazingly clear in parts, being mainly fed by springs. We made towards an enclosed portion of the lake, entering under a long arched bridge around the buttresses of which we looked down on hundreds of small fish three or four inches long; inside, the weed was again choking part of the lake, but a way was clear through to the steps below the entrance to the gardens. Here also the lowest terrace of all has now disappeared for the road runs where this once was laid between the lake and the garden wall.

We climbed a few high stone steps and entered Nishat by one of the twin covered garden gates. The first terrace was a blaze of colour, the beds at the outer edge being filled with large zinnias of many shades, cosmos and flowering shrubs, and the beds on the lawns were massed with geraniums and asters. The purple Persian lilac hedges are famous for their beauty and scent. In the centre of this, originally the second terrace, there is a great tank which is well over a hundred feet in length on all sides, about three feet deep and with twenty-five fountains then playing, and as we stood the sunrays caught the spray which formed many rainbows. Water is always running through the gardens to feed the beds of flowers, only on Sundays and special occasions is it diverted to the central stone or marble lined streams.

The two-storied pavilion which is directly above this is built 000

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The two-storied pavilion which is directly above this,[1] is built
341 after the Kashmir style, of wood—painted a drab red—and 345 plaster, on a stone foundation. In the middle of the ground floor, which is known as the Fountain Hall, is a reservoir about fourteen feet square and again three feet deep; in this five fountains play. Two sides of the pavilion have rather lovely lattice windows, one looking back on the garden, the other over the lake, decorated carved pillars run from floor to ceiling, these together with a kind of upper screen are painted in reds, blues and yellows and make their contribution to the charm of the stone-floored hall which is cooled by the spraying waters.

The upper storey has one large lattice-screened room on the north side and a smaller one on the south. An opening in the floor which is quite large—almost thirty feet square—affords a view of the fountains below, the idea doubtless being that they would also cool the upper portion of this summer pavilion.

367 There were twelve terraces in the garden the whole being entirely surrounded by a high wall which, the guide books say, "encloses a garden now five hundred and ninety-five yards long and three hundred and sixty wide". This being a private and not a royal garden, it is only divided into two, with the main part containing the many terraces separated from the upper zenana terrace by a wall eighteen feet high running the full width. Each end of this wall is flanked by an octagonal tower with a stairway inside leading to the upper garden.

533 The pavilion on the zenana terrace is also a double-storied building—really two of them connected by an archway across the canal as the water enters the garden. On this terrace are planted dozens of chinar trees, now so large that their branches form for it a flickering, leafy ceiling. Here we found sitting a very old white-bearded musician who, immediately his dim eyes made out who we were, started strumming on his lute-like instrument and singing—completely out of tune—"God save the King". We sat down and talked to him; then the Colonel, who had found some sort of tie-up with the old fellow's sons and his own regiment, asked him to sing us one of the Kashmiri songs he knew. It was interesting to hear, though badly sung by a frail croaky old voice, but he was more than happy to have someone ask him to sing, flattered that our interest in him had brought many other visitors to stand and listen, and nearly overcome by the two silver rupees we gave him for his services.

[1] [Above a water tank at the center of the Moghul garden of Nishat Bagh... Asaf built]

P. Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri A44

overcome by the two silver rupees we gave him for his services. 088

The terrace below this has a terrific reservoir one hundred 317
and two feet wide, one hundred and twenty-three feet long and three feet deep, and containing twenty-five spurting fountains.

Standing on these higher terraces and looking down on the others with their flower beds perfectly set in soft green lawns and the glistening water streaming down the centre, one is reminded of a giant carpet, with all colours blending, yet taking each separately they clash, such is the value of green, the basic colour which all the colours seem to accept. Maybe it is because we have become used to the always green leaves of the flowers whatever their colour, that our eyes have become attuned to it.

We sat under the shade of a giant of the chinars and the bearer brought us tea. So unlike other parts when, at his arrival we should have been surrounded by small boys or just interested spectators, there were none who came close or even looked
in our direction, for it seemed that all were picnicking. Just a 136
few birds fluttered close, but those of which we saw most in the garden, took no notice, for I have never seen so many hoopoes walking about and plunging their long slender curved bills into the earth to extract the insects on which they live, as I did on the close mown lawns of Nishat. These strangely beautiful birds, about the size of a thrush, are most picturesque, their colouring reminding one of a wasp, their heads and bodies being sand colour, the wings and tail black with stripes of white across them, but the most striking feature is the bird's crest, each feather of which is sand colour tipped with black. As the hoopoe walks about, this crest is folded down, standing out at the back of the head and almost matching the beak in size and shape, but when the bird alights from flight, or when it is surprised, the crest expands fan-like rather as a cockatoo does
and is then strikingly beautiful. The note they make is soft and [262]
musical—ook, ook, ook—and the Moslem head gardener who came to pay his respects, followed by his son who presented the usual button-hole, declared that although small, the flesh of the hoopoe is very good to eat, especially so for invalids and old people. The bird's unostentatious nest is as untidy and ill-made as that of the pigeon, and once the hen bird is on her eggs, her partner will not permit her to leave them, feeding her there, so

By Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri Avi

136 that by the time the chicks hatch out the nest is shockingly befouled.

The birds for which the gardens are most famous though are the minivets, which flutter about in flocks among the topmost branches of the trees searching for the little insects on which they live. Their winters are spent in Ceylon, their summers, which are their mating seasons, in Kashmir, and Nishat has long been their favourite place when the flocks split up into pairs. After that as the season advances, one often sees one cock with five or six hens. Smaller than a sparrow, the cock has a bright red breast and some red also on the tail and wings; very prettily they flit and flutter among the trees, displaying their colours to the greatest advantage and uttering a low sort of note. The delicate little nests, one of which we were shown, is as delightful and neat as the birds themselves. They must take some considerable time to build for they consist of the smallest twigs, moss and hair, all beautifully bound together with spiders' webs, so made that in their colouring they match the branch of the tree, on the bark of which they seem to have grown.

367 The channel of water which runs the full length of the garden has fountains playing at intervals and as it flows from one terrace to another it rushes over serrated and scalloped chutes, some of these being eighteen feet high, and bridging most of these is a stone slab throne. From here one can look down on the lower pavilion, past it to the Dal Lake beyond with the bridge under which we entered that part, and away in the distance to the old Fort. On a day when the air is clear, there can be seen far away snow-topped mountains which encompass the valley.

367 There is a famous story of these gardens which is doubtless
173 true for its writers have always told the same. The water coming into Nishat is taken from the same stream as feeds the Shalimar. The garden was barely completed before the Emperor Shah Jahan visited it, and so much admired this new garden which his Prime Minister had built, that he decided that it must become a royal one. Accordingly he pointedly congratulated Asaf Khan on his work on three occasions during one visit. By all the unwritten laws between kings and subjects, the garden should then have been offered to the Emperor, but the Prime Minister

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remained silent. This so much displeased His Royal Highness, that although Asaf Khan was too valuable for him to dismiss, to spite him he ordered that the water of the stream should only supply the Shalimar. 367
173

Immediately this happened Nishat was shorn of its real beauty, as only those who have visited such gardens with stone pools and fountains which are left dry will appreciate, but although closely related to the Emperor, the Prime Minister could do nothing.

He went to his garden, saw how the lovely flowers were now drooping for want of the water that gave them life, and miserably unhappy lay down on the grass close to one of the dry stone tanks, soon falling asleep. A faithful servant, who like all the others of his household knew of the reason for their master's grief, then sought out the place where the stream had been blocked, and removed the great stone plug. Asaf Khan was awakened by the sound of water playing from the fountains into the pools and rippling over the cascades, and leapt to his feet delighted though confused, but on hearing the confession of the old retainer he insisted that the stream be immediately blocked again. It was too late though, for the Emperor had heard of what had happened and ordered that the servant be brought before him. The wretched man was dragged in front of the throne, but showing not the slightest fear stood as a dutiful subject with feet together and hands clasped loosely before him and admitted that he was guilty of the offence, but explained that he only did what any servant who loved his master would have done when he could no longer bear to see him so utterly miserable. Now that he had seen his master happy once again, if maybe only for a short time, he would willingly submit to any punishment that the Emperor deemed fitted to the crime. There was a hushed silence over those who had assembled; some no doubt wondered if the Prime Minister would now dare to plead his servant's cause, but instead of hearing the Emperor award one of the ghastly sentences that he might have done, they saw him call the man forward so that he could bestow a *khilat*—robe of honour—upon him, at the same time granting to his master Asaf Khan a *sanad* which gave him the right to drain water for all time to Nishat Bagh from the Shalimar stream.

2a Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri AV4

367 312 Later we went to see the two other famous Moghul landscape features, the Achabal Gardens and the spring of Verinag, neither of which are fed from a stream, but by gushing springs, their volume of water so great that the explanation that in both cases they are really the spots where underground rivers burst forth from the limestone is acceptable. That which floods from the spring at Verinag is caught in a great stone octagonal tank of considerable depth and eighty feet across. This is surrounded by an old and massive stone wall with arched recesses which, when reflected on the waters, changes them to a deep indigo, while in those places which catch the sun, the surface is the colour of turquoise, and where there is no shadow or sun's rays, it remains an amethyst. In the autumn when the trees surrounding the pool cast their reflection, their golden tint is caught on the rippled surface as sacred silver fish rise to feed from the hands of Brahmin priests who come there morning and evening to feed them and recite their mantras by the waters of the sacred tank.

The great limestone tank is sixteen miles from Islamabad on the road to Jammu, close to the foot of the Banihal Pass, and lies below a range of thickly wooded hills. It was built in 1620 by the Emperor Jehangir. Seven years later his son Shah Jahan who was also a great lover of the beauty of nature, had wonderful gardens laid out round it with aqueducts, cascades and fountains; these are now in ruins and overgrown, though just as the gardens by the Dal Lake are famed for their cherries to this day, so is Verinag known for its delicious apples. It is said that within the gardens was built at that time a gallery, the walls of which were covered with pictures which were actually painted there.

Verinag is claimed as the true source of the great river Jhelum, the many streams which it joins being only its tributaries. In the heat of the summer it is the coolest of all the gardens. I could so very easily picture those who went there to laze away the day reclining on carpets by the great pool and occasionally dipping their hands into the cold waters shaded by the great trees surrounding it.

367 There are many who declare that it was to this cool garden which he so loved, that the Emperor Jehangir asked to be

St Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir ~~ASI~~
Kashmiri AV4

carried to die; this could not be, and he died on the journey to Lahore, near the Moghul mosque in Chingas Sarai, which is on the right bank of the Tawi river and on the old Bhimbar road out of Kashmir. Yet his wish was to an extent granted, since his heart lies buried next to the mosque; it was only possible to carry the casket of his body on the rest of the long journey through the hot plains from Kashmir.

Seven miles from Islamabad are the Achabal Gardens, laid out in 1640 by Jahan-ara, the daughter of Shah Jahan and said to have been that Emperor's favourite pleasure resort. Like those of the lake it is built on a gentle slope, behind it the firs which cover the mountain side enhance its beauty, whilst glorious chinars grow throughout the gardens to shade its lawns. The spring which bursts from the hillside, Bernier, who was there in the latter half of the fifteenth century, refers to as a river, and it is believed by many to be the river Brang, which disappears into the fissures of limestone at Dewalgam, coming to the surface again. The stone waterways, mellowed by age, still remain, as does also the great waterfall which Bernier mentions as having seen with lights set at night behind its generous flow. The chinars then planted are massive, the lawns are like bowling greens, fresh and without a weed and the flower beds ever a blaze of brilliant colour.

The original buildings fell into decay and were replaced on their old foundations by others in the Kashmiri style during the reign of the Maharaja Rambir Singh. Many consider that in so doing he spoilt the gardens to some extent, that those ruins which remained should have been left as Nature in her time had caused them to become, or if rebuilt, then that they should have been made exactly as they originally stood, for as the old Colonel commented, "no Hindu or Sikh can be expected to improve a Moghul garden or summerhouse, they may like flowers in their ladies' hair, they may like them in vases or in pots on the steps or round the verandahs, but they were never great at gardening!"

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A31

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Doctor and the Shawl and Carpet Maker

291 It was not until I had been in Srinagar for well over a week that I first met Abdul Rahman—a name which means "Servant of [302] the Compassionate". He wore the voluminous effeminate gown which all Kashmiris, whether they be man or woman, favour, a costume all their own of which they need not be jealous, for none would envy it them; on his head was an enormous spotless white turban, so big that I might have taken him for a Hindu had the tika mark not been missing from his forehead; his handsome rugged old face was made the more interesting by a perfectly trimmed white beard which had been faultlessly fashioned to a point by the barber, his grey eyes deep set under bushy eyebrows, his nose large and well shaped.

759 On that particular early evening the Colonel and I were walking along the bund of the canal which runs from the Dal Gate to the Srinagar Club, when, crossing the main road, a smartly trotting horse drawing a private tonga only just missed the old man. The syce immediately drew up, and the passenger leapt out from the tonga with the agility of a youth. Then to my amazement, for the Colonel was a little bit of a snob, I saw both men greet each other as though they were long lost brothers.

After some minutes of animated conversation, I was introduced to Doctor Abdul Rahman with such a gesture and in such a manner that it was obvious that he was a man of some importance, then came, "but for him, my dear fellow, I should have been in the bone-yard these past twenty years". A remark which brought the soft voiced quiet correction spoken to me, "In Kashmir we refer to them as Gardens of Rest!"

Abdul Rahman was a Hakim. They call themselves doctors, but it is more precise to describe them as physicians and herb-

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVl Kashmir [illegible]
Kashmiri AV4

alists, and there must be between two and three hundred of any 759
standing in the State, one usually being found in any sizable
town or large village. They are not surgeons, under no circumstances [752]
do they use a knife, although on occasions they will
mark with a pen the place to be cut or the vein to be opened by
the barber who always acts as the village surgeon. Neither do [844]
they attend confinements; that is a duty undertaken by special
midwives, who when they are in trouble, call in one of the
"wise women," also herbalists, and like the Hakims, having a
very considerable knowledge of the values of herbs.

Our intended call at the Club was immediately abandoned 363
and an invitation to the Doctor's house accepted; we climbed
into the tonga drawn by the only horse in Kashmir that I was
not ashamed to be seen riding behind, the roadway clearing to
the musical ring of what appeared to be the giant of all bicycle
bells, one which was foot-operated by the driver.

From the main road, we turned into a side street, one which
ran down to the river, winding, narrow and edged with an open
drain on either side. The roadway was damp, the drains stank,
yet to get clear of being run over, the people had to stand across
them. There were shops on both sides as the street widened,
some selling foodstuffs, others soaps, a baker's shop, iron workers,
pottery, leather workers, hat makers and so on. We came
out on a small square, but almost immediately the tonga turned
sharply into what appeared to be an alleyway. A man about his [514]
private business squatting at the drain and with his back to the
people in the road, only just managed to leap to his feet and get
out of the path of the horse; a trembling old woman pressed her
back against the wall and spat curses at the driver. Then we 342
stopped and clambered down to enter a wall-enclosed patch of
garden with a large tree shading it. From here ran a flight of
covered outside stairs to the first floor which was an enormous
room with many doors leading from it; from which it could be
judged that the house was indeed large.

The floor was entirely covered with carpets; pictures of Mog- 353
hul times were on the walls, a few small low tables were
scattered about, against one wall stood a bookcase and near it
what would appear to the newcomer to Kashmir to be a counting
house desk without legs, but in fact was just a desk so made

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVl Kashmir ~~[illegible]~~

Kashmir, AV4

A village woman with her young daughters

[Facing p. 124]

2s Gervis T-8 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AVT~~
Kashmiri AV4

353
[272]
in order that the writer might sit on the floor and do his work. We also sat on the floor and after a while a servant brought coffee; the service of solid silver, the coffee thick, black and very much sweetened, being served in tumbler-like, heavily engraved, silver mugs which matched the tray and large pot.

000
Some time later the Colonel explained to me that some twenty years before he had had his sister staying with him on the houseboat. She was a martyr to arthritis and had spent hundreds of guineas on specialists and treatments, but without effect. She had come to stay with him in Kashmir in the faint hope that the climate might help her, but there had been no improvement. Then at tea one day a friend of theirs, Doctor Neve, the surgeon of the two famous brothers who for years ran the Medical Mission in Srinagar, said, "No harm could come of her seeing old Abdul Rahman who has a 'doctor's shop' in the city and is without doubt one of the cleverest botanists I have ever met. His knowledge of herbs is far more extensive than any European doctor, for there are plants in this valley and up in the mountains which have never been heard of in Europe or America." Within three months of starting the Hakim's treatment all pains had gone, never to return till the day she died, which was nearly fifteen years later.

The Colonel's own debt to him was very great. Like so many military men he was terrified of the knife, and when he heard in the Delhi Military Hospital that the pain in his side was appendix trouble and called for an operation, he fled to Kashmir to make himself fit for it—that is what he told his friends anyway, although it was really to collect his courage together. But a few days after his arrival he was taken with violent pains. The doctors said an immediate operation was necessary and would have to be performed the next morning, if not before. It so happened that Abdul Rahman called at the houseboat that evening; he went back to his shop and returned with a bottle of Kashmir medicine which he assured him would relieve the pain. The Colonel admits now that his mind must then have been unbalanced that he even considered taking a dose, but he did, and by the following morning when the bottle was empty and the surgeon examined him before admittance to hospital, Is Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri AVY

712

The Fort Hari Parbat (p. 74)

291
482

The priest carrying water up to the Takht-i-Sulaiman Temple (p. 72)

[Facing p. 125]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir

Kashmiri AV4

000 all signs of his trouble had gone, while to this day his appendix remains with him.

759 Like so many trades in Kashmir—and doctoring with them is a trade more than a profession—the secrets are passed down from one generation to another. The secrets of the Hakims are kept to the Hakims, the secrets of each of their families kept to the family, so it was that the sons of Abdul Rahman were now the doctors who attended in the shop, leaving the old man to attend the wealthier patients who sent for him, those who considered it beneath their dignity to call at his shop. The only difference was that instead of paying the few annas, they paid ten rupees or more for each visit. I was afterwards told by the manji that as the old man got nearer to making his last peace with God, so the number of poor patients he attended outside without charge had increased.

759 The only men employed outside the family were the house-
278 hold servants. In the buildings lining the little walled garden,
those which had originally been built as servants' quarters, the
grandsons worked under the guidance of a son. Here the herbs,
which still included many which had been gathered by the
shepherds when tending flocks on the higher slopes of the
mountains in the summer, some grown in small gardens, others
collected by peasant families who also had specialised in it,
with once again the trade passing from father to son, were
pounded into ointments, burned to ashes for their powders,
squeezed to oils, boiled into lotions or fermented into medicines.

363 From the windows which reached to the floor and were
only protected by a foot high ornamental wooden screen, I
could see the great river. Getting up and looking down below I
[614] saw the filthy bank, with barges tied close, piles of wood ready
for the winter, boys playing in the dirty water, and two women
squatting down for the same natural purpose as was the man at
the gutter when we came in. When I was sitting down again on
the thick carpet, this filth was lost to view; it was indeed difficult
to believe that it existed when one looked across the water at the
White Palace with the gilded dome of its temple shining in the
autumn evening light.

759 As I did so Abdul Rahman told me that whereas many of
554 the shops on the Bund—the European shopping centre—pro-

759 554 claimed by arms and crests their appointment to certain of the Viceroys or Maharajas, his family could claim such patronage from the rulers of Kashmir further back than any of them, that they were the direct descendants of the Yogi who had cured King Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din of his running sore, the difference in his and their religion being explained by the many changes which had taken place in most of the Kashmir valley families with the changes of dynasties. He can claim that distinction, and who can deny it? In all probability it is substantially true.

759 Later on, when he had made sure that I was unable to read the script, he brought out from an ancient iron chest a number of very old books—one he assured me was over five hundred years old—in which the descriptions of ailments and their cures were set forth. Some were in verse and rhyme; probably so that they could be better memorised, and in one book of old hand-made paper which had become so brittle with age that the binding fold had broken, there were sketches. All those of his family had studied under their fathers with the aid of these books, so many times had they gone through the pages that he was sure that his sons, just as he, could recite them word for word.

347 444 One of the sons came up to consult his father, and discovering that I was more than interested in their work, offered to take me down to the "shop". We first went out on to the roadway, and I found that part of the ground floor of the building was an open-fronted shop abutting on to the road which, being narrow, had no sidewalk and was only just wide enough for two carts to pass each other. On both sides there were gutters which carried down all the filth from the road, the houses and the shops, and were, as I had seen, used for other purposes. The floors of the shops extended over these gutters and a short wide step-ladder took one from road to shop.

The walls were lined with rows of bottles of medicines; they were not the usual chemists' bottles, but old gin, whisky or wine bottles. Beneath were earthenware jars containing ointments, the tops tied over with pieces of cloth and on the bottom shelves were used biscuit tins and some kegs containing powders.

757 The two doctor sons were sitting cross-legged on the white sheet-covered floor one at each side of the shop attending to patients. The patient then consulting each was surrounded by

1 [Doctor Abdul Rahman. See category 759, pp. 122-123. -- Analyst]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir ~~[illegible]~~
Kashmiri AV4

the others waiting their turn but as interested in his complaint as was the doctor. After a time one of the doctors and the young man he was then attending got up and passed into the "consulting room" at the side. It merely had a curtain by way of a door, and this having shrunk in the wash, being a foot off the floor and short for the width, from where I sat I could see that the patient was seeking advice on a common disease of an intimate nature. 757

When either of the doctors had reason to touch a patient, they most elaborately washed their hands in an enamel bowl standing at their sides, but the same water was used the whole time.

The doctor would write down his prescription on a slip of paper, this the patient took to the end of the shop where a grandson sat; his department was the dispensary. Most patients brought their own bottles. He told me that the medicines were ready to take, that is, they did not need to be diluted, for the patients expected a large quantity for their money. Ointments and powders were put into paper. Paper was short in Kashmir at that time, and used pages from school exercise books were being used for bags. The prescription was then put on a stab file and the money for the consultation and medicine collected before the latter was handed over. I was surprised to discover that a complete card index record of date, patient, complaint and prescription was kept so that the doctor could refer back, but more surprising was the charge, the average over-all being eight annas—eight pence. And yet the doctor's is now a wealthy family.

As I looked at the "Doctor's shop" and dispensary, my thoughts went back to our village blacksmith at home, who in addition to running the oil and colour merchant's shop is by way of being an amateur veterinary surgeon, and just as the local farmers swear by the wonderful results obtained from the blacksmith's drenches, so do the people of the valley remain faithful to the Hakims.

I made a note of some of the more common herbs used there 524
—those of which a few outside the fraternity were aware.

Known as Isband, the English Rue, when burnt to ashes, is [516]
used to wash the hair: the leaves kill bugs.

Wena, known in England as Horse-mint, when mixed with [132]
salt and chilli is believed to be very stimulating to old men with young wives.

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824 Won Hand is the Kashmiri name for Chicory. Used as a
[844] vegetable it is an excellent tonic for a woman after childbirth.

757 Old English Thyme made into jam is a cure for one with stomach or liver troubles; it has an additional quality, being good for those with weak eyesight.

How many know that the autumn-dug roots of Thistles, if mixed in equal quantities of sugar cane, are a most excellent tonic for nervous complaints?

Again, Daphne leaves are good for the same diseases.

The Milfoil leaf is used in a concoction to cure stomach troubles.

The Dock root pounded up and mixed with an ointment is good to apply to boils.

The common stinging-nettle leaves, pounded down to a wet state, are good to apply to wounds; the root boiled with tea is said to cure malaria. It is amusing and interesting to read in the
[84] little book from which I obtained these cures the note that "The leaf covered stalks of this plant when used as a punishment rod on the bared bottoms of small bad boys, who are first caused to bend over that the skin may be stretched tight, has a wonderful
[882] curative effect on their naughtiness. (Warning). It should never be used as a corrective after the breaking of the voice betrays that he has reached the stage of manhood."

The juice of the stems of the common Sorrel is a most excellent cure for many eye troubles.

The seeds of hollyhocks, the leaves of violets, the roots of foxgloves, all figure among the many flowers and herbs known to the European and American countries and growing wild in the valleys of Kashmir.

241 Others are cultivated for their herbal values, for instance there
278 are large gardens of Pyrethrum near to Baramula—in spite of which the Kashmiri too frequently scratches himself from bug irritation. At Pampur, some nine miles from Srinagar, there are extensive saffron fields, able to supply both dyes and medicines.
824 From the mountains in the north of the valley the shepherds
439 being the roots of the Kuth plant which grows wild there. Large quantities of this were exported by the State to India; from Bombay it was exported to China for the making of Joss sticks for temples, the scent being like orris blended with violets.

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Some of this manages to find its way back into the Hakims' shop, 824
for they claim it to be a cure for many ills, such as asthma, dyspepsia, 757 skin troubles, rheumatism, toothache, and the ever dreaded cholera. It is surprising that this plant, the botanical name of which is the Saussurea Lappa, is not cultivated more, since I was told that it is possible, a few of the Hakims having successfully done so in their walled gardens.

The next morning together with Asghar, the youngest son of 241
old Abdul, I set off for the saffron fields which were then in full bloom.

Asghar was the only member of the family who did not desire 305
to become a doctor. With the astuteness of a boy born of old 752
parents, he realised that he would be just one of the family profession if he remained there, and he decided to take up barbering, a suggestion which shocked the father and uncles until they realised that he was intending to become a barber of distinction, for he now called himself a "Surgical Barber"—it was he who performed the minor operations suggested by the brothers; it was he who was called in to carry out the circumcision of the Muslim boy, and his fees were high; he had never trimmed a beard or shaved off the hair of any man, and he brought more money into the family coffers than any of them.

Kashmir claims that the quality of the saffron it grows far 241
surpasses that which is produced by Spain, France, Sicily, or on the lower sides of the Apennines. When we first came upon the fields I was amazed that they were purple and not yellow in colour. The heavy perfume of the crocus-like flowers hung everywhere, and with the breeze in our direction we caught the scent from the fields a mile before we reached them.

The low lying plateau which rests on the banks of the Jhelum (
River is a mass of thousands of small beds about a yard square, each one above the other. The plants, growing from a bulb which is much like the common garden crocus, are annually planted some six inches apart for three years running, then the ground is allowed to remain fallow for a season, no fertiliser is added and no other crop is grown upon it. It is said that origin- 134
ally the land was made up from silt from the Jhelum, which is excellent for saffron; there is no doubt that the chemical content

21 Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir ~~[illegible]~~
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134 of the ground here is good, even the crops of wheat nearby were better than any I saw in other fields.

241 Each flower has six stigmas protruding from the perianth, three of these are yellow and three red or orange with red tips. After the flower has come to full bloom, men, women and children pick them carefully, they are next laid out in the sun to dry. The old men and women then sit and separate the stigmas into two heaps, one red, the other yellow. The red stigmas make the best quality of saffron, the yellow the second grade, which the Kashmiri proudly declares to be equal to the first grade of any foreign fields.

471 These saffron fields are owned by the State and auctioned off
753 each year. There is a belief, which is confirmed by records kept over many years, that no serious outbreak of disease can occur or spread among the people living near to the fields.

Nearby are many open spaces where holiday-makers camp,
527 and as though catering for these visitors, on moonlit autumn
533 nights the villagers gather together in the brightly coloured fields to sing and dance to the tunes of folk-songs which have been written around the saffron fields. Usually the theme of the song is sad, of lovers who have been parted, their beloved being drawn away by the beauty and fragrant scent of the flowers.

539 The story associated with the introduction of the plants into Kashmir dates back to the time of King Lalta Dit. In the city of Padampur—now known as Pampur—there lived a famous physician. A *nag* or water-god who fell sick with eye disease went to the physician to be cured of his complaint, but although he tried all the known medicines, the trouble remained. The physician was baffled and asked his patient whether he was a man, and on learning that he was a *nag* realized that all the remedies he had applied to his patient's eyes had been killed by the poisonous breath of the water-god. Once again he applied the ointments, but this time bound the *nag's* eyes with a cloth and they were cured. In his gratitude the *nag* then presented to the physician one bulb of saffron and from this has been built up the fields which now spread all around Pampur.

000 Until Asghar told me, I did not know that the Persians and the Spaniards mix saffron with their rice, that it used to be strewn in the Moghul courts to perfume them, that when Nero made his

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir AVI

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entry into Rome it was sprinkled in the streets, but I did know 000
that it was an essential part in some of the sacred ceremonies of
the Hindus and that the Buddhist monks dyed their robes
with it.

That evening in his home I had my fill of a dish of rice 262
flavoured with honey, coloured and scented with saffron and
mixed with sultanas: it was delicious. When father and son came
to the houseboat I had the cook make currant buns flavoured
with saffron as they make them to this day in Cornwall, and
which to my astonishment had been made for me by a negro
mammie in a Sierra Leone village.* So it was that I introduced
to them yet another use for their saffron.

Shah Mohammad Baba—who always refers to me as "my 444
very good friend"—had a different approach as a salesman to 501
any I have ever met in Kashmir. I so well remember our first
meeting; I was sitting on the verandah of the houseboat after a
good lunch at a time between box wallah's attacks, when I saw
drifting close to the line of houseboats one of the usual salesmen's
shikaras—they were all the same, without curtains or
cushions, just plain wood with a straw plaited canopy over the
middle supported on four poles. It was the two boatmen who [291]
first attracted my attention, obviously father and son, they were
very smart, fine types wearing shalwars—baggy, white, pyjama-like
trousers—white sweaters and grey, Persian lamb, round
hats at the same angle; their dripping paddles were held out of
the water as they rested and the shikara moved with the gentle
flow. Under the canopy was an old—very old—bearded Muslim, [302]
the hair of his head and beard dyed red. The bottom of the boat
was covered by a Persian rug and he sat alone cross-legged upon
it. Away in front of him was an opened bundle of coloured shawls, 444
but at the time his attention was entirely on the one which he 288
was most careful darning. As he came nearer I could see that it
was a most exquisite piece; then with the shikara close at hand
he looked up and folded it, at the same time pulling from the
bundle one or two others; so beautiful and rare were they that
when the shikara had moved on I called to ask him if they were
for sale. Even then he did not immediately return; the shikara

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* See *Sierra Leone Story*, by the Author.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri AV4

444 wallahs dipped their paddles and stopped the drift and the old
288 man remarked quietly, "Perhaps the sahib would like me one day to come to his houseboat to display to his honour my collection. When would your honour wish to see them?" And only when I said that I then had time, and to my surprise heard myself adding, "If you have," did he order the boatman to paddle back to the houseboat. He picked up two of the shawls and handed them to the younger of his two boatmen who had come forward to help him up the ladderway. The youth then gave him the shawls and remained under the canopy holding the shikara close to the ladder, never for one moment taking his eyes from his master.

Aziza, the manji, came along and greeted him happily, afterwards whispering in my ear, "The old man is some little bit deaf, sahib. He is a very honest man. He has served all British Residents since there is one in Srinagar. You can have pucka trust for him."

I can remember now how at the time I wondered how much commission the boatman would get on anything I bought; afterwards I heard that if Shah Mohammad Baba had sold a shawl to one of the visitors, when the winter came—and not until that time—the boatman received a blanket, for he refused to pay commission in cash.

288 I have arrived at the conclusion that there are few men living
581 who know as much about Kashmir shawls and their past history as does this old man. After meeting him a number of times he admitted that Baba was an addition to his name—"my trade name" he called it, for Ala Baba was the Kashmiri who invented the art of the Amlikar shawl. The story goes that his invention was brought about by a fowl, after walking in some dye, continuing its journey across a white sheet. Unable to remove the foot marks he thought to cover them with coloured threads and the improvement upon the original plain sheet was so admired that he worked further upon it.

444 This the old man told me as he tenderly handled the shawl of which I asked the price, thinking that it might be at most a few hundred rupees, when I heard him quote three thousand rupees—and as he spoke I knew that was his last price.

His business, his hobby and his one love is shawls, with the

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result that although he well knew I should not purchase one of his valuable pieces, he had found someone who was interested in them, and remained the whole of the afternoon displaying the antique ones he had with him, then a few of those which had come from his workrooms, the borders of which were copied from parts of others. 444

When eventually he left our houseboat we had to call his shikara from behind it, the boatman at first having moved to the shady side, here casting out fishing lines, the older man having a puff at his hookah pipe, the younger one getting the samovar going for the odd dish of tea.

In the meantime the two remaining old shawls had been brought to us and one bundle of new ones, these tied up in a linen sheet. But they all came gradually, it was so different from the usual trader, who almost at his own invitation transferred the whole contents of his shikara into one's living room, usually insisting on proving his *bona fides* by extracting from the black tin box his order book and asking, "You know this gentleman, sahib. Him very good customer me!", then flattering the "knowall" with "I can see sahib is clever man, sahib is knowing each and everything!"

What I did see of the old man's were two books, one containing the acknowledgement letters from the most famous of museums throughout the world, a book only shown to those who were interested in old shawls, and the other not until I went to his workrooms and house at Third Bridge, when he produced for me a hand-written book containing a history of Kashmir shawls and a wealth of knowledge of the art as it once was. It contained copies of articles and extracts from any book on the subject of Kashmir shawls whether they had been written in English, Persian, Urdu, French or Sanskrit. Commenced over a hundred years ago, grandfather, father and now the aged son had made their contribution; the cover was a piece of old shawl stretched over hard boards. 288

I found references to passages in the Bible and the Koran, a mention in Ezekiel of merchants bringing from the East cedar chests containing delightfully embroidered works of art; it was presumed that these came from Kashmir; then in Judges of patterns of needlework on both sides—an art which they claim

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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288 was then only known in Kashmir. Another reference was to the travellers in the time of Solomon who returned from the Far East with spices, and also with delicate gossamer muslins from Dacca and beautiful coloured shawls from Kashmir. From a book dealing with the Roman Empire, there was talk of the Emperor Nero's spontaneous gift of such a shawl to a famous Grecian athletic youth who had excelled himself in the Colosseum—"a fabulous shawl of many colours which in the years it had taken in creating stole from the skies, the hills, the lakes and the fields some of the wondrous colours from the topmost parts of India".

The shawl industry then seems to have died out, and would appear to have been revived by a Persian, for it is written that in "A.D. 1378 Mir Sayid Ali of Hamadan in Persia, known in India as Shah Hamadan, visited Kashmir for the second time and remained for more than two years, during which time he revived the art, one to which the Sultan Qutb-ul-din gave his patronage and encouraged". It was not until nearly two hundred years after this that the word "shawl" was given to the square of material; it is said that one Nagz Beg, a man of Khoqand in Central Asia, who came from that country as a cook with the Vizier to the then ruler of Kashmir, had a piece of *pashmina* made about one and a half yards square and presented it to his master. Upon his master asking what it was he replied "Shawl"—the Khoqand word for blanket. To this day in Central Asia a kind of blanket called a "Shawlki" is manufactured.

[531] The story associated with the first patterns is that a worker weaving the pushmina cloth received a clout from Nagz Beg for some carelessness; the man's nose bled and stained the cloth which as a square had almost been completed. Nagz Beg instead of being consumed with fury was delighted with the effect of the red spots on the shawl and had some pashmina threads dyed red and others green, these he had woven in regular rows—the commencement of a decoration for the shawl.

Then came the improvement brought about by Saida Baba—as usual with an *alias*, his being Ala Baba. He lived in Srinagar during the reign of Azad Khan, an Afghan Governor who ruled the land from 1783 to 1785, and it was his name that old Shah Mohammad had added to his own.

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Lawrence in his book *The Valley of Kashmir*,[1] written in 1895, says that M. Henri Dauvergne who had been intimately connected with the shawl trade of Kashmir for many years had decided that the Kashmir shawl dated back to the time of the Emperor Baba. He said that the Moghul emperors wore on their turbans a jewelled decoration known as a *jigha*, shaped like an almond which frequently formed the base for an aigrette of feathers. An Andijani weaver copied the shape of the *jigha* in a scarf for the Emperor and it became the fashionable design for shawls from then onwards. 288 531

One shawl maker declares that the shape is neither the *jigha*, the mango nor the curve of the River Jhelum, but the mark of a clenched fist which is a copy of the impression a dyer made as to emphasize a point he struck his fist down first on the dye pad and then on some cloth. He liked the design and copied it. I repeat the suggestion for what it is worth, but doubt whether it is a fact.

A writer Abul Fazal wrote in his *Ain-i-Akbari* that the Emperor Akbar was "very fond of shawls. By the solicitude of His Majesty the manufacture of shawls in Kashmir is in a very flourishing state." At that time the shawl was still a yard and a half square and of such fine texture that the test of its quality was to pass it twisted through a finger ring—hence the name "Ring Shawl". Bernier, a traveller to Kashmir in the Emperor Aurangzeb's time, wrote in 1664 of shawls "prevailing in Hindustan." and filling the country with wealth. 298

In 1739 Nadir Shah's Ambassador to Constantinople took among the fifteen elephant loads of presents, a number of Kashmir shawls which the Sultan presented to the wives of the ambassadors of his court. The Moghul Emperor Muhammad Shah was presented with a shawl of floral design which he so much liked that he ordered that forty thousand rupees worth of them should be made for him each year; the design is still named after him.

In 1796 in the time that Abdullah Khan was the Afghan Governor of Kashmir, there came from Baghdad to Kashmir a blind man named Sayid Yashaya. When he took his leave the Governor gave him an orange-coloured shawl as a parting gift. This the blind man took to Egypt and gave as a present to the Khedive. Soon after this Napoleon Bonaparte went to Egypt

[1] [Cf. E. Lawrence in the Art Kashmiri file — Analyst]

[illegible] T-2 (no date) 1954 [illegible] Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmiri [illegible]

[illegible] with his fleet with a view to harassing the British in India; Nelson destroyed it on the Nile. The Khedive presented to Napoleon the orange shawl and the Emperor gave it to his Josephine. From that hour Kashmir shawls became the fashion first in France and then all over Europe; French traders travelled to Kashmir to purchase shawls, to order more and yet more of various designs and colours for France.

The shawl trade flourished under Sikh rule. Moorcroft wrote of it in 1822 that "the value of shawls manufactured there was estimated at thirty-five lacs of rupees a year." With the terrible famine in 1834 it suffered a crushing blow and all but died, but with Maharaja Gulab Singh becoming the ruler the trade revived, and started its final glorious epoch.

All are agreed that the very best shawls ever produced in Kashmir were made during the time of the Maharaja Ranbir Singh between the years 1865 and 1872. Their texture was of the finest, their colours soft and kindly and their patterns of the Eastern style, most elaborate. The people who made the shawls did not profit though, but the merchants did; they became so rich that they did not know how to spend their money; one writer says that they were so wealthy that they put milk instead of water in their hookahs. It is recorded that at this time twenty-seven thousand persons in Kashmir were engaged in making shawls.

Then came the Franco-German war, inflicting heavy consequences on the Kashmir shawl trade. In the years 1878 and 1879 [illegible] coped with the famine and advanced a million rupees to the shawl manufacturers, but to no avail, and the weavers either moved down to the Punjab or started making shawls of inferior quality.

The British struck the last blow to the industry, for a Scotsman named Kerr started to manufacture in the town of Paisley shawls which were mill-made copies of those from Kashmir, but to be purchased for the same number of shillings as the Kashmir hand-made ones had cost in guineas. The shawl which the housemaid or cook had so long envied her mistress was now within her reach, and wearing these the servants paraded to Church on Sundays while the lovely Kashmir shawl of which the lady of the

[illegible] Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]
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house had been so prized, found a new use as a drapery over the back of the drawing-room piano; others went into the bottom drawer to be taken out fifty years later when none knew the difference between a Kashmir and a Paisley shawl and it was decided that grandma's old shawl would make a useful, colourful evening cloak; then many almost priceless Kashmir shawls were hacked into shape by Court Dressmakers. I had personal experience of this, for Shah Mohammed brought from a Chinese camphorwood box his finest showpiece, one which had four plain panels of different colours worked into it, and having a perfect multicoloured fringe emerging from a black base border. He smiled as he told me how a customer had that season had the audacity to offer him five thousand rupees for it. He would not sell it to anyone, he said, and smoothed it lovingly as an old maid would her cat. I also examined it, and to my horror realised that this shawl for which an offer of three hundred and seventy-five pounds had been sneered at, was a perfect match to one my wife had but a few years before, "because it is so large and bulky," had "shaped" into an evening cloak by her dressmaker, the latter not even returning the cut portions. And I had bought it a few years before for five pounds in an old English country town antique shop!

One who has not seen a Kashmir shawl will quite naturally ask "What is there that is so wonderful about it—how is it different from any other shawl?"

First there is the foundation, and the raw material for this consists of the fine fleecy, short, soft underwool called Kelphumb or the pashm of the Kel or shawl goats which inhabit the Tibetan mountains. The higher on the mountains of the Himalayas the goats live the finer and warmer their wool. It is said that the best wools come from the Thian Shan or Celestial Mountains and Ush Turfan, though some merchants claim that the wool from Changthang, the eastern district of Ladakh and from Turfan is of better quality. The men who trade in the commodity are called Tibet Bepais, and most of it comes by caravan by the Kashgar, Yarkand and Leh routes.

When it is received in Kashmir it is sorted over by hand with great care by the women who first wash it, not with soap, but with rice paste, which ensures that it retain its softness and does

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288 not entirely remove all the natural oil from the wool, then it is spun on a spinning wheel into a fine thread; this especially requires much patience and a delicacy of fingers because of the shortness of the fibre. The wool is dyed in the yarn, only natural dyes being used, and in the old days there were some sixty tints to be had.

There are two most favoured ways of making the shawl, one the method by which small segments of woven shawl are sewn together so cleverly and neatly that the join cannot be seen; this is known as Kani; the other is the Amlikar, in which the foundation is a sheet of plain pashmina over which is worked, by needle, a close elaborate pattern.

288 531 With weaving the method employed is unusual. The design is made up by the *Naqash*, but instead of working from a diagram or coloured drawing, the weaver is given as the pattern a *t'alim*—rows of symbols, each of which tell the number of threads and the colours to be worked in. Next to the weaver sits another worker. He is the *Khalas Wal*, the one who translates from pattern to weaver, the latter having at hand a tray filled with bobbins of every colour required. As the *Khalas Wal* reads aloud the symbol and the weaver follows his instruction, the design gradually shows itself, neither of them knowing what it will be like until the colours appear in the shawl.

When completed it is taken and washed in the Dal Lake, the soft waters of which are known to be especially suited to the frail fibres of the pashmina and at the same time renders the colours fast while bringing out their brightness.

288 466 And then on to the men and boys who make the shawls, for the women only do the spinning and sometimes undertake the dyeing; "what are and what were these men and boys like?" one wonders; "they must be intelligent, they must have been well paid for the shawls are costly." But if one were to pick out of the villages or the streets of Srinagar the most sickly looking males and ask them their trade there is little doubt that they would admit to being engaged in the shawl, carpet or kindred trades. All day long they sit hunched up over their stitching or before their looms, and the rates of pay in the past—and unfortunately in the present—have no comparision to the price asked for the finished article. The trader tells his customer that the material

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is costly, the wages demanded by his workers are high, the pure 288
dyes used are practically unobtainable other than at a price 465
which he dare not repeat, and you discover that the wage even now paid to workers is little more than half that given to a household servant whilst in the past when the gems of shawls now sold as antiques to museums and collectors were being made, the average wage was as low as four rupees a month.

The department which was set up to control the shawl trade 288
in the State as far back as the sixteen hundreds was called the 656
"Dagshawl", the fortunate official who was in charge became 651
the "Darogah of the Dagshawl".

The wool is and always has been costly. When the income earned from shawls was high the State levied terrific taxes not only on the manufactured shawl before it could be sold, but additional taxes when exported from the State, not forgetting to charge import duty on the raw wool as it entered the country. With the differing rulers came the changing methods of collecting taxes, sometimes a poll tax on the weaver, sometimes a tax on the loom, at times the State collected the finished shawl and marketed it, and after deducting the taxes due, the maker got what was left.

Yet in spite of the heavy taxations the number of looms was large. In 1813 there were twenty-four thousand, though during the rule of Sheikh Ghulam Mohiud-Din (1841–46) the Dalpat so increased the taxation on shawls, that only five thousand looms remained working, and it is said that twenty-two weavers of shawls cut off their thumbs so that they might not be forced to continue in their profession, while in the times of the Sikhs, taxation and famine reduced the number to as few as twelve hundred. Then when the shawl became fashionable in France, they increased to eleven thousand looms with twenty-seven thousand workers, each loom having two and a half men, that is, two men and a boy earning from two to five rupees a month. Today the number of shawl looms can be counted on the hand, for those who inherited the art have gone over to the making of carpets if they were weavers, and if they were Amlikar shawl makers, to the differing kinds of embroidery work now thought of by the visitor as a part of Kashmir.

I went over the workrooms of old Shah Mohammed. A red 288 [illegible] T-3 (no date) [illegible] AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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The crowded Apple Tree canal (p. [illegible])

[Facing p. 140]

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Kashmiri AV4

288 bearded, withered old Muslim wearing thick glasses was sitting on a window balcony with his eyes close to the work as, with claw-like fingers, he invisibly repaired an antique shawl. As
302 usual I was told he was one hundred years old. Referring to his red beard I asked Shah Mohammad if he too had been to Mecca—Shah Mohammad had gone there eight years before and now henna-dyed his beard as a sign of having made the pilgrimage—but he laughed and explained that the old shawl-worker's dye was nothing less than conceit to cover his age because he was thinking of marrying again and had his eye on a pretty young girl!

288 Before an upright loom on the other side another oldish man
531 was working sitting cross-legged, whilst at his side sat a man calling out the pattern from a piece of paper held in front of him. I carefully examined the two feet of carpet he had worked—an old shawl design; as I got close I saw that each emblem, each shape, differed just a little from the other; this was deliberate, for only Allah can make the perfect matching; those shawls or carpets that are man-made may at first appear to be the same, but on closer examination they vary slightly, this being one of the simple tests between hand-made and machine-made ones.

In another room there were several men, again most of them with grey beards and although wearing glasses, with their heads close to their work, embroidering with coloured silks on a pashmina foundation shawl, although none was covering the whole of the square as had been the practice in the past, now only wide borders were made. At the back was a young man who was drawing the design on a cloth square with a pencil. At first the piece of material was stretched out flat on the floor and he sketched the main outline of the design, then holding it in his hand filled in the details, the embroiderer colouring it according to the order. In another corner boys were working on chain-stitch mats with the special loop needles which carry the stitch as would a machine. Again they were following over a drawn design; this being an exact copy of an expensive rug. Downstairs were the men who worked on numdas; these are floor coverings about three by four feet, the foundation being pressed felt—sometimes white, sometimes grey—on which coloured wool designs are made; they are mostly crude but fill

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

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On a canal (p. 90)

[Facing p. 141]

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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288 531 the demand made by a cheap market and are more suited to the nursery or child's bedroom floor—a sample of the work now undertaken by the descendants of those who were once world famous for their exquisite shawls.

Not far from Srinagar is one village which specializes in the making of these; another is famous for its gubbas. These floor or bed covers are made up on a cloth base consisting of old rags which have been stitched together to make a blanket and then dyed black. The methods of decoration are two, the first being that flowers and shapes are cut out from coloured wool cloth and stitched on the black base, the other, and the more costly, though neither of the finished gubbas cost many rupees—is a decoration with wool which has been worked through by the chain-stitch needles over a drawn design, usually one or two colours only being used in this most effective decoration.

Upstairs again, I was taken to a room overlooking the river from which I could see the Shah Hamadan Mosque. Here there were four youngish men sitting and working with needles on material stretched on frames. The flower designs were dainty and the colours blended perfectly, the stitch so small that it was difficult to separate. The hand-worked *petit point* work which comes out of Kashmir can stand against any rivals, and it was a joy to see here an industry which might not die with the workers,
[467] for those who sat in the workroom were young. It takes eight
[465] years of apprenticeship to reach perfection in the work; still the worker's pay is poor, but the same now applies to the cost of the finished articles, most of which are ladies' evening bags.

288 Together with Shah Mohammad and his son I went up to a room in their house. The son was telling me that he had long tried to convince his father that he should be permitted to go to England and America to sell their shawls and carpets. He had made a deep study of the history of carpets, and before long I realized he was trying over his sales line on me.

The art was introduced into Kashmir by the Great King Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, and it came about in this way. In 1397 Tamerlane came to India after his conquest of Persia and Turkistan. When he got as far as Attock, Sikander But-shikan, the then ruler of Kashmir, sent him a message acknowledging him as his liege

2a Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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288 lord. Accepting this, Tamerlane was pleased and sent him presents of an elephant and other gifts. In return Sikander sent precious articles to Tamerlane together with a request that he might be permitted to travel to his camp to pay homage, to which Tamerlane replied that he might do so at Attock on his return from his imminent conquest of the Hindustan. When he heard that Tamerlane was returning to Attock from plundering Hindustan, Sikander started out from Srinagar, but on reaching Baramula learned that he had moved on to Samarqand, and returning to Srinagar he sent his second son, a young boy named Shahi Khan, with the gifts to Tamerlane.

Shahi Khan arrived at the capital of the great conqueror and handed over the presents sent by his father to Tamerlane who "took to liking the beautiful youth from Kashmir and bestowed much favour upon him, forbidding him return to his country". For seven years the son of the King of Kashmir remained in Samarqand and during that time lost no time in studying the arts and crafts of the people of that city which was then at the height of its glory. Tamerlane died in 1405 whilst conducting an expedition to China, and not until then could Shahi Khan return to his homeland. Sikander, a king who had been hated by his downtrodden subjects, died in 1416, to be succeeded by his eldest son Ali Shah, another bad king for the people whom he ruled for six or seven years, and then Shahi Khan came to the throne and took the name of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din.

He immediately set about improving the lot of his people "having high ideals and a moral outlook". He not only encouraged, but started many of the industries of Kashmir, among them carpet weaving, for which purpose he brought some of the best weavers from Samarqand. Within a few years the people of Kashmir who had on his accession only known how to weep, now laughed, working happily at the new-found trades, and this condition continued for the whole fifty-one years of the beloved king's reign.

Carpet weaving continued to flourish in Kashmir for many years after that, but then it started to fade away and at one time, some two hundred years after Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din came to the throne, it became a lost art. Then in the time when the Emperor Jahangir ruled over the country, a Kashmiri, by name Akhun

S. Garvin T-3 (no date) 1984 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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Rahnuma, returning through Asia on his way back from performing the Haj pilgrimage, visited Andijan in Persia, a place in which carpets were made. He remained there for some time in order to learn the art and returned to Kashmir with the knowledge and the tools necessary for their weaving. 288

He gathered together some people and taught them how to make carpets once again. By that time carpets were in great demand and had risen in price as a result of their scarcity, so that those who learnt from him soon made for themselves large fortunes. They soon forgot their benefactor though and on one occasion when he went towards them, because they were proud and well dressed and he took little care of his clothes, they refused to recognise him. His curse all carpet-weavers remember until this day, "Zindas dung-dawal marit nah kafan tih" which means that during their lives they may live in plenty, but when dead even cloth for their burial shroud may not be found to cover them. The bad fortune of the carpet-weavers who earn only sufficient to live upon and permits them to save nothing, they attribute to this curse. [787]

The carpets are now woven in the same manner as were the shawls, in a loom of which the warp threads are of cotton arranged in upright parallel order, that is, instead of working from a design in colour, the pattern, as with the shawl, is in symbols. The coloured balls of wool hang down to be taken in as called for by the pattern, the weaver ties the required number of threads of each colour, over each row a double cotton twine is threaded through by the fingers and pressed down with an iron comb. The weaver cuts each thread after it had been knotted into the warp and then evens the surface of the carpet by clipping it with shears. 288 831

In the old days the weavers used to follow a coloured picture of the design itself, but when the Maharaja Ranbir Singh ordered a great carpet which was to cover the Ajaib Ghar Hall in which the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, was to stay whilst on a visit to Jammu in 1875, time was short and it was found that there were only thirteen carpet-weavers in the State. At the suggestion of *Allair Mir a Khahar Wal*, the shawl method of symbols was introduced and with each additional workers as they became available, the carpet was completed in

Ia Gervis T-8 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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285 531 time. Since that method, which is quicker, takes less time for the weaver to learn, and precludes many mistakes, it has now been adopted in the Kashmir carpet trade.

The first of Kashmir carpets were of flower design, with plans of gardens, birds, fish and animals, though these were later lost to the scroll designs.

The story is told that the Maharaja Ranjit Singh always longed to visit the valley but could not do so. To Colonel Mian Singh, his governor in Kashmir from 1841, he wrote of his longing to "enjoy the delight of wandering through the gardens of Kashmir fragrant with almond blossoms, and sitting on the fresh green turf". The sympathetic Governor had woven one grass-green coloured carpet on which were made pink spots dotted with silver, to convey to his master the green of a Kashmir lawn with the dew-covered almond petals which had fallen upon it, as a springtime picture drawn by the greatest of all artist carpet-weavers of Srinagar who themselves conveyed it to the Maharaja. It is said that when it was spread out before him he was so delighted that, imagining he was already in Kashmir, he lay down and rolled himself on it as though it were real turf; each of the three fortunate weavers he rewarded with a pair of golden bracelets.

285 177 Europeans next entered the carpet industry; at first there was failure to satisfy the tastes of England and France, the dyes were not suitable, the designs did not fit in with the schemes and so on, but there came a Frenchman who had had some experience of Kashmiri shawls, and Englishmen started up factories which at one time employed thousands of weavers. Gold medals and wreaths of gold were awarded for Kashmir carpets in the exhibitions of London and Paris; they were supplied to spread on the floors of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle; they were made of silk and of pashmina wool, soft and so pliable that they were suited to cover the daintiest of furniture. Displaying to the full the colours and designs, so close was the stitch in some that as many as four hundred knots were counted to the inch.

285 Now, so Habiba the son of Shah Mohammad told me, the majority of carpet-weavers are again resting, but he is very sure that if only he could get to England or to America he could

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recreate the demand for the lovely carpets made in his country, 299 and if only another Empress Josephine would start up the fashion in shawls again, that trade also would flourish. If only— and the Kashmiri had not even now lost all hope of such a recovery.

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CHAPTER NINE

The Commercial Arts

* 289 SHAWL and carpet making are not the only industrial arts which have survived the ages; it is now over six centuries since King Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din at the same time as he introduced shawl and carpet making into the country, also encouraged artists to come from Samarqand that they might teach his people "how to make pottery of light weight with paper, and those of his subjects who were able to lift the shapes and colours from the flowers and the birds and other beauties they had gazed upon, he had instructed in the art of decorating this paper [177] pottery". There is little doubt that the master artists came from Persia, for to this day papier mâché is known as Kumangiri—that is, the illustrations of the bows and arrows of Persian soldiers, and many of the more lovely productions of the artists who execute their work for those who are able to pay the price [563] of their time, are of the finer Persian design. A small colony of these descendants of the master craftsmen who proudly remind one of their Persian ancestors, still survives in Srinagar and is known as Kumangarpura.

The process of papier mâché making takes much time; no wonder that of recent years many of the articles which find their way into the cheaper markets to compete with the factory-made ones are of wood, which although they may deceive the eye, by their weight confess to their false foundation.

Having decided upon the shape of the piece to be produced, the potter makes up on his wheel, or the carpenter on his lathe, a vase, box shape or whatever it might be, but smaller than the finished article is required. Overnight the papier mâché maker soaks old paper shavings in a tank of water. Next morning these are lifted out and pounded with poles in a mortar until they

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once again become the pulp that they were before being printed; 289 this is usually grey in colour, having absorbed the newsprint. When of the correct consistencey, rice paste—or if there is a shortage of rice, glue—is added to it. The brick-hard potter's shape is now covered with strips of paper to ensure that the paste does not adhere to it and over the mould is evenly applied the paper paste; more strips of paper, sometimes thin muslin, are made to cover the shape and more of the pulp, until sometimes three layers reinforce it, the shape being dried for a few days in the sun before the next layer is added. When the maker is satisfied with the size and that the pot has dried hard, it is sawn in two or more pieces according to the shape, the mould removed and the papier mâché pieces are then carefully glued together again, with heavy weights—usually sacks of sand—holding the parts together. The complete piece is next covered with fine muslin strips and on this is painted *gatch*, a paste made from old wall plaster mixed with water and glue. When again dry the surface is rubbed smooth with a piece of hard burnt brick.

In the old days, and even now with a few men who are proud 289 531 of their work, over this was applied a stain called *astar*, which was made by rubbing with water, stone of a kind only to be found in the quarry at Manasbal. On top of this stain *safeda Kashgari*, which is a white powder mixed with glue and water, is smoothed and over the whole, when dry, the ground colour of the artist's design is painted, this varying, being either gold, white lead, verdigris, ultramarine, or cochineal.

All this I watched being done in a little workshop of Imtiaz just behind the Bund, in that part where so many shops of the same sort are congregated together. There an artist painter was sitting drawing with *zarda*, yellow colour, on the base colour the outlines of the design and staining the spaces on which the flowers were to be painted with *astar* and white paint. Like so many of the arts of Kashmir, it had come down from father to son. It was fascinating to watch the freehand work of the master artist—known as the *nakash*—on the formal designs, drawing without geometrical instruments, the sketch being perfectly balanced, no easy task on a round box which has seven panels to be painted.

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289 531 Then he handed the box, which was to have golden chinar leaves in its decoration, on to a younger man who painted in the leaves with a base coat of gerde mixed with glue and sugar, when this was finished he applied the gold leaf which adhered to that part only. Another lad took the box from him and completed the design, selecting colours for birds and flowers as he thought best and shading them as only an experienced artist can; there was no painter's palette, the colours being held in bits of broken crocks; one brush was used and washed after it had finished with each colour all over the box, when the lad turned to another and started round it again.

When dry the box was handed over to the youngest of the family, the old man's grandson who could only have been about eight years of age. It was this boy who had done most of the pounding up of the paper; now his job was to varnish the box. [384] For this they used amber or copal powdered down and dissolved in linseed oil, after which it was stood out in the sun to dry before a second coat was applied. This was the final stage for the cheaper class of work, but for the more expensive pieces there was still more to be done; the surface rubbed over with wet grass and washed clean, the gold and silver leaves dissolved in brine water with glue, in order that details of shading and veins could be painted, the complete surface polished with a piece of jade stone, and lastly a final coating of amber varnish dried off in the sun.

In these days, in addition to wood being used as a base, the cheaper articles are painted with imported bright chemical colours, but still a few of the more expensive ones carry the colours made from finely powdered semi-precious stones which take hours to grind down, but remain for a hundred years as they were when first applied, subdued shades of rich reds, blues and browns, being freshened up by being washed and given the very occasional protecting coat of amber varnish, though the colours are never as bright—to the art lover, gaudy—as the chemical colours beloved by most of those who purchase from Kashmir.

326 531 Talking to the old man I heard of an art in which he was trained as a boy but which had now been lost to Kashmir,

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though there still remain a few like him who could revive it if it was worth while. Until forty or fifty years ago Kashmir was well known for its enamel work on brass and copper. In this the powdered stone was used to decorate the engraved metal work like lovely vases, bells and lamps made for the mosques and monasteries. A few pieces, with lovely sapphire blues and ruby reds still bright, occasionally come into the market to be snatched up by the collectors of such choice pieces, but they are rare and I wondered why, if only on this score, one of the old workers has not revived it. 326 531

The secrets of paper-making were also brought to Kashmir from Samarqand during the reign of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, the industry first starting up in the State near to Ganderbal where water power was available to batter and pulp up the rags, whilst at Nowshera, vats were made in which the pulp was turned into paper. 289 177

The art of paper-making had reached Samarqand from China some eight hundred years before that time, the methods were improved upon during that period, but the same Persian methods are being used in Kashmir as had been introduced into the country five hundred years before.

Prior to the introduction of paper-making the Kashmiri had used birch-bark for his manuscripts, and many of these are to be found in the museums of the world, though few remain to be seen in the State itself. [2/2]

In the making of Kashmir paper a mixture of old rags of cotton and linen are pounded together with a small quantity of hemp under a water-powered lever mill. A little crude carbonate of soda together with some slaked lime is added during this beating process; this is to soften and whiten the rags, though since cold water is always used for the process a large amount of the colour remains; to remove this would only necessitate boiling the pulp for a while, but the paper-maker insists that this form of caustic soda would weaken the finished product. 289

The mortar in which the rags are pounded is made of limestone. The pestle, which is worked by a lever on a pivoted beam, has an iron head which is four sided and in falling on the rags also chops them up as they are fed under it by hand. This pulp [4/2]

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2ff passes through three pounding presses, each one tearing it to smaller threads; between each of these the pulp is taken out and placed in a kind of trough made by tying a length of cloth round the waists of two men and leaving a space of about six feet between them. The men then stand in a deep stream with the pulp in the cloth between them in the water, carefully ensuring the edges of the trough are above the surface. They agitate the pulp with their hands, the dirt it contains passes through the mesh of the cloth and is carried away.

Between each of the washings the pulp is drained and made up into foot square slabs about an inch thick and then laid out in the sun to bleach. The sun can only penetrate through about an eighth of an inch of this surface, but after being turned and exposed four times the resultant paper is reasonably whitish with a creamy tinge.

These washed and bleached slabs are then placed in large earthenware crocks; water is added and by treading them the pulp is made free to float. This is transferred to the vat with a large amount of the water.

The mould in which the paper is made consists of a large wooden frame in which is stretched a square of cloth, in some cases reeds take the place of the cloth. The frame is dipped flat in the vat, sufficient liquid is allowed to flow over the top to make one sheet of paper and it is then lifted out. The thickness required is controlled not by the amount poured on to the frame, but by the number of dips, two being generally sufficient, though in the better papers the frame is dipped three times, and it had been found that the increased number of dips adds to the strength of the paper. As the frame is lifted perfectly flat from the vat so the vacuum beneath sucks the water out and leaves the pulp only. The lumps which appear are now quickly removed or pressed in.

The sheets are taken from the mould and stacked one on the other until a block of seventy-two sheets is formed. On this is placed a board which is weighed down with stones. Next morning the sheets are detached from each other and spread out on a smooth mud wall to dry in the sun. Often five or six sheets are placed one on top of the other, being easily detached later on.

The paper is next polished with pumice stone after which its

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surface is glazed with rice starch which is rubbed on both sides 289
with a woollen mitt on the paper-maker's hand. Finally the writing paper is polished off with an agate or onyx stone, and is ready to take the pen.

George Forster, who wrote of his travels in Kashmir in 1783, says that he found there "fabricated the best writing paper of the East" and speaks of it as being "an article of extensive traffic".

In these days little Kashmir hand-made paper is to be seen, for it cannot compete with the mill-made paper, but I have yet to find any more effective for such things as Greeting Cards, while the heavier types make most effective lamp shades, being durable and toughened by the hemp fiber.

Woodwork and woodcarving have long been one of the 322
industries of Kashmir. As to when it was commenced I have been unable to discover, other than that in ancient Hindu books there are directions for ensuring that the timber is felled in the winter month when the sap is down and just before it rises, and also as to how it should be seasoned for some years before it is cut up, and then allowed to season again in planks.

Earlier on has been described Khatamband—the geometric 335
designs of pine-wood slips which fit into each other to decorate a ceiling and there are few of the houses of the well-to-do in Srinagar, or for that matter Kashmir, that do not boast of these: in some houses, such as the Residency, walnut was used for this purpose so that it might blend with the wall panels.

Next there is Pinjra or lattice work, in which Budlu or Kain wood is used with geometric or bold floral designs made up of small laths and pieces fitting one into the other and held by their own pressure, glue being despised, consequently the wood used for this art must be well seasoned. This particular type of woodwork is now dying out though.

Finally we come to woodcarving and the making of furniture. 322
All will admit that the Kashmiri is surpassed by few in his 137
designs and workmanship though it is still necessary to seek out the trader who has the financial backing to enable him to hold stocks of walnut long enough to ensure their being really well seasoned. Walnut trees abound in the valley. Those who have

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322 /137 lived there a lifetime admit that they cannot see any reduction in their number in spite of their fears at so many being used over the past years. The walnut's natural veined surfaces with lovely soft mellow colours, combined with the hardness of a wood which is ideal for both the knife of the carver and cloth of the polisher, makes it most suitable for these artists to work upon, while because of its easy and generous availability it is reasonably cheap, with the result that there are few articles of furniture to be found in any middle class household in the valley which are not manufactured from it. The woodworkers are able with ease and accuracy to copy a most elaborate design of desk, chair, bed or such-like piece from the photograph or sketch in a catalogue, each one coming apart, legs from base, so that they may be easily packed for transporting.

532 In his woodcarving the Kashmiri excels. The piece of wood is carefully selected to ensure that there is no blemish on its surface or in the hardness of the timber itself. If there happens to be a very soft part in an otherwise superb piece of wood, he will be careful to avoid this in the design. In the first place the artist-draughtsman chalks out with a black pencil the main design; again no instruments are used for this—it is all freehand work. The master woodcarver then hands it to an assistant who chisels out the bold shape, for instance in a flower and leaf design he would carve petals and leaves, the master afterwards taking over the rough-cut piece to carve out the small scrolls which form the base and the finer details, carefully covering any mistakes that have been made by his assistant.

With the finer pieces the one carver will execute the whole of the work, with wonderful skill and many shapes of knives hollowing out some parts, in others undercutting such shapes as flowers, leaves, and entwining creepers thread thin, or carving the much favoured dragon design, so that it is difficult to believe that this has not been separately cut and cunningly glued to the base, until on closely inspecting it one finds that it is not so.

532 /177 Of late there has been an inclination to "stunt" pieces. It is said that this was originally in response to the demand of foreign soldiers during the last war, but now delights the Indian visitors, so that we find cigarette boxes which open on a spring,

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at which the cigarette flies out, or a bird lifts it from the case; 532
lamps made like lotus plants, the flowers of which open to 177
expose the electric bulb and so on, but the pieces are not manufactured from well-seasoned wood, they are made for a cheap and ready market, and one wonders if they fall apart when the buyer returns to his own country.

No one can deny that with their fine embroidery work, their 531
delightful blending of colours in their painting of papier mâché 181
and their delicate woodcarving, the Kashmiri is an artist able to convey on to cloth, paper and wood the beauties with which he is surrounded by nature and of which lovely things he is truly conscious and appreciative: proof that familiarity has not dulled his vision to that which he lives amongst at all times. It is as if his one great desire is to let the whole world know of the joys that are his and to share with the rest of mankind all this colour and beauty.

To King Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din is also given the credit for hav- 231
ing introduced sericulture into the valley although there are some who doubt this and it is difficult to trace the time when it did actually arrive, so that it must be sufficient that it is an ancient industry of Kashmir. There is a reference in the history written about the year 1548 by the then ruler Mirza Haidar to the great numbers of mulberry trees which were grown not so much for their fruits as for the leaves on which silkworms were fed, and scanty references to silkworms appear in Abdul Fazl's *Institutes of Akbar* and in *The Memoirs of Jahangir*. Under the Moghuls Kashmir's silk industry progressed, ladies of the Court delighting in wearing the materials while the men flung silken shawls and cloaks over their official uniforms even on the most important of ceremonial occasions. During the rule of the Pathans the industry died and the Sikhs made no effort to revive it although it would have contributed vast sums to the treasury, and it was not until the Dogra rulers came to the throne that they gave any encouragement to its reintroduction.

Then it must have reached great heights, for in 1855 there was a terrible outbreak of silkworm disease in Europe, and in 1860 the Italians purchased from Kashmir no less than twenty-five thousand ounces of the seed, as the eggs are called. The industry

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231 was at that time under the control of the Maharaja's Chief Physician, Hakim Azim. Then something happened to the Kashmir seed, and there was a rapid decrease in production, until a Kashmiri who went to Kabul gathered together a few pounds of seed which he managed to smuggle into Kashmir by [655] hiding them in walnut shells. In 1870, the Maharaja placed the industry under the charge of his Chief Justice, and four years later the State monopoly started.

655 It is amazing that thousands of ounces of seed are produced annually in the reproduction houses of the Kashmir Govern-231 ment silk factory. From time to time seed has been imported, Europe, France and Italy being the main suppliers, but the Kashmiri insists that the local seed is by far the better. They are always nervous of importing disease with the seeds, and to this day insist that the decline and final near-death from disease of the industry in 1878 was brought about by seeds which were imported from Japan. At that time there was a guild of silk-rearers which was known as "Kirm Kash", which translated means "worm-killers". Members of the guild enjoyed certain considerable privileges, most important of which was their exemption from forced labour under the State; they were permitted to requisition, without payment, any houses of the villagers that they required for the purpose of silk-breeding, and were appointed as informers of any damage done to mulberry trees. As usual they abused their position: as informers they were feared, as privileged persons they were hated for the advantages they had over their fellow countrymen, and they became as foreign to those among whom they were born and lived as were the military who had such power over the people.

[232] In 1889, on the advice of Sir Edward Beck, it was decided to adopt the Pasteur system of microscopical examination. Good seed was obtained from France and Italy, and the resultant cocoons were excellent. The following year Sir Thomas Wardle a silk dyer and manufacturer who was the then President of the Silk Association of Great Britain, advised the Kashmir State through the Resident to revive the industry on a commercial basis, which advice they took.

In 1913, with the industry flourishing, there came the great fire which practically destroyed the factory; thousands were

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thrown out of work and operations ceased. It was again rebuilt, 655
new machinery of the most modern type was installed, being 231
imported from Italy, with the result that it was decided by the
British factories that the Kashmir silk had become superior to
the Italian. From then on, until during the Great Wars when the [429]
demand for natural silk for making into parachutes was far in
excess of the supply, it flourished, only to fade, although still
existent, after the Kashmir troubles of 1947. Now fresh efforts
are being made to revive it to its former glory of the past century.

There must be few who know that in Srinagar there was, and
probably will again be within a few years, the largest natural
silk factory in the world. This is State run, the silk being the
product of the millions of cocoons which are brought in by the
rearers of silkworms from the villages of the valley, the eggs
having been distributed to them by the State. Just as every [205]
village has its walnut trees, so almost all of them have their
orchards of mulberry trees; these are cared for by the State
which ensures that they are properly pruned and kept free from
disease. At one time the factory employed about five thousand
hands and a further one hundred and fifty thousand men,
women and children profited by rearing the worms in the villages.
Now the labourers are being encouraged to set up their
own looms and mills in the villages.

To those who have no knowledge of silkworm culture— 231
sericulture is the correct word—it is interesting to follow it
through the separate stages in the factory, at first the selection
of those cocoons which are the largest and have the finest silk,
the hatching out of the moths, their separate matings in the
trays, after which the male, having served his purpose in life,
dies; the placing of each female in her own little muslin bag, in
which she remains until she lays her eggs and serves her
purpose. The dead moth is carefully examined under the microscope
to ensure that she is not suffering from any of the
diseases; the muslin bags are washed in a solution of copper
sulphate and the seeds are removed to be packed in small boxes,
each of which holds about one and a half ounces. These are set
aside in the hybernating houses there to rest until they are
ready for collection by the rearers the following season.

231 When they are about to hatch the peasant rearers collect them from the factory; from the eggs the grubs emerge to grow much like the common cabbage butterfly caterpillar, which gorge themselves on the mulberry leaves brought to them in their trays, the villagers keeping them in their houses. Finally, from thirty to thirty-five days from the time that they were hatched, the grubs spin their cocoons. These are carried by the rearers to the factory where they receive payment for them by weight.

288 The cocoons, which are naturally either white, gold or yellow, are then dropped into electrically heated basins of boiling water which immediately kills the grub within. The operator finds one end of the silken thread which he attaches to one of the dozens of whirling reels which are in line above the bowls, and the whole length of silk is unwound from the cocoon, there being from four to eight hundred yards on each.

In the old days the silk waste, that is the short ends of cocoons or those of a quality not sufficiently good to be used for weaving, were thrown away or sold for practically nothing. Now even this has found its use, and after cleaning and reeling—known as "Matka silk"—it is either woven into a second grade of cloth or used for making some of the really lovely silken carpets and rugs now coming out of the State.

The quality of Kashmir silk is considered good by the manufacturers of the Western world. The climate of the valley is most suited to the growth of the worm and the spinning of the yarn, much of which is exported in the skein, but some is woven on the old wooden looms. I have seen the factory in full proproduction, and unhappily I have also since seen it, together with some of the other private ones, and come upon empty rooms with machines silent, dusty, and some being cannibalised that the one or two which occasionally move may be kept going. That with the will, it can revive there is little doubt, in spite of the threatening competition of artificial silks now made from wood, coal and even glass. The food for the worms is there in the valley, as is labour at a price which compares favourably with other countries and the people are there who have a knowledge of its growth and manufacture, a knowledge which is hereditary. It is also fortunate that the diseases of silk-worms known in the valley are fortunately controllable.

I suppose that next among the productions of the Kashmir craftsmen that attracts visitors, is the unique silverware. Most of this is of most exquisite design, the most favoured being the "shawl pattern", the engraving covering the entire silver piece on which the silversmith, sitting on the floor, works with chisel, hammer and file. The later designs contain the chinar leaf, but so clever are these craftsmen that they can most faithfully copy any piece given them as a pattern. Most of these workshops are in the dingy little shops on the banks of the Jhelum, more especially crowded round the third and fourth bridges. The finished article is sold by weight and it seems strange to the European when asking the price to see the silversmith place a teapot on one side of the scales and weights on the other after quoting his customer so many rupees and annas per tola—equal to about two ounces. The silver used is either imported from India in ingots or melted down silver rupees. 328 531 [361] 443

This silverware has a peculiar white sheen attributable to its being boiled in apricot juice. Unfortunately when the modern liquid silver polishes are used on it there is a tendency to tarnish especially when afterwards handled. The outer surface is highly polished by the silversmith; that part which is engraved, although bright, is not polished and appears to be whiter. 328

Most of the tea and coffee sets, finger bowls, fruit dishes, biscuit barrels, tea caddies, mugs and trays are made to supply the needs of visitors, although they will also be seen in some of the better-class Kashmiri houses.

Other silversmiths specialise in making ornaments for the people who live there. It is said that the Empress Nur Jahan introduced into the Valley many delicate varieties of jewellery. The Kashmiri excels in the making of earrings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, amulets, rings, rosaries, charm cases and headbands, and in all of them is to be seen the Moghul influence, yet there remains that small detail which distinguishes them from the pieces which come from the shops of India or Pakistan.

On any day you will see the little girls, many of them in arms, wearing the unique silver pieces which cover the head and are made up of a number of cut-out silver medallions held together like chain armour, with a fringe of tiny discs falling over the forehead, the more delicate of these being shaped like fishes, 301

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301 birds and flowers. The Muslim peasant women always wear dozens of silver earrings hanging and dragging open the pierced holes in the lobes; then to take the weight, a wire is passed over the crown of the head. The Hindu women wear beautiful jhumkas—bell-shaped earrings with little drops and a silver or gold fringe. Wide, hinge-closing, solid, fitting bracelets of silver, embossed with chinar leaves, cherry and almond blossoms are a favourite, some have semi-precious stones such as jade, green and pink, agate, turquoise, goldstone, cornelians or bloodstones, embedded in the surface. As a necklace these women wear massive silver charm boxes, or triangular silver pendants suspended on a black cord which matches the hundreds of plaits of raven hair hanging round their heads after [35] the fashion in that part. This silver is often the entire family fortune.

444 The shopkeepers discovered that visitors were attracted to these rather barbaric ornaments, and since for some reason they always seek out "very old pieces", they supply that need by burying them in the earth for a time sufficient to acquire that antique look, rubbing them very carefully afterwards to ensure the dirt remains in the crevices. The customer well knows that she is being cheated so that she in turn will be able to deceive her friends who will later admire the antique piece.

135 Quite a number of synthetic emeralds, sapphires and rubies are 306 brought into the country for setting into this jewellery, yet emeralds, sapphires and amethyst are to be found within the State.

The most perfect of these real stones are to be seen in some of the dainty and delicately designed gold ornaments which are worn on special occasions by the wealthier Muslim and Hindu ladies, jewellery which has probably been passed down to them through several generations. Yet every goldsmith knows just where each of his masterpieces is, and is able, by examining a piece of jewellery, to tell if it was made by one of his forefathers, such is the individual work which is put into every bit that comes out of these dismal little workshops.

461 To these craftsmen of Kashmir such things as mass production and machine-made goods are unknown, and in this lies so

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much of the charm of that which one buys. Each piece is a model, and has become as though possessed of a soul while being fashioned by human hands. All are carved, made or painted by men who really love and are proud of their work, men who are masters of their craft, one which has come down to them from the distant past, men who handle the finished article as though reluctant to part with it. Unlike the factory hands who—other than for the pay packet—have little interest in that which they make, these men are artists, they do not clock in and clock out; often they will work far into the night, forgetful of the hour as they concentrate upon that piece which they are producing.

What one can never understand is how such beauty of shape and perfect blending of colours can be created and made complete in those dirty, squalid, poverty-stricken surroundings; maybe those who so labour have but near and far sight, that they can only see that material, wood, metal or papier mâché on which they work, and in the distance the glorious shades of Kashmir's lakes, hills and mountains, together with the beauties of her trees, flowers and birds.

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CHAPTER TEN

The Trip to Gulmarg

133 529 In spite of its elevation, since the valley of Kashmir nestles within a ring of mountains, during the height of the summer the temperature, combined with the humidity, drives many of its visitors higher up into the mountains to the *margs* or mountain meadows of which there are many; some of these for many years now have, with their wooden huts, electricity and water laid on, held foreigners longer in Kashmir than they had at first intended, and in some cases they have lingered into the winter months or arrived in the early spring to enjoy the same snow sports as are offered in the Alps or Rockies.

133 773 The many *margs* are much the same one as the other in their formation. It is as though the water had at some distant time been at a much higher level over the country and suddenly found its escape, leaving the silt partly to fill those valleys from which there was no escape; this over the ages becoming covered with grass and flowers. Legend tells that in the far off times when the bad demon, which the goddess Parvati crushed with a stone, lived in the valley, the waters were indeed deep. During the course of years when good and bad fought each other, the last grandson of the god Brahma came to the valley to live an ascetic life for one thousand years, after which he challenged the bad demon to fight, but the bad one refused and hid himself in the deep waters, upon which the gods struck the mountains at Baramula—where the Jhelum escapes through a deep narrow gorge—and the valley was drained dry. So we may imagine that it was at this time that the silt was left to remain in those valleys from which it could not escape with the water—hence the *margs*.

529 The most popular and best known of these is Gulmarg, the

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charm of which was discovered in 1580 by Yusuf Khan, "that 529
ruler who gave himself up to pleasure", and it has remained a
pleasure ground and holiday resort ever since, though the
months during which it is used have now extended from early
spring until early winter.

Gulmarg is about twenty-eight miles from Srinagar, the 529
motor road to it branching off about eight miles out from the 491
main Srinagar to Baramula highway, which like most roads in
the State is just over a car's width but with run-overs, hard in the
summer, but boggy in the winter, these being made up of dirt
dug from the mud bank on which most of the road is built. I
well remember my first trip there, it was in the spring and we
had two punctures with wheels to be changed in the roadside
mud. Starting off soon after breakfast, we passed on the way 234
dozens of doodh-wallahs—that is, milk men—returning from
the city to their small holdings, they were walking along the
road each with a great earthenware jar balanced on his shoulder,
one more hanging behind and a smaller one in front. These
were now empty, but when full they must have been a heavy
load; no wonder that the few we met going into the city were
proceeding at a steady trot; what surprises me is that the milk
had not turned to butter by the time it got there. The stopper to
the jar is just a twist of straw, and the smaller jar usually contains cream, curds or ghee.

Just over a long wooden bridge, at an especially narrow part 491
of the road where the trees also were close, we came on dozens [443]
of women sitting with baskets in front of them selling large
onions, the price of which was ridiculously low. Later the [161]
road widened out, a field distant from it were largish farmyards, with houses, barns and store houses all huddled on top of
one another, and surrounded as usual by poplars; the farmers
were prosperous, being able to dispose of their produce in the
nearby city with little cost for transport. The road was now 491
lined with poplars, the older ones close upon it, the newly 484
planted further back, some even behind the dyke which ran on
either side of the banked up road. Dozens of tongas were coming
and going; old ones which were overflowing with village folk
who for a few annas are able to travel miles, crowded tight within them, the driver sitting on the side of the shaft, the women

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491 484 always with babies which seemed as though they would at any moment slip from their mothers' knees as they appeared to be ever breast-feeding them, making no effort to grip the child tighter as the tonga was taken by its skinny, tired horse off the road on to the bumpy side as we passed.

491 We turned off on to the Tangmarg road, one which is lined with great poplars appearing to go on and on in two endless rows. Most of these had long since died and now, shed of their bark, stood like white tombstones to giants of the past; the driver said that later on they would be bought up by the match-makers. It was a wonder to me that the people had not sawn them up for firewood during the winter months. The fields of corn were red with poppies, others yellow with mustard plants, the oil of which is extracted when the beans have ripened. Further on the fields ended; it then seemed as though we were driving through the bed of a giant spread of a dried-up river, for not a blade of grass was to be seen except for that on the roadside, the rest being large smooth stones.

243 After a while, with the road the whole time going slightly up hill, we came on houses surrounded and protected by walls of these loose stones, then on past rice fields, all of which seemed to be flooded; they looked like ripple-sand on a flattish seashore after the tide had gone out, being in layers, gradually rising one above the other, and of all shapes and sizes, not in neat squares, but with their dividing walls in scrolls, being made of built-up earth reinforced with more of the smooth stones. Some were even then green with the young shoots of rice, in others men, women and children were working almost knee-deep in water, bending down and replanting the rice plants, while a few men were behind the small wooden ploughs which were being drawn through the earth lost nearly a foot beneath the water's surface, the little bullocks up to their bellies in the slush; how the man at the plough follows his furrows is inexplicable to me. There were hundreds of these small paddy fields going almost [511] as far as we could see. The extraordinary thing was that we heard singing, and, stopping, found that it was the workers who were giving voice to their hopes for the coming season; I knew that they had suffered much from the lack of sufficient food during the past hard winter.

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243 Water poured through a gap made from each paddy field into the lower one, being fed by streams which come down from the mountains behind, pretty, bubbling, sparkling brooks which ran joyfully over the stones as though delighted to be doing their best to join in with the happiness of the singing planters. Here and there they fell in great waterfalls from the grey rocks, then with banks of stones were led down near to the road, in some places high as though over an aqueduct of stones and branching off into tiny silver streams at places to feed the fields, dropping terrace after terrace as each had been flooded.

While the fields were being prepared, the paddy, as the rice seed complete in its husk is called, is soaked and put in germinating pots for about a week; this happens at the beginning of May; then it is sown in a small patch of ground which is always kept flooded near to the farmhouse. When a foot high it is taken out to be transplanted in the fields, work which must be completed by the middle of June.

Still ascending we came upon hamlets which seemed as 361
though they were being pushed on to the road, with a few
houses, a row of open-fronted shops, always a stream running
close by, and dozens of children of whom the many old men
sitting around took no notice, even when a tiny mite almost ran
under the car. Then there were the country people waiting for 494
the 'bus which went to Srinagar, one which was not considered
full until the passengers were being pushed out of the window
and the driver refused to take a higher load on the roof; the
'bus also carried a portable pillar box at the back, this being
cleared at the end of the journey.

We came on what was to be the last rows of poplars, tall, 361
straight and in their prime. On the right side of the road there were more paddy fields and orchards, on the left a steep slope down to many fields and little brown-roofed villages in the valley below. Across in the distance dark green firs covered the slopes of the mountains, the tips of which were white with snow and sharply set off against the clear blue sky.

Firs took the place of poplars by the roadside. Suddenly we came upon the village of Tangmarg with rows of wooden shops and garages, and hundreds of coolies and ponies. It was still warm there although we had now reached an altitude of seven

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361 [482] thousand feet. As soon as we stopped we were surrounded by a seething mass of coolies and pony men, for we were the day's first arrivals and consequently were almost mobbed by those anxious to serve us before the coach loads of visitors arrived, there always being the chance that bad weather or something untoward would result in but a few visitors.

Fortunately two more cars arrived and the flood turned on them leaving us the breathing space and time to pick our ponies and coolies, for there are over three miles to go up the pony track in order to climb the two thousand feet to Gulmarg. Tangmarg is a pretty little place with several charmingly designed and beautifully situated houses of residents who prefer it to Gulmarg for the spring and winter seasons.

By the time we had decided whether we would have a pack pony or a couple of coolies to carry our bed rolls etc., the other party had moved off ahead of us; only then, as I looked at them from behind, did I realise how thin and narrow were the horses, and sorted them over for those which we should not be ashamed to be seen on by our friends.

49/ The track is hard and wide as it zig-zags up the hillside, with the coolie track cutting across it, taking a shorter and steeper
29/ path. The men, wearing little more than the rags of filthy clothes, consisting of baggy trousers, with shirts over them, skull caps and always the one other possession, a blanket over their shoulders, were mostly without footwear; just a few
482 usually with tied up, injured toes, wore grass sandals. Their loads were tied with rope rather loosely to their backs and held round the forehead as they moved forward in a stooping position, seldom resting, but reaching the top to await us although we were mounted.

137 The track is through firs and pines, the scent of which impregnates the air with its freshness, the foliage a deep green, the trunks of the trees mottled pink and straight, the ground beneath them brown with millions of fir needles on which were scattered hundreds of brown pine cones.

373 354 Some of the pines had slices hacked out from their trunks where men of the land have made with the piece a torch to light themselves through the forest on their way home on dark nights, for the pine is full of resin; many a peasant's house is lighted at night by using a sliver of the wood as a candle.

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house is lighted at night by using a sliver of the wood as a candle. 000

Most of the way the track is so wide that a small car might use it but for the sharp hairpin bends. Often there is a little stream which bounces down over the stones, with white, pink and yellow flowers edging it, the small islands smothered with the blooms. The ponies knew the road far better than their riders, and I found it best most of the way to give mine his head until he insisted on following a muddy track which was too close on the seemingly loose edge of a precipice. 491

We passed those of the other party who were resting to admire the glorious distant views of snow-capped mountains above the deep green of the slopes. Their horses were second class grade, for which they paid Rs. 1 As. 4. against our Rs. 1. As. 8., a difference of fourpence for the journey, and they were tired. One of the party was an old woman who was being carried up in a "dandi chair", which is a kind of hammock chair in which the occupant is carried facing backwards, the head portion being suspended on a pole carried by two or more men, the feet likewise, and these poles the "dandi men" carry across their shoulders, ox fashion. The old woman was frail and four men could lift her with ease, but as we came down the hill we passed a fat old man using one, and eight coolies were earning every anna of what they would receive at the top of the hill. 494 493

Half way up we came to an open space of bright green grass with a gentle slope from a row of firs under which our syces—or horsemen—sat awaiting us, for they had taken the coolie track which runs straight up the face of the khud as soon as they saw that we were "knowing riding". They had been there almost a quarter of an hour, and grinned as we tried to get the horses to go on, for the animals refused, this being their regular half way halt for a rest. 000

From here the view was superb looking towards the distant mountains through a valley of blue and deep green pines, cedars and firs. Tight, woolly clouds were drifting over the far mountain tops and, finding a space between them, the sun's rays were then streaming down on the snow-field which seemed to take on a tinge of pearl pink against the blue of the sky beneath the

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000 clouds. The whole time the pine scent remained with us, the cool air felt fresh and clean as the gentle breeze just lightly fanned us. The horses started to munch the grass; this seemed to be a signal to the syces that we could now move on, and we remounted.

133 It takes about an hour and a half to climb the hill, an hour to descend it. As we reached the summit, we turned a twist in the road and there spread out before us was a great space of undulating greens, almost a crescent shape about two miles long and in places half a mile wide, the whole surrounded by firs, which seemed to be holding back the curtain so that we could gaze
[103] upon the lovely *marg* of emerald green grass. The name Gulmarg means "meadow of roses", though some prefer that the translation should be "the meadow of flowers". In all probability it was in the springtime that the ruler who was permitted to discover it first set eyes on the *marg*, and as was then the fashion with kings, the great man's first words of admiration gave the place its name.

529 Since his time the rulers have always had a palace or a house
341 there. The surrounding woodlands bordering on the *marg* are dotted with what are described as "huts" but in many cases are delightful bungalows and houses, hotels, a club and a cinema; banks, boarding houses and shops open branches there; all are built of wood, the only stonework being in some cases the foundations and the chimney pieces which are made of stone held by mud cement in which pine needles bind it firmly. The roofs are mostly of wood, many with earth, again bound with pine needles. On one side is the bazaar or shopping centre, but unlike other Kashmir bazaars, it is clean and tidy, with the shops in blocks of three or four having living-rooms over them.

The modern town planner would look at Gulmarg and turn his horse's head to go back to Tangmarg, for other than with the bazaar, there is not a straight road to be seen, not one house level with the next, and there is no excuse for this other than that those who live there seek beauty. In Gulmarg the roads have been made in lovely curves; the stream which runs to one side gently flows in the same bed that it has followed for hundreds of years; an ugly hill has been ornamented by a charming little church; behind it a bungalow-type hotel sprawls lazily over

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another hillock; in the great open space is the polo ground, no 361
ugly fence encloses it; two golf courses spread themselves 529
over the remainder of the greens on which sheep and goats
graze, and round which riders canter to take their exercise. In
late spring this green is a mass of flowers, daisies, iris, violets,
forget-me-nots and narcissus. In early spring the woodlands,
especially those close to the many little brooks in the dells, are
carpeted with the flowers that love shade and water, and others
that shyly hide under the trees, their colours, pinks, mauves and
blues; at the same time the flowering shrubs of which I do not
know the names, are a mass of blossom, deep reds, yellows and
white.

One side is flanked by a snow-capped mountain range with 133
Apharwat, the highest, right above Gulmarg; over the top of
this and on the further side are the Frozen Lakes. Then there is
the snow-capped Tos Maidan; in the far distance behind that
the peaks of Kantar Nag standing bare between cold white
snow-fields before it and the blue sky beyond. From our hut we
could look down on the valley through which we had come
and on towards the distant summits of Haramouk, Kotwal,
Mahadeo, with Nanga Parbat, the ninth highest mountain in
Asia, rising to a height of twenty-six thousand, six hundred and
twenty feet some ninety miles away to the north and towering
above them all.

During our week at Gulmarg we rode up to Khillenmarg
since we wanted to reach the snow line. It is nearly four miles
from Gulmarg, and over fifteen hundred feet above it with a
road which is little more than a cattle track: the ride is delight-
ful, through tall straight firs. We came upon two small meadows [221]
in our climb; some shepherd's huts had been built at the far side
of one, but no smoke came from near them; the occupants had
already moved higher with the spring. We went on until we 233
came out on to the *marg* which is smaller and flatter than
Gulmarg and with no signs of habitation; but it is well named,
for at that time there were hundreds of goats grazing there and
Khillenmarg means "the meadow of goats". Boys were watch-
ing their herds and flocks, either sitting in twos and threes
talking like old men, or sleeping; one quite alone and tending
sheep was playing to himself a tune on a whistle. At the upper 000

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000 and we found great beds of [illegible]—frozen snow—and on these were the runner marks of toboggans. We had arranged to climb higher before having our lunch. The firs had begun to thin out and above the tree belt we came on clumps of flowers which were even thrusting their heads through the crisp white as we eventually came upon the snow line.

Here we found the syces waiting for us; they had been there a long time wrapped in their blankets. We dismounted, pulled on sweaters, and sat down to eat a pack lunch, glad of the flasks of coffee, the whole time enjoying the glorious distant view of the whole Kashmir Valley, which lay like a relief map backed by grand distant mountains and leaving us to argue as to whether the river we saw was really the Jhelum, and if so which way it was flowing.

233 Then mounting again we started down the hill road, the syces leaving us immediately to take the steep coolie track down to the *marg*. As we eventually came out to the thinning trees upon its edge, we saw them sitting looking towards the grass-covered space. Not far away was a herd of goats nibbling the young green leaves from the branches which a boy up aloft was hacking off and dropping to them. The men were not looking in that direction though; both their, and now our attention was attracted to some boys in a distant hollow who were laughing 524 and yelling with delight. They also had a few goats with them, one of the shepherd boys was standing behind one of these and holding it firmly by the horns. A huge billy-goat was dancing and prancing before them on its hind legs, then suddenly frisking and putting his head down he charged at the head of the goat being held captive; there was a dull thud, a yell from the boy holding it and shrieks of delight from those watching. As I trotted towards them to stop what I had guessed to be a counterpart of the old English cock-fight, one of the lads saw me coming, warned the others, and all fled with the billy-goat racing after them, but the other goat remained with its four feet firmly on the ground, and as I came upon it I saw that it was not another billy, but a nanny.

000 I turned towards the syces, but they were already up on their feet and with their backs towards me were on their way down the coolie path to Gulmarg; then when some distance off I saw

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them look back over their shoulder, and turning to each other burst into peals of laughter. 000

These shepherds only speak Kashmiri, and in that language a dialect of their own in the hills which they never leave even to go to Srinagar, so that I never did discover whether the long silken-haired goats in the herds on Khilanmarg and Gulmarg were kept for their milk, their meat, their wool or their skins. There were goats and sheep of all ages, the breeding flocks not being kept separate, and the kids and lambs ran with the others. 233 [197]

The shepherd boys' clothes were much like the coolies', being made up of a cloth so coarse and hard that it might have been sacking. It was filthy, I doubt if it had ever seen soap, and as you got near to them the boys smelt almost as strong as the billy-goats, for after they bath in the stream, they put on their filthy clothes again, and I am assured that during the winter months they never take off their clothes to bath; those clothes in which they also sleep. 291 515

Their ignorance not only of the outside world but generally, is appalling; partly because of this their intelligence is low, their education has been nil, their one aim in life from the time they can walk and talk is to be shepherds like their fathers; their standard of living is almost the lowest in the land, a land where the average is below that of a house-dog in the Western world. 181 511

The sheep and goats have mostly been brought up by the shepherds from the villages in the valley where they have wintered and remained to drop their young; then as the snow clears from the mountains, the shepherds—or chopans as they are called—collect from the farmer those of his flock that he wishes away, and move to the hills, folding them each night on the unsown rice fields, for which service the farmer pays him well. 233

Occasionally, when the work in the fields is light, one of the farmers will carry up salt for the sheep and goats, at the same time inspecting the flocks, for the shepherds are of a different tribe, never marrying with the village people and never trusting them or being trusted by them. The skin of a sheep which dies or has been killed must be produced for inspection by the farmer, otherwise the shepherd has to pay him a fine which in the old days was half a rupee, but is now one rupee; little enough 568 233

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563 for the meat of a sheep which the shepherds might kill to eat
233 amongst themselves. They are entitled to certain perquisites,
such as the butter and ghee made from the milk. With the
965 autumn the flocks return to the villages when the shepherd's
563 wages are paid in coin and grain, the latter because while he has
233 been in the hills tending the flocks he has been unable to grow
his own. He is entitled to the shearings of one sheep in every
thirty or forty, according to the district, and to one sheep or
goat in every fifty if he returns with the flock intact. If he has
627 lost many sheep, the people of the village, who are entirely in
778 his hands, will probably insist that he takes an oath as he stands
either beside the shrine of the village saint, or under what is
known as the tree of ordeal, the headman of the village or the
farmer reminding him of the awful things that have in the past
happened to those who lied after such oaths.

235 The shepherd goes and the sheep find plenty of good food in
the village, for the leaves are falling from the trees and those of
the mulberry are always a great favourite with them. With the
236 farmer's work in the fields now done and the harvest gathered,
he washes his flock in the river, pond or lake, and as each one of
the sheep come from the water, one holds the animal while
another roughly rubs—almost hacks—its heavy woollen coat
down with a half-hoop of iron which has a handle at either end.
Then, as for hundreds of years before, when the sun enters
Libra, the shearings are done.

Three months later, after they have again been sheared, the sheep are crowded into their winter pen on the ground floor of the house, there to be fed on willow leaves and the sweet dried leaves of the iris which have been gathered for them during the late summer.

286 The wool will be sorted over and washed in the stream, the first dirt being stamped out of it by the men, the second by the women who wash it with greater care, afterwards spinning it on their wooden spinning wheels, and then with the winter confining the family to the house, much of it is woven into cloth either for blankets or lengths of cloth for sale in the city; many of the blankets which find their way there during the summer having been used the previous winter in the villages and then washed.

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Although the quality of the wool is good, it is a pity that the Kashmiri does not weave closer, and that he does not wash the wool better, for although I have had suits made of the village cloth, many have pulled out of shape and there remains something in the wool which attracts the moth and "woolly bear". 286

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Pilgrimage to the Cave of Amarnath

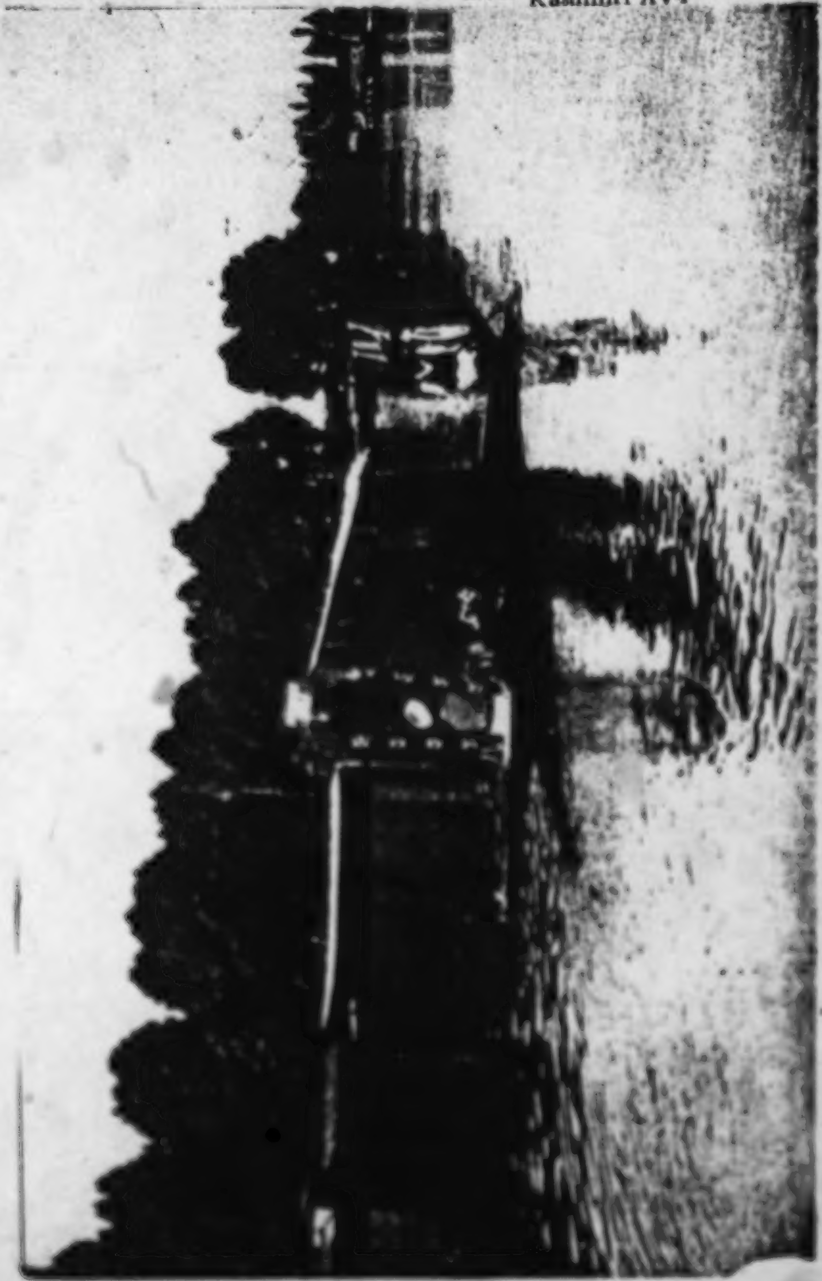
346 771 788 In the mosque containing a hair of the Prophet, the Muslims of Kashmir have their greatest shrine; the Buddhists travel to Ladakh to offer their prayers in the most important of their monastery chapels, but Kashmir also has within its borders one of the most amazing and sacred of Hindu temples, one created by God and untouched by the hand of man, one in which orthodox Hindus believe are enshrined the "living" symbols of one of their greatest gods and his divine lady, one as important and telling much the same story of the creation as does the Garden of Eden to the Christians and the Jews; one on the road to which thousands of Hindu pilgrims in the past have made their last journey. It is to them what Bethlehem is to the Christians, Rome to the Catholics and Mecca to the Muslims.

I was fortunate in the arrangements for my trip there, in having become friendly with a Hindu who, after spending most of his life in England, was visiting India for the first time that he could remember. He was as soft as I for trekking, and although holding to the same belief in "the way of life" as those others who made the pilgrimage, had no wish to go on his two legs. He had therefore made elaborate arrangements for the journey, but on the last evening the friend who was to go with him, fell sick and I agreed to take his place, so that the only thing I had to do was to pack my warmest clothing.

346 529 The sixty miles to Pahalgam we covered by car; a few pilgrims today make even that part of the journey on foot; in the past all did. Pahalgam is a smaller edition of Gulmarg with hotel, shops, post office and houses, and is fast becoming popular as a holiday resort, although at only seven thousand feet—the same as Tangmarg which is at the foot of Gulmarg.

[P. 192]

A Shikara, the gondola of Kashmir



A Shikara, the gondola of Kashmir
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491 After a comfortable night at the hotel, we started off on our pilgrimage at the crack of dawn, both of us, as well as his cook-bearer, being well mounted and followed by a string of three good pack ponies; in all they were the best I saw the whole way. The head ponyman-cum-guide and his five men were happy, for they had been promised double rates providing the marches were increased in length; we took three and a half days to cover the ground—mostly ice and snow—a journey usually taking a week of travel.

The thirty-five miles from Pahalgam to the sacred cave at Amarnath, moving higher and higher in the eternal snows of the Himalayan mountains until one is at over thirteen thousand feet, is hard going even for a horse; the path being over rocks and boulders, fording swift streams and crossing snow bridges, not once, but many times, and most of the way the cold is intense. Fortunately there are havens of rest on the way, green-
[7K] covered open spaces, but no rest houses, indeed they would be
[485] useless to the thousands who trudge there especially to arrive for the night of the full moon of the month of Shravan—this falls sometime in July or August and according to the *Vaishnava* calendar is called *Jhulan Paurnamasi*, translated meaning "the swing full moon". From September to June the road is covered
[132] with snow, so that it is indeed fortunate that this time of the year was chosen for the pilgrimage.

484 At about mid-day, after winding along the tree-covered track near to the milky waters of the Dudh Ganga river, we reached Chandanwari. Here on the edge of the forest and overshadowed by protecting cliffs and crags, many had encamped for the night; the whole place was one mass of tents, smoke was rising from among them, and hundreds of people where moving about. We stopped a little further on for a light meal and to rest the horses. By that time we had already climbed well over two thousand feet, and the going had not been too bad. I had crossed my first snow bridge on the way, it arched across a steep, swift, hill torrent.

484 During the afternoon we climbed a further fifteen hundred
342 feet; here the meadows were already a mass of floral colour. Although it was not one of the resting places as laid down in the guide books, we camped here, as did many others. Not till then

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484 had I seen our equipement. The tent was unrolled, up in position
392 and furnished well within half an hour. A standard type as used by trekkers in the valley, it gave eight by six feet of floor space, its ceiling being suspended a foot beneath a fly tent which also provided a large verandah cover over the front entrance, a half-circle bathroom behind it, and with eaves extending more than two feet on both sides. This, together with the canvas floor covering and the three poles, had been the load for one pack horse. Another carried our shikara beds, bed rolls, two canvas chairs and a table, an oil can, hurricane lamps and wash basin. Yet another had been loaded with food for the journey together with the few cooking pots and other implements needed by the cook-bearer who provided us with reasonably good meals the whole way.

785 At the halt I was able to see my fellow travellers. I do not think that there were many who were mere tourists like myself. They came from all parts of India and a great percentage were long past the half way in their lives; perhaps many had reached the age when man begins to think of the hereafter, or fears that unless he undertakes the pilgrimage that year the next will be too late. A few had tents like ours, but there were very few; most had improvised them from pieces of cane and rags. There was one though which might have been made to cover the throne of a prince; it was about four feet square and at least nine feet high with a canopy which spread out to the ground like a full skirt made of striped material; the top was pointed. I looked for a small pennant, for it reminded one of the pictures of the Crusaders' tents, but there was none. When I went over to it I found it housed a sadhu who was then sitting cross-legged on a leopard skin spread on the ground, and looking into the distance; in his lap rested a sacred book, he wore only a loin cloth, his hair was matted and had turned from black to ginger colour from the smoke of the burning incense bowls—some say that this is also brought about by it being washed in cows' urine—and he took no notice of my approach. They told me that this ascetic—a handsome young man of fine physique and intelligent countenance—had not spoken for the past seven moons, during which time he had fasted of food and water during the hours of daylight, this being a self-imposed undertaking in order to

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obtain purification of both mind and body. These he would continue until he set eyes on the sacred emblems placed high in that mountain of the Himalayas; only then would his tongue be loosened, only then would he break his fast to eat and drink whilst the sun was in the heavens. 779

Behind him was another tent much like ours but a little larger; they told me that it was that of a Government Minister from India and that the sadhu was his own private priest whom he consulted on all occasions when he was confounded by some issue. In a little while the mist turned to a cold rain which increased to a downpour as I got back to our tent; by then many of the pilgrims must have been drenched. Near us were some saffron-robed priests from Madras; their clothes were clinging to their lean forms, yet although they had umbrellas these were required to protect the fire on which their meal was then being cooked, not their own forms, but those of pilgrims nearby who were only too happy to share their meagre meal with the priests who had given them the opportunity and privilege to perform a good deed before they slept that night. Later on I watched some Kashmiri coolies—Muslims of course—teaching these Hindu priests how to make grass sandals, for those they wore consisted of a flat piece of wood the shape of the foot, with a peg standing up from it, this fitting between the big and first toes. No one seemed to have warned these holy men of the rigours of the journey—maybe it is considered right that they should not further protect themselves from the cold though—I do not know. I found that our tent covered all of our men, the cook-bearer installing himself in the bathroom for the night and the others sleeping under the fly tent flap; from the mumbling that went on and the stench of wet clothes, I suspect that many others also joined them once they imagined we were asleep.

The following morning was fine with the bright sun shining through the clear air and the sky a deep blue. Already most of the tents had been, or were being folded up and a string of pilgrims were moving on upwards a further seven miles. The road is not easy, the way is slippery and the pines and firs become less and less, but the glorious view of the snow peaks is ahead. The climb is about fifteen hundred feet, with the river in a 133 491

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491 chasm way down a thousand feet below. There were grassy
133 slopes, soggy on both sides and snow bridges across the river; as we approached these I realised how risky these can be and that later in the season, say in September, they would fall through, yet when you are passing over them the ground is so much the same as that round about, that you are unaware of their existence. Here again there was a large camp; some pilgrims seemed to have only just arrived and were already settling down near to the copses of birch and under the firs, gathering fuel and fetching water. Here we left the route and climbed up to see the Sona Sar lake, a pretty sheet of water overhung by glaciers, then going back to the valley and on up a steep and rocky ascent for nearly a thousand feet to grassy spurs and Shisha Nag lake, a great expanse of water which is five miles long and two miles wide at a height of twelve thousand feet and covered with ice until June. When we gazed upon it its colour was an emerald green, shot with the reflected blue of the sky and white of the surrounding mountain tops. There still remained small floating islands of snow-covered ice, which appeared like swans proudly swimming in this magnificent scene of grandeur, the mountains always topped with snow, with cascades rushing down and making it like trains of the finest white muslin being wafted in the breeze. Here we camped the night; again it was cold, but no rain came and we had a fire made from the wood gathered there—juniper which gave off a strange odour in the smoke. An Indian doctor who had pitched his tent near ours was telling us of its valuable medicinal qualities, first the many uses of the berries and then of the smoke, which choked us as it came our way, which he declared would relieve, if not cure asthma, but for this the wood must be cut with the sap up.

657 On the other side of the track were a number of tents outside
757 which was a board "Medical Camp". The State here provides free medical attention to the pilgrims, for at this height those who are frail begin to feel the severity of the journey. On our way we had passed a number of dandi chairs in which old people were being carried up by coolies; when near to the present camp we had come on a palanquin—an enclosed bed slung on two poles and carried on the shoulders of four carriers.

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I watched it being taken over to the medical tent where one of the white-coated doctors went to it; when the curtains were drawn I saw inside a withered old woman; she appeared to have no flesh, just skin on bones; she had a screech-owl voice and appeared far from sick in spite of her emaciated condition, for she sat up excitedly and almost spat her words at the doctor as she fiddled with claw-like hand beneath a cushion to produce a phial from which she demanded that he gave her an injection. He tested her with his stethoscope, then took her pulse and finally examined the phial. After this he shook his head, refusing to do as she demanded of him. At this she spat more words at him and called forward one of the men who was with her; he at once gave her an injection, using a syringe which he took from a begrimed box. 657 757

The State also posts coolies at certain places along the route; they are there to clear the road in the event of a landslide, or to shovel away the snow if an avalanche falls, an occurrence which is not unknown. At one place there is pointed out the "Lake of Death", so named after forty pilgrims had been plunged into it by a falling avalanche which was brought about by the vibration of their voices joyously raised in the singing of hymns as together they progressed on what was to be their last journey, the pilgrimage completed. 491 133 731

Our doctor tent neighbour went over to the medical camp to offer his help if it was required whilst he was at that halt, and referring to the old woman they declared that although she was then so alert, they would be surprised if she reached the end of the pilgrimage alive, she had been overdosed with drugs; in any case the phial she wished used had been unsealed. Inside the tents were patients who begged that the doctors might quickly make them able to continue the journey even though it meant that they died at the end; some had legs or arms broken from falls on the ice or snow; they were fortunate in not having broken their necks; many they attended admitted that they had been warned by their own doctors not to undertake the pilgrimage; others had brought on sickness by martyring themselves, making the journey on bare feet or by such-like physical suffering. They told us of one we should pass who had declared he would undertake the journey on hands and knees from the time that he first saw the cave. 657 757 788 795 [illegible] T-9 (no date) 1954 [illegible] Kashmir [illegible]

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[illegible] time that he first saw the cave. I made no comment (how could I?) for, but a few years ago, I had seen women with tears in their eyes and prayers on their lips, in a church in Rome climbing on hands and knees up the glass-covered steps on which were marked by crosses the supposed blood drops which had fallen from Jesus Christ's thorn-covered head as we went forward to the cross.

[illegible] At night there came the glow of hundreds of cooking fires, the flicker of torches, many of which moved from place to place with those who clasped them; over the air came the sound of horns and of conch-shells being blown by the sadhus, the mumbling and chanting of prayers and singing of hymns in chorus. The faces of the pilgrims revealed their devotion to the task which they had set themselves, none even smiled at the strange lack of clothing of the ash-covered sadhus who seemed immune to the bitter cold as they sat on the ground cross-legged before a brass pot from which rose the smoke and scent of smouldering sandalwood and incense; without expression on their features they first touched the white cold ashes and then the forehead of some pilgrim who had come up to bend before them that this form of blessing might be bestowed on them before they slept the night through.

[illegible] Next day there was the stony road over the fourteen thousand feet high pass; this crosses the watershed to the head waters of the Sind river; here there was still a little snow, but between the patches the luscious green grass showed itself. We had to ford the river four times on our way down to Panjitarni; it was there a swift deep torrent, so that we came on faltering parties wondering if they dare cross and at such places we were glad of our excellent horses, and did the double journey to carry over two elderly women with us, but on our return their far older menfolk refused to come with us, insisting that they must perform the whole pilgrimage on foot, so that having separated them we had no alternative but to leave them.

[illegible] What amazes the tourist who like myself makes the journey out of interest and not as a pilgrimage, is that more do not die on the way. To me it seemed as though many were determined that they should not return, for in so many of the ice cold streams and rivers one would see pilgrims of all ages taking the prescribed

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religious bathe, the sadhus never failed to do so, afterwards 788
smearing their scraggy shivering bodies with the mud from 783
the banks.

Ahead of us we could see the bare, cold Amarnath mountain 132
rising majestically; beneath us in the valley were hundreds of 788
pilgrims trailing persistently on and looking like ants moving over the base of a wedding cake; looking to the east the mountains have a most unusual formation like vertical ribbing and with the setting of the sun it appears even more curious. Ice formations, which one suddenly realises are really glaciers, reach down to the same level.

There follows what is described in guide books as "the most 491
difficult part of the journey, a steep ascent of a mile and a half". 133
From then on a new path has been discovered to the cave, this is easier and less dangerous than the original one, yet most who go insist that the first discovered is the true pilgrim's road, although on this one side is at times a vertical wall, the other a sheer drop to apparent nothingness. We did not take it; had we done so we should probably have come upon the pilgrim who had sworn to cover it on hands and knees, for there is little doubt that like others he would have gone that way imagining he would gain additional merit by his sufferings. Even then we had to pass through a close passage, wondering if the pack horses would get through, and being held back by the many pilgrims, some by now sick and ill with the cold, proceeding wearily on foot over the hard, frozen snow, perhaps wondering how much longer the road could possibly be, how much more they must suffer. But as we got nearer our destination the track straightened, on either side were the mountains known as Kailash and Bhairo which have the most unusual sharp-rough tops, looking like the low-tide picture of some long-past wrecked steamer, after the sea had eroded its iron sides, standing above the surface of the water; looking for a longer time at them one picks out the white waterfalls rushing down, then the picture changes to become an evil giant's dripping mouth. The rock sides are of that reddish-yellow tint beloved of the Hindus, worn by many of the sadhus, and considered to be almost a holy colour. It is fitting that it should surround this sacred place of their homage and worship.

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778 And finally comes the slope of about a hundred feet, up through the moving pilgrims to the cave of Amarnath.

The date of its discovery by man is unknown, it must have been thousands of years ago if the writer of the *Rajatarangini* is correct in his account of a pilgrimage in the time of King Nara who reigned over a thousand years B.C. One can only imagine that some lone shepherd with his lost flock must have wandered to that elevated spot—there are to this day many such wandering shepherds always in search of a good feeding ground—that he may have been drawn there by the bleat of a sheep or goat, or even have taken shelter from the rain. One can imagine that his mind was filled with thoughts of the gods who from his childhood he knew lived high in those mountains, and so came the sudden realization that the pure crystal white form he first saw within the cave was the sacred symbol of the great Himalayan god, Shiva.

778
776 The cave is like some enormous grotto broken out of gypsum rock—the material from which "plaster of Paris" is made. It is about one hundred and fifty feet wide and the vault the same height and depth; it leaks from above. At the far south-east end of the cave, the roof of which there slopes up, are large camphor-like ice formations rising from the floor, doubtless brought about by springs being frozen; the largest of these, that of a powerful spring, has formed a smooth-topped image—a lingam or phallus column which the Hindu pilgrims know to be the symbol of the god Shiva; nearby is another shape formed by a weaker but fuller spring—a breast, the symbol of his consort the goddess Parvati; yet another, like to that of Shiva but smaller, the self-formed emblem of Ganesh, the son of Shiva. It may be that the cores of these are composed of gypsum, for they have [321] not changed in shape through the centuries. That these symbols of the deities live the pilgrims do not doubt, for they declare that the larger ones pulsate as they wax and wane with the moon and on the full-moon nights of the pilgrimage attain their largest size, slowly to reduce in the days that follow.

773 The story told is that in the great wide cave on that particular full-moon night in some primeval time, the god Shiva revealed to his divine consort, the goddess Parvati, the mysteries of creation. There was no serpent there to watch or hear as in the

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Garden of Eden, but overcome by curiosity two *rudraganas*— 773
faithful servants of the god—eavesdropped and listened to the
sacred discourse of the heavenly pair. That they should not
disclose to the world that which they had seen and heard, they
were transformed into green pigeons which are said still to
haunt the cave. I never saw those birds, although it seemed that
I was the only one among all those gathered there who failed
to do so.

My companion was to my surprise, deeply moved, more 782
especially so as we went forward to the entrance of the cave 788
where hundreds had gathered to take part in a service being
held before the ice-Shiva. All had removed their sandals and
shoes and after bowing low stood with hands together as in
prayer. Whilst this was going on other votaries of the god
pressed forward to lay their offerings before the image, bowing
low, now supremely happy that they had suffered so many
privations and sacrifices to reach it.

Within the bitter damp cold of the cave there was more than 788
one chalk-smeared sadhu with matted hair and beard, and red 782
markings on his forehead, who had seated himself, completely 785
naked, cross-legged on the rough natural shelves, there
to meditate or gaze in adoration at long last upon the god
symbol. So still were they that I would not know if they had
become frozen stiff. Like all the other pilgrims they had smeared
themselves with the chalky silt; none, not even my companion,
were concerned with what the others did however strange their
actions, or in what manner they performed their homage and
devotions; it was as though each was his own master-teacher,
having his own approach to ask for favours or give thanks to
the god Shiva through the material form which at long last
stood before him. To some I felt, this was the actual god.

I watched a white-haired husband and wife come forward 788
with slow steps, the man bent with age, with deep-set eyes and 782
snow-white beard, the woman with a kindly, soft face, with
pleading expressions as between them, each holding a hand,
they led forward a fine-looking youth, his eyes open but sightless
as he also faced the white symbol. The old people while still
looking ahead, said something to him, but as he motioned his
head, there was no doubt that they asked if he could see the god

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789 symbol, not that they had made the pilgrimage with him in the
782 hopes that there he might regain his sight. They remained for close on half an hour, then retraced their dragging steps, both the old people overcome with emotion and with cold. Outside the woman dropped to the ground, I did not know this until I also went out, then we had her carried over to where our men stood; neither she nor her husband knew that it was brandy that
775 she took from my flask and this probably saved her life. They were the grandparents of the boy; they said that they well knew that they were both working out some bad karma from a previous life, since each of their seven sons and one daughter had been taken from them when in their prime; then a year ago this one and only grandson had become blind and none of the
788 Ayurvedice doctors could help him. The pilgrimage had taken them over two weeks and had been a terrible strain on the old people. They had made it eight times before, after each blow, yet still had faith.

782 We watched the minister arrive with his sadhu, none made way for them, since in that place all are equal. The sadhu stripped himself of his loin cloth and going over to the fountain-like sacred Amar-Ganga, which rushes through a nearby rift in the mountain, first drank of the ice cold water, and then, as had the others, bathed himself with it, so it is said, ensuring immortality. From there he went towards the entrance of the cave, gathered from its floor some of the white chalk silt, and smeared his body with it, after which he went naked towards the phallus idol, presenting, as a result of the Yogi exercises for mind and body control, a magnificent specimen of manhood in its prime, one sincere in his belief in the Hindu way of life.

At last he had reached the goal of his self-imposed task. It was strange to see his patron following him through the mass; at first it seemed as though he had come to offer his sadhu to the ice-Shiva, but as they proceeded it appeared that the sadhu had come to present him to the symbol of the god; then when they reached it, the sadhu offered all he possessed, a handful of yellow flowers; the other gave a costly gift. Before it they were both equals; they would return to the world in a few days the one to work and play, the other to meditate and pray.

788 Other sadhus, but not of the same "order" were there; they

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had loosely covered their nakedness with birch bark before the 719
symbol of Siva. There was one of the patients we had seen before in the medical tent, he was almost carried as he struggled forward resting on an improvised crutch, his broken leg in plaster. After a while he was hysterically insisting that he knew that the break had mended whilst he had been in the cave and demanded that the plaster be removed. But most were so overcome or else so exhausted by their journey that they just stood barefooted and gazed ahead; they had achieved that which most good Hindu hoped for and in performing the pilgrimage over the rough stony way had suffered much physically in the belief that by so doing they would have wiped away some, if not all, of the bad they had done in this and previous lives.

Our tent had been pitched on a level patch of green just below 000
the open space some considerable distance back on the road up. Others were already there, among them the minister's, the sadhu's and two mountain climbers' tiny tents, one with a small red cross on its side; they belonged to a couple from an American Medical Mission, and the owners had already been called to someone's aid.

The occupants of the other tent returned. The expression on the sadhu's countenance had completely changed, he was smiling and appeared like a human being as he spoke softly to his patron. The smoke from our fire, which had not been easy to light, blew into the mouth of their tent; this was my introduction to the minister and then to the sadhu, who to my utter astonishment spoke fluent English with the usual Welsh singsong accent heard from most Anglo-Indians.

I learnt much about sadhus and their lives from him, but one story he then told us I shall always associate with that pilgrimage to the Amarnath cave.

It concerned a woman of easy virtue who some twenty years before had been shown the right way of life by a sadhu. She had left her loose profession and turned her hands to labour, at the same time making regular visits to the temple near her home. After a few months she knew that she was with child, but kept the secret to herself until she could hide it no longer. Then she went to the priest of the temple and told him what had happened. Seven days later—seven is a propitious figure in the

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Hindu life—he told her that in his meditations he had received a message from the gods in the high mountains to the north that she must make the Amarnath pilgrimage so that her son might be born close to the cave on the night of the full-moon day of the month of Sawan. She had travelled there to struggle forward with the temple priest and the thousands of pilgrims to the cave mouth, where on that night, as it had been predicted would happen, the boy was born, but the woman died. The boy was brought up in the village under the watchful eye of the temple priest and the many sadhus who came to see him on hearing the strange story. He had early expressed a desire to join that order of the sadhus, the members of which on certain occasions and in certain ceremonies discard all clothes, covering themselves with ashes—those who are known as "naked sadhus". He was under instruction at a school on the banks of the sacred river Ganges when our friend was there, and he declared that the youth's powers of concentration and meditation were higher than any; all believed that he would become a great sadhu.

Then there was a silence. It was obvious that someone had to ask a question before the story could continue, and I prompted with "And where is he—what is he now?"

After a while the answer came; "The dark forces attacked him and he was not prepared: the forces of good were unable to hold him. Now he wanders round in the guise of a sadhu, but he has left us; he is one of those who under the priestly cloak misuses his mediumistic powers and has become a teller of fortunes in return for money; he robs even the poorest by making them give of what little they have; he accepts from a woman that sacred thing which belongs only to her husband."

I was glad to hear him admit that they know that among those who wear the saffron robes there are some who are humbugs and use it as a means of extracting from the poor, superstitious illiterates who live in that part of the world.

That night of the full-moon the sadhu's high, cone-shaped tent was empty. I knew that he would be within the temple cave, and since his story was so near the surface that it had been almost the first words he had spoken for seven moons, afterward immediately departing there, I have little doubt that he was praying to evoke the help of Shiva, the god of beneficence, Ib Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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to help him in the effort he would make to bring back the one 000 who had wandered. Now I cease to question whether it was for that purpose alone that he had undertaken the pilgrimage.

To those pilgrims the formations in the cave were sacred symbols of their gods; to me they were just natural phenomena; Vigne, Knowles and also Neve wrote of them as "repulsive". I wonder, are they though, those images of part of the body of man and of woman, beings "created by God in HIS own image"?

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CHAPTER TWELVE

The Trek through Ladakh to Leh

101 THE State of Jammu and Kashmir is not entirely confined to
131 the valley though. Through the passes to north, east and west are other provinces which all come within its boundaries, although their peoples differ in appearance, language and religion.

[175] I suppose the most interesting of these is the province of Ladakh which some people refer to as "Little Tibet", for the people are in all respects more like those of Tibet than of the valley. The history of the country was close to that of Tibet for many hundreds of years extending back to at least the tenth century, the religious bond with Central Tibet being made the closer about the fourteenth century. One reads of their "King Deleg invoking the help of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the fall of the western Lama Kingdom", then of the Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu sending a Dogra leader, Zorawar, to subdue Ladakh and Baltistan, of his being enticed to further expeditions in his search after the hidden gold of Lhasa, going high into the snowy mountains, there to perish with his whole army. Finally of Ladakh being made over to Gulab Singh by the treaty which also gave him Kashmir.

131 In these days it takes about an hour to fly from Srinagar to
133 Leh the capital of Ladakh; it takes days—weeks sometimes—on foot by the old caravan routes through the passes which are closed for half the year, and from the numbers of books written upon the journey about the turn of the century, it would appear to have been a favourite one with those who were seeking out the unusual yet interesting places and people. Ladakh, a province of over thirty thousand square miles, is one of the highest habitations in the world; there are very few parts which are

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under eight thousand feet high, while most of the people live at /31
an elevation of between twelve thousand and fifteen thousand /33
feet, no wonder that few venture from their country, and when they do, have soon to return or die in the denser air of the lower countries. During the days of the summer months it is /32
exhaustingly hot, in winter, freezing cold; the summer nights can also be bitter.

Routes are divided up into so many "marches"; in the old 487
days a march was considered the distance which could be reasonably covered in a day, providing at the end a good camping ground for the night, and usually places where fresh coolies could be employed.

The route from Srinagar to Leh which goes by way of Sonamarg, Dras and Kargil is broken up into sixteen marches, the first portion to Sonamarg being divided up into four, whereas in these days it can easily be done in a day, and providing the weather is good, this also applies to some extent to a few of the other marches laid down for other parts of the journey which is a distance over all of two hundred and forty-two miles.
Since it is one of the main trade routes into Kashmir it is not [485]
astonishing that the road, when passable, is good; by that I mean good the whole of the way for horses and pack mules, and with a surprising number of quite reasonable rest houses on the way.

The first pass to be traversed after leaving Sonamarg is 487
eleven thousand, three hundred feet high and between Beltal /33
and Matayan. It is usually open for horses from June to December, though we soon discovered that we had been well advised to employ Dras ponymen for that part of the journey; they know the route and the short cuts as well as the diversions to save hard climbing, in addition to being able to forecast accurately the weather in the mountains.

This pass is considered to be very dangerous with sudden storms and avalanches descending upon in it the early part of the year, so that the advice always given is that there must be at least two fine crisp days after such a happening before one attempts a crossing. On the occasion when we went over, our men had refused to move for two days and then insisted on starting from Baltal, the last stage, in the early hours of the

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497 morning so that we reached the summit with the dawn. There
133 the wind was bitterly cold; we followed the lower track, for the road along the face of the cliff was impossible.

The Tibetan name for the pass is Zoji La; this was the first time that we discovered that most of the places from there on had two names, a Kashmiri one and a Tibetan one. Unfortunately the map seemed to have mixed them up, probably using the best known, but we did not always strike men of the country who recognised them.

[495] Once over the pass the country changes completely; there is already a Tibetan atmosphere in the air. Going down the other side there are numerous little dak huts built by the roadside for the use of those who chance the journey too late and get caught by the weather.

361/
136 We came upon what we a first imagined would be the start of a village, but found it to consist of a house or two, a telegraph post and a rest house. At many places tracks led off, some to lone, distant "farms", some to parts which were known to be good for shikar, for game is plentiful for the sportsman in parts of Ladakh. It is the home of the ibex and the markhor; both are of the wild goat family; there are wild sheep and kiang—sandy red, wild asses with dark manes and standing about twelve hands high—which are impossible to break; then there are red bear, snow leopard and in parts wolves are to be found; antelope and gazelle are common as are the reddish-brown marmot.

491 Here and there places had been marked on the Srinagar-printed map as the spot where a bridge would be found over the river, but there was no sign of it, probably the floods of the last season had carried it away, and we had to ford the waters; then on closer examination of the map we noticed a mark at the spot we had selected and decided that the printer had forgotten to make up his letterpress to include it in the key, or perhaps we were credited with enough common sense to know.

495 The first night we reached a rest house, and were there only just in time, for a quarter of an hour later a large party of men from Leh arrived; a few remained to sleep under the verandahs
515 outside—the stench of bodies was overpowering. I have been assured that the men of Ladakh are bathed three times only in their lives, when they are born, when they marry and when they

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die, and I have no reason to disbelieve this. One of the difficulties 515
is that there is practically no rainfall in this land either in
summer or winter. Water comes from the snows, these feed the 312
rivers, but much of the snow simply evaporates at this height;
the mountains are arid; among the rocks bushes occasionally
grow which carry few leaves on their green twigs, but sufficient
to feed the wild goats. The only sign of vegetation is either 133
along the river banks or in the nullahs and protected valleys
through which the snow waters flow for a while and which do
not take the glare of the sun which pours with great power
through the clear air. From above it appears as if a giant flame-thrower
has scorched the earth, which in different parts takes on
all the colours of a burned brick, and in its destruction has
missed those valleys tucked away. All around us were giant
chocolate-coloured rock cliffs which hold the snow deep during
the winter months, and permit the sun to shine for but a few
hours on the small village.

Dras—known by the Tibetans as Hembas—seems to be not 361
one but a number of villages spread over a quite fertile undulating
valley which is enclosed within a ring of hills but at a
height of ten thousand feet and so placed that the bitter winter
winds sweep down on it. When we were there the clumps of
willows were green with young leaves and they told us that by
by the time we returned the skylarks would have come from
Kashmir.

Oddly enough there are a few European-style houses standing in their own gardens, and a rest house of similar design, built with a high pitched roof and tall chimneys, but looking strange, for it was without the verandahs which one has become so used to in India and Kashmir. The sand and dust gets in through all the cracks, in winter it is carried there by the icy blast, yet it must be a comfortable haven to those who are stranded there.

The valley narrows as one goes on past small fields which 133
would appear to have been scratched out from the rock-covered 241
surface of the ground; I can well remember being shown by a
proud "farmer"—the father of one of the horsemen who came
the whole way with us—a large patch scattered with stones as big
as my fist, in which surely not more than a thousand green spears
of barley had just come through. Anywhere else the sowing

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133 would have been considered a complete failure, but he assured
241 me that all were agreed that he was in for a record crop.

Generally the way is bare and barren, yet with stores in the
491 pony packs and the knowledge that one does not have to live
there, it is grand, at times beautiful, in a rugged way; the road
• leads along the face of a precipice at one time, then changes to
sandy banks, next across the only suspension bridge I felt safe
in passing over, then ascending—we had until that time come
slowly down—and on turning a spur of the mountain, we
entered Ladakh, Kargil being the first habitation within its
borders.

361 Kargil is quite an extensive place, with villages scattered on either side of the Suru river, and many miles of ground which in the spring is under water from the melting snows, bringing down earth from the mountains, this being made into fields during the summer and autumn.

342 The walls of the low-built houses are made of mud and stones
mixed together, the finish is very crude; they look more like
cow-sheds than houses. It seemed to be a land of women; they
462 were everywhere, round the houses, in the fields, coming down
the hillsides with great bundles of sticks on their heads. It
seems that the men leave their womenfolk there whilst they go
either up to Leh or down to Srinagar with goods, or else hire
themselves out as labourers. The Kargil man is also considered
quite a good shikari and is engaged as such by shooting parties.

361 Kargil is the capital of Purik, a province in which most of the
[779] inhabitants are Ladakhis who have become Muslims. Beyond
this town the people are Buddhists; their dress, customs and
ways are so different from those seen before that there awakens
a new interest in the journey.

After first passing over the plateau, we found ourselves entering a long ravine which gradually contracts until one wonders if there is any exit from it, the scenery is even more grand with fantastically shaped crags cut out of the brilliant and gloriously coloured sandstone. There are a few tiny hamlets which cluster round the rare patches of greenery which were like giant raindrops that had fallen on an unsympathetic, barren land of hard rocks and sleeping sands moved there by the winds at their will.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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Then, when a mile or two from Maulbeck, we struck the first 361 of the hundreds of monasteries, chortens and prayer walls. Chortens are white-washed pagoda erections, something like giant chess-men varying in height from about a yard to forty or even fifty feet. They are the graves of lamas, buried within and [764] not under them, their ashes being mixed with clay, baked into large biscuits and stamped with the image of Buddha. Prayer 778 walls are seven feet high—probably so that none can look down upon them—and about the same width, the tops are apexed and they extend sometimes for hundreds of yards. The stones with 788 which they have been made have been elaborately carved and inscribed with the Tibetan prayer "Om mani padme hom", which in its translation, "God the flower of the lotus", conveys little to the traveller, or for that matter even to the average monk, although it is repeated by him countless times every day, and not only by him, but also by all men and women of the land as they go about their work and as they journey along the road. They are the first six syllables the child is taught to utter, they are the last words gasped by the dying, and during a lifetime followers of the Lama Church will have uttered them millions of times and sent them to heaven on prayer wheels billions of times; they are to be found written everywhere. Surely this phrase (or prayer), one which I saw one writer of well back in the past century liken to "Our father which art in Heaven", must be the one written and spoken more than any on this earth, for its origin goes right back and is lost in the dim past. These great walls are built by lamas or monks who spend their lives moving from one place to another doing only that work, thus gaining merit for themselves; each stone so placed is considered a good deed well done. All who pass these walls must go on the left-hand side for by so doing they also gain merit.

Perched high on a spire-like rock which rises above the 361 village of Maulbeck which clusters around its feet, is a white 778 Lamasery or Buddhist monastery, close to which is an enormous figure of Buddha carved in the rock face. Partly hiding this image when one is standing on the roadway, is a rather grand building which is well kept: it seemed odd to me that even the most ignorant of men could have built a house in such a

361/ 778 position. Then I heard that many years ago when the country was invaded by the Muslims, the whole of this carved cliff face was encased by the Tibetans behind buildings which were hastily made to hide the sacred Buddha, since the Mohammedans looked upon such carvings as idols and would have defaced it. Now the Buddha stands in a perfect state of preservation wearing bracelets, a double necklace, earrings and a headpiece, and with four arms, two of which are held up, the others hanging by his side have a serpent entwined around them. It is really a fine piece of work with details such as even the stomach muscles carved.

There was then no doubt as to our having entered the land in which all were his followers; every village has its monastery; bits of rags fluttered from poles on the roofs of houses—prayer flags; chortens and manis are to be found everywhere, just as are the prayer wheels, some set upright so that those who pass can revolve them by hand, others placed near to a stream for the water to turn them, and on each revolution a prayer is automatically sent to heaven. The people carry these prayer wheels on a stick in their hands; usually they are made of copper, the wealthier among them have them studded with coral, turquoise and decorated, but they all contain prayers which have been written down from one of the holy books. If the prayer is written one hundred times, then with one turn of the wheel a hundred prayers are sent up to heaven.

135 439 The day following we had another pass to cross over. This, the Namikha La, is close on thirteen thousand feet high, but was far easier going than the first. What amazed us was that the white which we had imagined to be snow on its summit, we found to be salt. Salt is one of Ladakh's principal exports; this is transported in small sacks strapped like saddle-bags on the backs of goats, herds of them being used for this purpose and occasionally met with on the road.

361 Going down to the string of villages we saw the old castle on the top of the hill; now a ruin, it was once the scene of bitter fighting in the sixteen hundreds. The village is at the foot of the hill, but the extraordinary thing is that on the steep hill sides, which would seem impossible to climb, there are many dwellings which appear to be stuck on; the rooms run into the hill

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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itself; the castle fort surmounting them must have been almost 361
impossible to get at other than by alpine ropes.

The day following, we had our highest pass to cross and the [133]
easiest of them all. This was Fotu La at a height of thirteen [136]
thousand, four hundred feet. I had gone on, for I had seen ibex ahead—these are goat-like animals with coats varying in colour from cream to chocolate. On the summit I waited for the rest of the party while I admired the magnificent view, and watched them climbing up, so very slowly. Not until then did I appreciate the height we had reached and how it affected one by slackening movements.

From there it was a downhill road two thousand feet to Lamayaru along a watercourse tight in between gloriously coloured cliffs of most unusual shape; later we came on a valley with a stony path lined by prayer walls and dozens of chortens, the village being at the far end with a most interesting monastery built on the low hills above it.

The road on is along the bed of a narrow ravine, so narrow, 491
with overhanging cliffs in places and the swift stream close on 172
the other side, that one is forced to cross and recross almost the whole way. At the far end there is a bridge guarded by an old Dorga fort. Lamayaru has towering above it the ancient castle of Bragnag, built by King Naglug and dating back to A.D. 1150.

The great Buddhist monastery here is an astonishing place. It 346
seems to consist of an enormous conglomeration of buildings, some of which might be carved out of the hill. There are narrow passages, steep staircases and unprotected ramparts; in parts there are tiny cells, in others large chapels with high-up windows and low benches; little recesses are cut in the walls, presumably
for books. In one of these chapels there is a great image of 778
Chubeezig which must be ten or twelve feet high; its background is a large circular plaque almost as high. The image has eleven heads, one on each side of that which is facing, and the others piled on top of them: it has a thousand hands spread out tier upon tier around the plaque, one of the larger pairs being held in prayer, another pair holding a rosary in one hand and a jewel in the other.

And from the roof of practically every house which sits at the 788
foot of the hill, rag prayer flags fly, sending prayers to heaven,

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788 the lamas and those going to the chapels sending still more as they climb the steps and give a twist to the dozens of prayer wheels on either side.

487 Then for some miles the road is trying, at times through a narrowing gorge, up and down the rock sides. Few others than those who knew the road well would have dared to have ridden, for there is nothing to save one from slipping over the side, and in places the track had almost broken away to leave nothing. I think the most terrifying experience is when a small portion of the track gives way under one's feet: yet the horses know the road; at times, as you walk ahead, there is a pull at the rein, and turning you see your horse testing with his forefoot the ground immediately ahead of him.

361 Then the road changes to open country. It is hard going, being shadeless, so that during the middle of the day the journey was difficult with the heat seeming to come up from the ground, forcing us to halt during these hours at a wayside rest house, to continue later, passing but one patch of vegetation in about fifteen miles of monotonous track to Saspul where there is a most fascinating Alchi monastery containing many traces of Kashmir workmanship. There is also the cave monastery of Nyiziapur, now a ruin.

The next day we covered the eleven mile march from Saspul to Nimu, starting rather late since we had that morning visited the monastery. At the beginning the journey was interesting, the more so after the bare country we had gone over for the past few days. We left the river Indus and crossed a plateau, then down into the most picturesque village of Bazgu. The high cliffs are peppered with old ruins, the village itself built on a steep hill, the rocks fantastic in their shape and brilliant in colour, with the whole dominated by a large Lamasery and a ruined castle which history says "were long besieged by Mongols in the time of Gyalpo Delegs who ruled between 1640 and 1680 A.D." The rest of the day was spent over arid sandy wastes, a distance of some fous miles to reach the comfort of a rest house with a garden.

The last march of all is nearly eighteen miles, first ascending the plateau, then as the valley opens out, a gradual descent through a stony desert, at odd places relieved by small patches of

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green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind, just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying back to from whence they came. 361 [346]

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south, and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land "with whom they have made a temporary marriage". 361 [487] 439 563 [797]

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very 142 [522] 291

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142 few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact,
291 but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick
long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied
round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in
felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear
291 flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The
women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-
skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out.
The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress
made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with
large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with
trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all
the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily
coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

142 The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight
145 on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high
cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge
if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many
mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long
past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once
302 the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems
that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry,
which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash
it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

563 The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis
233 proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage
between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their
flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where
they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they
with their wool who supply the principal commercial export
563 product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in
241 agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of
land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a
simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern
[231] inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the
land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which
is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered
241 either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat,
buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

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a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of 241
the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries.

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than 231
the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is 492
a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by.

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of 236
fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that 439
from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony.

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the 262
poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted.
Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; 272
strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness.

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. 771
They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and 779
referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent
Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on
their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population
181 are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
533 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
535 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an opportunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the
526 main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides, behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean
342 and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
132 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

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summer nights will have a layer of ice on its surface the next 342
morning. Yet the winter's day can be considerably warmer 132
outside than in. At such times of the year there is often a
difference of as much as fifty degrees between the sunny 132
courtyard of a Lamasery and the inside of one of its thick-walled cells. Dr. Arthur Neve speaking of this difference declared it to be as much as ninety degrees at times: having always found his statements to be accurate, I have no reason to question them, for I have little doubt that he went round with a thermometer, which I did not carry.

With practically no rainfall there is very little wood to be 354
had even for cooking, and none for firing, so that the nights are dark except for the moon. One can imagine the chances of a crate of window glass arriving intact under such transport conditions as I have described.

The day following my arrival in Leh I was most fortunate in 793
meeting in the main bazaar a Buddhist priest I had before known in Ceylon, he being one of the brothers belonging to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. He was a learned old man who, I then remembered, had once told me that his grandfather had come from "Little Tibet". Now old, he had had the good fortune to be brought to Leh by an equally aged Buddhist merchant of Kandy who, feeling that his end was near, wished, for some inexplicable reason to go to Leh, there to die. The priest who was his great friend, had come with him; the old man had died during the winter months; now the priest was to return alone.

He had been easy to pick out from the others, for as with the 793
Buddhists of Ceylon, he had no head dress and wore saffron- 292
coloured robes. The lamas or monks of Ladakh wear a cloak
and shawl of dirty wine colour; they belong to what is known as
the red sect; their shaven heads are covered with red, longish
shaped hats with ear flaps. Some of them are married. Occasion- [795]
ally one sees a member of the yellow sect; they mostly come
from Tibet, are of a much stricter order than the red and more
ascetic and learned. They do not marry.

From him, together with one of the head monks of the great 793
monastery, I learnt of the customs of the land; why it is that 361
every one in five or six men one sees about is a monk, and the

793 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhab-
361 ited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]
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misconduct, no easy task in a country where the moral code 586
is not too high and where husbands are prepared to share their wife.

The children of a family have one "big father" and several 595
"little fathers". When the husband who actually married the woman dies, she need not remain with the brothers or junior husbands. If she wishes to leave them, she just ties a thread to the finger of her dead husband, breaks it, and is at once free of them all. It is a land where women enjoy unfettered power and liberty.

The simpleness of these people was early on demonstrated to me. We had considered ourselves fortunate in securing the services of a shikari from Leh who had taken a party through from that city the previous season to Baltistan to shoot markhor, afterwards going down with them to Srinagar. He had been away from his home for nearly a year, but showed no great delight on returning there, even though he met his brother who had also just returned from Tibet, he being a guide who each season took parties through from Leh to Lhasa, a three months' journey. Both men must have been in their late thirties, their wife was a comely soul of about the same age; she carried a baby which was not yet able to walk, and when next day I visited the house, which both brothers insisted that I must see, it was obvious, even although she was wearing the full dress of her countrywomen, that there was another child on the way.

After a while a boy, who might have been fifteen years old, came in and, since he acted as though he was a member of the household, I naturally took him to be a son, but not a bit of it, he was the third husband. Then I started working things out; both the elder brothers had been away from their home for so long that the child that was coming could only be that of the younger boy brother, and harking back again, I remembered that they had told me that the season before both had been away, so that the baby the wife carried in her arms must also have been his.
It seemed that she had been married to the brothers for over 842
twelve years and had had no children—probably both men 595
were diseased—now when the boy brother took his place in the line, the family had started to increase. But the suggestion that they would at least know who was the father, was immediately

842 595 blanketed, with "You do not understand. All three brothers planted the seed, the younger one only kept it watered!" And so no boy will really believe that he knows his own father, unless [602] of course the wife has but one husband. If he considers the question at all, it seems that he thinks of his mother's first husband as his father; anyway it is his name that he always gives on permits and application forms.

595 As one would expect of an heiress and her husbands, it is she who decides which of her husbands shall accommodate her, when and for how long. But this is not always the case, for when I was there the men were laughing over a very wealthy middle-aged heiress whose youngest husband, a particularly handsome magpa, having proved to her his worth as a lover, had to the astonishment of everyone become so powerful that it was he, and not she, who laid down the rules for the house, it was he who granted to his "brothers" their wife's favours, it was he who reserved the right to butt in whenever he wished. And all this came about through the old story of feminine jealousy, for the wife had caught a pretty young heiress eyeing her youthful new husband on more than one occasion, and this just after she had herself realized his qualities.

In the case of a family in which the wife is not an heiress, it is the elder brother who arranges these matters. Even then, with an extremely pretty woman there are times when the adopted brother, with whom she is really in love, manages to gain power by threatening divorce. Then, if the head of the family is weak, it is this "brother" who takes over the marital arrangements, but not the family estates or responsibilities.

It seemed from the candid remarks of my shikari guide, that with himself and his next brother having been away from their wife for so long, the boy brother would be crowded out and like so many husbands of his age, have to snatch the wife's favours when she could spare the time during the day.

The houses of the middle and higher class have one room set aside for the wife, but in the houses of the poorer people all sleep in one room. The odd thing is that although there must be arguments over the wife, seldom, if ever, does a violent quarrel take place. Probably this is because there are other outlets for passions in Ladakh.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]
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I can well imagine the shock any high-minded Englishman or 000
woman must suffer after they have been reminded, as I was by
the Head Lama, that it is known that when Julius Caesar first
went to England, he discovered that polyandry was a common
practice in the country.

If there are more than three brothers, unless the wife is prepared 595
to cope with extra husbands, then those remaining have 793
the choice of either becoming a lama and entering the monastery
or becoming a coolie; unless of course one is born fortunate
enough to catch the eye of an heiress.

These lamas who are both male and female, usually remain 793
single, though there is no bar against their marriage. The
women lamas or nuns, known as chamos, live in different
buildings, but they do not live entirely separate from each
other, the nuns undertaking many of the household duties in the
monasteries, such as baking bread, cooking and so on.

It is not unknown for a family to dedicate their first born, or 793
even the favourite son to this religious life. In that event he is 785
sent to a monastery school—which is residential—from the age
of eight years, passing through all the stages of pupil, probationer
and finally fully ordained monk. As such he has to
observe some two hundred and fifty-three vows, and monastic
life—at least of the yellow order—imposes a hard discipline
upon the monks, including celibacy and abstinence. His diet [262]
consists of barley, wheat or buckwheat and occasionally rice.
The only meat allowed to be eaten is either sheep, goat or yak,
and the chief beverages are soup, milk and tea.

In every village we had passed through we had seen belonging 793
to practically every house a little boy wearing a lama's hat or
a little girl wearing the cap of a chamo. They had been dedicated
as the one of the family to enter the monastery or nunnery
school as soon as they were old enough.

The monks, in addition to being divided into sects, are separated into two classes; one, those who would in any event have entered the monastery, devote their time to meditation, prayers and the spiritual side "their life being on a higher spiritual plane", and two, those who beg for alms, cultivate the land, look after the rents and so on. The doctors among them—those I met anyway,—had started in the first class and then

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]

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Hazarat Bal Mosque of the Prophets hair (p. 94)

A camel-shaped Moghul bridge in Srinagar (p. 92)

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[Facing p. 204]

793 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

[795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595
838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346
423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

793 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

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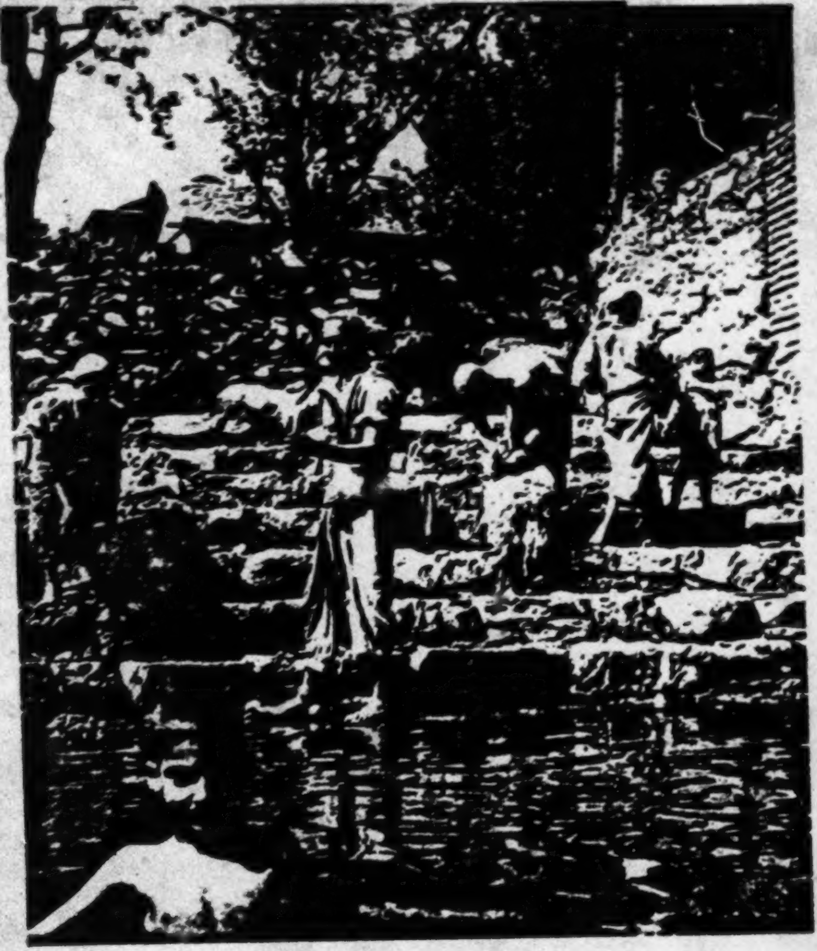

Washing sheep in the canal (p. 92)

[Facing p. 205]

793 who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

346 At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a
number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these,
thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the
[231] entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to
guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they
looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held
[778] them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building
[562] containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly
353 lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elabo-
346 rately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of
stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from which the Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

353 The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the
531 Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the
figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
" Kashmiri AV4
" W. Tibetans AJ4

000 lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon
WT friend.

795 It was he who reminded the Head Lama to repeat to me that
173 which he had told many visiting Europeans for scores of years past. It is the belief of the lamas, and accepted by a certain sect of the Christians, that Jesus the Christ during "the hidden years of his life" spent about seven of them in meditation and study within the walls of the monastery.

K I then remembered that on an occasion whilst sitting alone
795 on Char Chinar, an Indian youth had come softly ashore from a
173 shikara, and after we had talked for a while, I commented upon the quiet serenity which surrounded the island, at which he confidently assured me that this was because the Master Jesus had many times, when he was in Kashmir, preached from the silver isle to the many who had gathered round it in shikaras to listen to him.

There is a sect in Kashmir known as the Quadiani who believe that Christ lived there for some time; they showed me a grave at Khanayar in Srinagar where they insist that he was buried, saying that he was there known as Hazrat Yuz Asaf, but on further enquiring and searching records, I found that Yuz Asaf, the supposed descendant of Moses was ambassador from the King of Egypt to the court of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din. Strangely enough though, according to Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini*, during the reign of Jayendra who ruled between about 61 B.C. and A.D. 24, there was a minister by name Samdhimati-Aryararaja, described as "the greatest of sages", who lived a life of poverty, suffered imprisonment for many years, and then "met his death at the stake", afterwards "coming to life again and in answer to the prayers of the people, ruled over Kashmir for forty years". He seems to have just faded out of the picture, since there is no mention of his final going and there is no suggestion that he might have been a mythical and not an historical individual.

WT Some of the old books in the monastery library were in rolls
779 and written by hand, others, more recent, had been printed on
212 paper which is made there and called *par-shog*; the leaves, which are about four inches wide, are not uniform in length, some are a foot, others eight or ten inches long, they are folded and

numbered, being held between two flat slats of wood. None I 779
saw told of the history of the land—on this I could only accept 212
the word of the Head Lama—they consisted of prayers and
mystical formulae. To watch them being printed was interesting, 213
letters and words being cut on stereotyped wooden blocks
which were pressed on the ink pad and then on the page of the
book, just as cloth is hand-printed with floral decorations. It is
necessary for the printer to be a man of education, one who
knows what he is printing and has plenty of time and patience.
No wonder that new "books" are rarely published.

In the red monastery which is on the top of the hill behind 778
the palace, there is a great image of Matreiya which is twenty-five
feet high. It was erected by King Ide, who must have miscalculated
its height when building the chapel in which it was
housed, for the head projects above the ceiling and another
portion had to be built to take this.

With every possible occasion being made an excuse for festivities, 533
music is a necessary contribution, and this is provided 535
by Mon musicians. The Mons were the first to enter Ladakh in
about 200 B.C. The band consists of a round-topped drum,
cymbals, clarinets and trumpets which are anything up to
twelve feet long. The dancing seems to consist of continuous
twirls with the dancers going round in circles. The first time [585]
that I witnessed this was on the occasion of a wedding. The [777]
groom was then sitting on a swastika drawn for luck on the
ground and awaiting his bride. The bridal party, dressed in gay
gowns and high gilded hats, arrived, dancing as they came. After 535
the ceremony all the relatives danced, each separately, but the
whole dance consisting of whirling round and round, with the
dancers formed in a circle which opened and closed. The
women were each holding out one hand which they gracefully
opened and closed—the opening of a blossom; the men also
revolving, but at a slower pace, were performing the oddest
movements with their necks, which could only be described as
like a chicken pecking.

By hand and head movements the dancer tells a story, but the
same movements may be used to convey a different meaning in
other parts of the country or on various occasions. They are
a gesture language of hand, head and feet as I had known and

2z Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]

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535 seen in India, and all were spontaneous, it being only by chance that each dancer followed the other at that time, as I saw later on when the plentiful flow of *chang* was having its effect upon them.

796 We had made the journey over the passes earlier than was considered wise in the season simply to enable one of our party to film the Spring Festival which takes place in June in the Hermis Monastery, a great building which houses several hundreds of monks and is said to be fabulously wealthy, having escaped the invasion of the Dogras, and is believed to have hidden within its walls all the gold and valuables of other monasteries taken there before they were sacked. From Leh it is twenty-four miles—two marches.

The festival is famous and renowned throughout the Tibetan Buddhist world, and people come from hundreds of miles to witness it. The dance-play there performed by the lamas is so ancient that its origin is lost in the past. It is a mixture of a miracle play, pantomime and a fête parade, the whole scene brilliant and vivid with colour and movement, and blasting with sound, for the lama orchestra is composed of many drums, cymbals, clarinets, giant trumpets and triangles, which to my ear was pandemonium and seemed to make no attempt at keeping together, each of its members appearing bent on outshining the others.

796 The music is as fantastic as is everything in that land; it
533 breathes mystery. Nowhere else in the East, except in Tibet of course, is it to be heard. Yet I am assured that there is more science in it than the European ear is attuned to, though search as I did with the utmost desire to understand it, I was unable to discover its quality. There are strange discords, sudden changes, abrupt ceasings—at this latter the voices of the lamas which must have been there all the time in the background would continue in a lower key with melancholy chanting. My Ceylon friend assured me that the chants were older than those of any other religion, and that the quarter notes, with their very delicate distinctions which my ear could not catch, required hours of practice by the lamas of the choir. With the droning of the voices, the flatness and sameness of the music and the smell of incense—which certainly did to an extent smother the

3: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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unpleasant odour of those sitting around me—it was difficult 776
at times to keep my eyes open. 533

The costumes are as old as the play and made of beautiful [292]
brocades embroidered in gold and silver; some of the dancers wear great black hats, others giant masks of animals or the faces of the evil spirits of legendary characters, the same as are depicted on the walls of the monasteries and known to all the people
from their earliest childhood. The play demonstrates how Good 776
triumphs over Evil, but only after a two-day struggle, during 772
which the evil hideous spirits whirl and twist, wildly charging 533
and leaping in their frightening effort most wickedly to destroy Good. Then at long last comes the triumph of Good—Buddhism of course—over Evil, and the bad ones' terrified flight under the wrath of the flashing swords of Good.

During the two days both dancers and orchestra reach a terrific speed and state of excitement, carrying with them those who are watching, the latter it is hoped by the lamas, being duly impressed by the power of the Lord Buddha and his always ultimate magnificent victory over all that is evil, however powerful the challenge may first appear, and however successful in its opening phase.

Back in Leh, at night we watched the festival go on for days, for happiness was in the air; the winter with its cold and bitterness had gone, the land would again yield its fruits, the caravans would come from the "distant lands" of which the people of Ladakh had no knowledge other than that gleaned from those who came from those parts; and Good had once again, this time after a most terrific and thrilling struggle, conquered Evil.

Singing and dancing—and drinking—continued. The young men came out with hobby-horses and acted a polo game for our benefit, the girls were made to form a circle and sing to us, the bands blasted our ears with their "music", and the people were delighted that they had been able to make us as happy as they were themselves.

When all had gone and the lights had faded away, the thin 000
crescent of the moon and the twinkling stars seemed to become a brighter silver against the indigo-velvet sky which was only separated from us by the snow-capped mountains of purple brown; mountains which are said to contain untold wealth if

000 only those who dwell there would have them surveyed to disclose the gold and gems held tight within their stony grasp.

And when they do at last arouse themselves and waken from the sleep in which they are now content, then wealth will pour into that hard barren land of near poverty; but I wonder, could they be happier then?

2a Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [redacted]

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Baltistan and Gilgit

LADAKH however is but one of the provinces which fringe the north, south, east and west of the Kashmir valley like heavy crochet edging an oval table cloth. 101 131

On the northern border lies Baltistan, with Ladakh to its east and Turkistan to the north. The country extends for something like a hundred and fifty miles along either side of the river Indus, the same distance that Ladakh clings to its precious waters.

Set among the mountains—to the north shut off from all communications by the mighty Mustagh Range and to the south by the Himalayas—through which there are a few passes, it is almost as barren as Ladakh, with wild, cold, lofty heights and deep valleys mostly bare, all of which drain into the Indus. 133

Among those mountains is to be seen K. 2, now usually known as Mount Godwin Austin, being so named after the officer of the Survey Department who discovered it; its height —28,250 feet—is second only to Everest. Other high peaks are Gasharbrum, some 26,470 feet and Masharbrum, 25,600 feet. Some of the largest glaciers known to exist in the world are to be found here; Baltor is claimed as the largest outside the Arctic. Strange wonders these glaciers are; you might have been pushing up a valley, over their snow-crusted surface for hours before discovering that beneath the snow there is the ice surface of a glacier: the great rock walls on either side are smooth, rubbed so by the glacier when its height was greater, and on returning to that part where ice melts to water one finds heaps of smooth boulders which have been dragged down with the ice wall from the heights. At places these smooth rocks are as much as five miles distant before the glacier's end—proof that

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]

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133 the ice giant has shortened over the years; at the end of others none are to be found, for the glacier is moving further down before it melts; so from season to season, routes which have been mapped out a year before, change completely to confuse the traveller.

At places it is difficult to decide where the glacier really ends, for it becomes almost absorbed in the rocks—overwhelmed by them. Over all this, as arrested in its pace it permits of it, grass will even grow, alpine flowers blossom even as they move slowly down towards the snow streams in the green valley.

136 Not many of the valleys are green and verdant though—not green with a vegetation which can be useful to man. The country is a happy hunting ground for the sportsman with a gun, for here is to be found red bear, ibex, and sharpu; it is the home of the markhor, that magnificent member of the goat family which boasts a pair of horns which will favourably compare with any grown on an animal head. These horns are much valued by sportsmen, who grade them for perfection according to the number of twists, their matching and their length—the record pair being over sixty-five inches. Those who shoot those parts are able to tell from which part of Baltistan or the province adjoining, the beast has come. Then there are the snow leopards which are common in those parts, yet although their pug marks are frequently seen, because of their nocturnal habits, few are shot. The skin is a handsome piece, a pale grey background spotted with irregular splashes of a darker shade. Under the light of the moon the pale grey becomes a pure white.

487 133 The roads, which are those coming from Kashmir, Ladakh and Gilgit are difficult and at times dangerous even to experienced coolies and well-trained pack animals. Some of these mountain tracks being open but a few months of the year, the traveller is forced to change his route by the seasonal weather conditions, finding himself at times high in the mountains among the snows, at others on a dried-up river bed, and frequently walking along a narrow ledge which has been cut out from the mountain face, with overhanging rock at one side, a drop of hundreds, sometimes thousands of feet on the other, maybe into a foaming, rushing torrent which is bursting through the narrow gulley it has found or forced for itself.

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The road down the Indus valley from the direction of Leh 487
was described by a few Europeans who used it some forty to 133
fifty years ago when it seems to have been the fashion to travel the route for a break from the heat of the plains of India. The road is narrow, at times a mere bridle path, green trees, shrubs or grass being seldom seen; "the scale of mountain scenery is enormous" as one moves slowly down with rich-coloured cliffs towering above, the space between them at times so narrow that an arrow could shoot the distance. Below are the river's grey waters which are laden with the silt being carried down; when in placid pools it appears "like watered silk", so thick is the content. During the day the sun beats piteously on this Indus valley, the heat becoming almost unbearable the light dazzling—both being accentuated by refraction.

Small wonder that the people of this land have suffered little 241
from invasion in the past. Here and there, where a mountain 361
stream flows through most of the year, the people have made full use of it, diverting it into their small plots of land; small walls of smooth boulders prevent them being washed away. Here will be found small groups of stone, flat-roofed houses, sheltered by walnut or apricot trees, among the patches of barley, buckwheat and rough turnips which are raised in scanty crops, for these people have not yet learnt the value of exchanging their seed with those who live but a few miles away; it is saved over from one year to another and like a family which intermarries generation after generation, becomes poorer and weaker of head.

It is amazing to see how cleverly these industrious people will guide the waters from a mountain stream, sometimes for miles, round the slopes to that part which is theirs, cutting out rock in one place, building up ducts in another. Even though one may not be able to see the silver flash of the water, the little stream is easily picked out by the thin line of green vegetation along each side of the thread, probably sown by birds which come to drink there.

On the way through there are to be seen traces of the Budd- 172
hist religion having once been practised in the country, for the rocks have been scratched here and there with the outline shapes of chortens; at times one will come across the sacred prayer

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A39

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172 "Om mane padme hon". It must have been hard work for those who sought merit by so doing, for those who know of the values and quality of rocks declare that many of these weathered carvings are more than one thousand years old.

361
133 The capital of the country is Skardu which, at about six thousand feet, is at the junction of the two rivers, the Indus and the Shigar. Here it is estimated that the now increased Indus discharges about a quarter of a million gallons of water every second.

The valley of Skardu is west of this place where the rivers meet. The outstanding feature is a large ridge of rock which is crowned by the ruins of the old castle. Round this the Indus takes a great sweep, and here at the feet of the castle is the town—scattered groups of stone houses with flat roofs built of logs and covered with mud, set in groves of apricot trees. Also on a rocky hill there is to be found the Dogra fort, with thick walls built in a square, and round towers at each of its corners.

173 There is a story which will always be remembered by the Baltis attached to this castle and fort. Because of its remoteness and the difficult road into the country, it had not known invasion for many years. Even when in the eighth century the Chinese invaded Kashmir and forced the inhabitants to pay annual tribute, the men of Baltistan successfully defended their country. At that time they were Buddhists. Somewhere in the fifteenth century it came under the great wave of Mussulman propaganda which was put out in the time of Sikander the Iconoclast. Then at the close of the sixteenth century the Ladakhis tried to conquer Baltistan, which had thrown off all religious allegiance to them. The Balti forces under their Commander-in-Chief, Ali Mir, permitted their entry through the passes, lured them on, and then when snow had fallen and closed them in, attacked. The army of Ladakh had to surrender. With the main part of the Ladakhi army out of the way, the Baltis took up the offensive, they invaded their country; as Mohammedans now they went forward from one Buddhist monastery to another in Ladakh, destroying the buildings, burning the sacred records and books and looting them of their gold, silver and jewels.

From that time on there were no wars, just small raids by

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173

the men of each side until 1841, the year of the Dogra conquest. The great Commander-in-Chief Zorawar having completed his operations against Ladakh, turned to the impregnable Baltistan. The Baltis tore down their bridges, intending to repeat the tactics used in their victory over the Ladakhi warriors of two hundred years before; the Dogras found themselves on the wrong side of the river, on exposed ground, short of food and with the winter coming on. Five thousand of their troops under Mir Nidhan Singh were sent to find some means of getting over the river; the Baltis ambushed them and cut the army to pieces. Only four hundred escaped.

Winter then set in; any hopes of the river freezing over proved hopeless, its waters were far too swift, and the remainder of Zorawar's army seemed doomed. Then the Dards came and showed them how to construct a bridge. Great beams were thrust out into the river until they became encrusted with ice, over these others were placed, extending still further across the waters, and so bridges of ice-covered beams were built from one bank to the other.

On these the remainder of the army crossed and in a surprise attack on the Baltis forced them to surrender. The Castle of Skardu fell and was sacked, the treasures being carried back to Leh, most of them having previously come from Ladakh. The Chief of Skardu was taken away into captivity, but before that, to ensure that there would be no revolts in Baltistan and no further ones in Ladakh, Zorawar made the vanquished army, together with all the population, gather in a great field, there to form into a large ring. In the middle of this were placed two tents, one being that of Zorawar and the other that of King Tsepal, the Ladakhi chief whom Zorawar had forced to take part in the campaign. Then two Ladakhi Mussulmans, Rahim Khan and Hussein, who had helped the Ladakhis in their last rebellion, were brought into the centre of the ring and bound between the two tents. A large pot of butter was there boiling. The executioner went forward and cut off Rahim Khan's right hand and covered the stump with boiling butter, then he slashed off his ear, his nose, and finally dragged out his tongue, which was sliced off, after each cut slapping on ample quantities of the boiling fat to stop the bleeding. The wretched maimed victim

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173 was then cut down and cast into the middle of the horrified crowd. The executioner's attention was next turned on Hussein, but this wretched victim was more fortunate, having only his hand hacked off and his tongue removed so that he might survive as a living example of what would happen to those who dared raise a hand against the Dogras. Rahim Khan died two days later in most awful agony.

133 [132] The plain of Skardu is twenty miles long and five miles broad. The air is clear, the atmosphere dry, the sunlight fierce. A strange feeling comes over you there, walled in by steep mountains behind which are snow peaks, for these mountains are unlike most that you have passed on the way up, they are all of the same dull pink colour, yet they become beautiful with the glow of the sun; the valleys shade to mauve, and as the sun sets the pink takes on a deep red, the mauve changes to violet, being set off against the sharp white of the distant snow tops and the pure blue of the cloudless sky. As the now great Indus bursts forth from the valley, the gorge is narrow, the foaming roar of the waters terrific.

361 245 439 Shigar is the next most populous place. It is but one march from Skardu and lies up a side valley which is more fertile than most of the country thereabouts. Here are to be found walnut trees, vines, melons and of course apricots; in addition to this, caraway seeds are plentiful. The people dry the apricots and the walnuts in the sun; they form one of the principal exports from the province.

241 137 136 Above Shigar the valley becomes more lovely; with good irrigation, the land is fertile, there are orchards of pears, apples, apricots, terraced fields which yield good crops of hay, buckwheat, barley, beans and turnips. Almost the commonest of birds is the long-tailed, black-and-white magpie, whilst the hoopoo is found everywhere. The bushes are red with berries in the winter time, these being mostly wild rose; in the spring and summer, wild flowers are there in abundance.

361 526 In the southern valley of Shyok lies Khapallu, the capital of the Lower Shyok. It is really a collection of hamlets built on a long slope, shaped rather like an amphitheatre. Like all the towns of the north it has its inevitable polo ground which is as usual surrounded by a stone wall, and also its Raja's house.

The earth is good; the people have cultivated it in fan-shaped 134
terraces which rise one above the other from the water's edge 241
to a height of something like one thousand, five hundred feet; sufficient wheat is grown to feed its population, and there is one great grove of apricot trees, the fruit from this being dried for export.

At this part the river is wide and smooth, though quite fast 501
in its current; it is far too broad for a bridge, and here, as in many places among these mountain provinces, a novel type of water transport is to be found. This consists of a large raft constructed of a framework of light wood which rests on fifteen or twenty inflated goat or sheep skins. These are blown up through one leg which protrudes through the floor of the raft. The ferry boat is propelled from one bank to the other by means of long poles if the depth is not too great; in deep places paddles are used, but for the most part the river is made use of, the ferrymen being clever navigators with the currents, and one always expects to finish up at least half a mile down river in spite of the watermen having first pushed well up stream clinging to the slow waters close in to the bank.

There is a sizzling sound as the air escapes, occasionally one notices that bubbles surround the raft, but with so many skins, the chance factor of the raft sinking is much lessened. The ferrymen untie a string which opens up the leg of the skin they know to be the cause of the trouble and blow down it, just as they expect their passengers to do with those skins which happen to be nearest to them. In spite of this the raft has always become lower in the water by the time the voyage is completed, the small waves lapping over the side at times.

It is indeed a strange land for in one place glaciers are found, 133
in another, near to some white marble rocks which are just 778
above the point where the Bralda and Basha—the main tributaries of the Shigar River—join, there are hot springs which 788
record a temperature of 108°. This is a place to which the sick are brought; close by is a quaint Mohammedan shrine, those who attend it live well on the offerings of the pilgrims. Here and there pieces of rag flutter on sticks—usually found round Buddhist and Hindu temples.

In the features of the Baltis there is a Mongolian likeness to 000

144 In the features of the Baltis there is a Mongolian likeness to
the people of Ladakh, but physically they are larger; many of
them have signs of Aryan blood, and the Dard element is more
563 common than found in Ladakh. But there are two distinct
142 types of Baltis; the first are those of the upper classes, the
302 descendants of the many Rajas who once divided the land
among themselves; they are a fine bunch of men and women. Their features are almost Grecian with oval faces and straight noses, often the eye-brows are straight or beautifully curved, and they are fair of skin. Some have the hair directly above the forehead shaved off, otherwise their rather coarse, straight hair hangs in long locks. These people of the Raja class dress in white, the men and boys frequently decorating their hair or their caps with bright flowers.

The peasant types are distinctly Mongolian, being square, short of stature, though generally slightly broader and taller than the Ladakhi. Their faces are sallow, the hair worn long, either hanging in a straight fringe all round a coconut-shaped head, or as curled locks on either side of it. One is surprised to find among them some whose eyes are hazel-coloured, others definitely blue, and these people frequently have brown and not black hair as always found among the Mongolian races.

181 They are a happy people, why I cannot imagine. The creases of
their faces are all horizontal, their manners are pleasing, and
they are gentle and patient, qualities which have doubtless come
482 down from the time when they were Buddhists. As coolies they
are strong and willing, although rather independent, and even when carrying a load of sixty pounds, they seldom complain of the discomforts and trials of the trek—the master can go on, so can they.

291 These peasants wear very closely woven tunics, much like the Ladakhi's coat-gown, but falling to just below the knee, straight pyjamas, a low-crowned hat made either of the same material or of knitted wool, and boots of untanned hide.

The colour of their clothing is drab and earth colour, so that you are almost upon one of them sitting by the wayside before you realize that he is there. It is really the perfect camouflage; dirt.

276 They are inveterate smokers. If the going is bad or the day cold so that the usual happy smile leaves their faces, one has but

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to hand over a small amount of tobacco, and they are happy 276
again. They do not use a pipe; they make up a small mound of earth, drive a hole in the top with a finger, then bore a lateral tunnel with a piece of stick. First the tobacco, then the red hot charcoal goes in the upper hole, and taking turn and turn about they kneel down and draw at the other end of the "pipe".

Although a comparatively barren country, the people being 595
followers of the prophet Mohammed, polygamy—the reverse 167
to polyandry—is practised here, each man being permitted as many as four wives. The result is that no woman remains unmarried, and the population becomes greater than the land can maintain, with the result that they must either go out or starve. So that unlike the Ladakhis they leave their homeland to work in India; many will be found working as coolies in the hill stations or navvying in the Punjab. Then, after leaving wife and family at home perhaps for many years, they return with the savings they have managed to get together, this becoming a small fortune in their own country.

The lives of their women are very different to those of the 562
women of Ladakh. As soon as one enters a village, instead of being greeted by smiling women standing in their doorways, those Muslim women of Baltistan slip away inside the houses or round corners, so that they should not be seen.

The village, if not dominated by a Raja's house, has as its 346
principal building its mosque or Ziarut. This is usually built 361
after the style of the Shah-i-Hamadan Mosque in Srinagar, and seems to be the meeting place for the village.

One Balti who was quite a wealthy man, even by the 842
standards set in Kashmir, in explaining how he managed his business of exporting dried fruit told me he had one elder son with several young brothers in Srinagar, another elder son in Peshawar also with several brothers and yet another elder son together with several brothers in Leh. When I asked him how many sons he had he proudly exclaimed "seventeen". The doctor of a mission who was with me said, "You see he makes no mention of his daughters—though he might proudly tell you of his sons-in-law. He also has six daughters and there must have been some who died in infancy." I was quietly working out that this would mean a rough average of seven children

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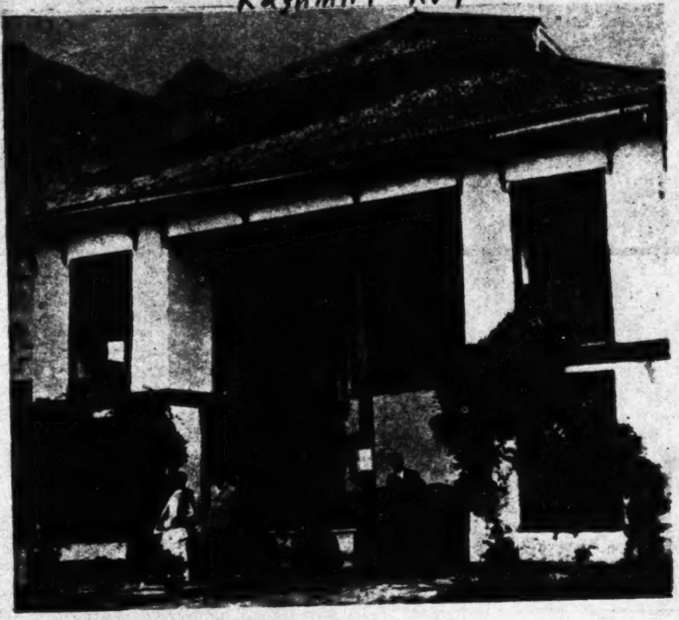

The upper pavilion containing the cold spring at Chasma Shahi (p. 99)

142
226
291

A fisherman baits his hundred hooks (p. 88)

[facing p. 220]

2s Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]

Balti AV2
Dard AV3

B 842 from each wife, when as though reading my thoughts he said "and all from two wives who still remain active healthy women."

B 167 511 From this it can be seen that unless the country can be made to grow more food, with these strong men and fruitful women populating it, assisted by the practice of polygamy, those who are born there must go elsewhere to survive. It is estimated that about a thousand men go "abroad" each year to work, but this is not enough, and the result is that whereas the coolies of Ladakh have clothes to wear and flesh covering their bodies, the peasants of Baltistan who do not dwell in those parts which produce food, are poor, thin and ill-clad, their rags of clothes hardly covering their shivering bodies in the cold winds. A coolie's most precious possession, one for which he will almost die, is his coarse piece of blanket, which is much like sacking. B 296 And it seems that the wives of these men have never learned how to sew, for the stitches used to mend a tear are as large as the average child of five would make.

D 101 131 Not many miles below Skardu the Indus again bursts through great mountain gorges, and if one were to follow it, eventually one would come to Gilgit which lies to the west of Baltistan and has the North-West Frontier of Pakistan on its western border. D 491 The road is rough and bad, it is only suitable for coolies; in summer the heat is intense over this bare almost treeless track. At times the river has to be crossed, but it is too swift for a raft, being compressed between great cliffs of rock. Here one comes across the now only occasionally seen rope bridge; these are peculiar to this part of Kashmir, they consist of three thick ropes, each made up of twisted birch or willow twigs, which have been cast across the water from one precipice to the other. Two of these are used as handrails and below them is one for the feet, viewed from the end they form a V shape. Each of the hand rails is separately joined to the thick foot rope by cross pieces, forming a kind of "cat's cradle". The ends are secured to trees or failing that to great rocks. The rope bridge is made to hang in a graceful loop which allows it to swing in the wind; it is safer that way. Some of these bridges which are considered to be more permanent, have the lower rope doubled and tied

[Facing p. 221]

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342
341

[illegible] 1586 AVI [illegible]

Kashmiri Av4

Women cutting rice in the fields (p. 102)

A farmhouse with floating garden on the lake edge (p. 91)

Dard AV3

D 491 together, these two are covered with twigs again; on these animals are made to cross, the small sure-footed mountain horse with load gingerly steps forward and slowly proceeds for there is no turning back. In one place at least there still remains a sort of pulley "bridge". This consists of a thick plaited leather rope—some six or eight strands strong. The traveller sits in a rope loop which is suspended from another ring which runs on this rope. He has a line attached to his precarious seat and with this is pulled across, rather after the fashion of a breeches-buoy.

In places the road is made by driving stakes of wood into the rock face, others are rested across these and covered with shale. It is surprising how loose the track will get, how many stakes will have rotted, how close to the cliff face a man will have to get because of the weakened portion, before it is repaired. I have been told by more than one that it was not thought necessary to mend a rope bridge or a made-up, shelf-like track until someone had fallen through or over it. This was explained to me in all seriousness just as I was about to cross one after commenting on the frayed handrail.

K 499 651 The most generally known Gilgit Road is that which goes from Srinagar to Gilgit, a distance of about two hundred and twenty-five miles—fifteen marches. Until close on the end of the last century, the mere mention of the Gilgit Road to a Kashmiri villager terrified not only him but his whole family, for at Gilgit a garrison was maintained by the Kashmir State; this had to be kept supplied, and forced labour—known as "beggar"—was "recruited" for the work. The so-called road was then but a track which could not be used for pack ponies, with the result that coolies had to carry the loads, and the Kashmir State sepoys press-ganged these men from outside the city. On news reaching the villages that the soldiers were searching out coolies, the able-bodied men and usually the whole village made for the hills or forests leaving only the very old and the sick behind. There they would remain until all possibility of the men being taken had passed. If they were so unfortunate as to be caught unawares, only large bribes would buy the sepoys off; for the rest, the families wept and prayed. Even then the aged fathers would not give up hope and followed the troops to where they had collected, for many more men than were needed were brought

499 651 to that centre, and here a few could still be bribed out. It was known that a large percentage would never return to their families. The years thinned the breadwinners, the fields were tended and the crops gathered by the old and very young.

[482] The hundreds of coolies were collected together at Bandipura; here they were loaded up with the sacks of food for the garrison, loads which were two and even three times the recognised pack of fifty pounds. In addition to this they had to carry their own rations, these being about two pounds of rice per day, a carrying crutch, a frame of sticks, rope for the back load, and topping all, a bundle of straw with which to make the straw shoes they would need. Their clothes and protection consisted of whatever they had brought for themselves; most had somehow managed to bring a blanket. It is little wonder that dozens died on the way, as they crossed the snow passes, slipped on the rough track, or dropped from weakness and exposure.

[567] The dreadful thing was that even when they eventually reached Gilgit there was always the chance that they would be sold into slavery or captured by the tribesmen of that part. Tyndale-Biscoe tells of the grandfather of one of his servants, who had been forced to make this march, being exchanged for a Chinese dog; later he escaped and somehow managed to return to the Valley to tell his story. And it was not unusual for those fortunate ones who were returning to be press-ganged again to carry loads that dead or sick men in caravans following had dropped; whilst there was no assurance that next year they might not again be taken.

499 648 Then the threat of the Russian advance into India through Kashmir caused the Government of India to take over this Gilgit garrison, and in order to ensure maintenance of lines of communication, in 1892 a military road was made between Gilgit and Bandipura, the place where the coolies had been loaded, for there already existed a road as far as that town. The making of the road in those days was a great engineering achievement in the short space of time that it took. Pathans from the North-West Frontier were used for the work, at times they worked with spade in the hand and rifle at their elbow, the way being through tribal areas where the peoples resented the

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1

Dard AV3

making of a road; but despite all the difficulties it was completed. Much of the work and fighting undertaken in its making was described by Knight in his *Where Three Empires Meet*, a book which became a favourite prize for schoolboys in the Victorian age for no less than three Victoria Crosses were won in the expedition which he describes so vividly. K 499 648

"On the completion of the road the large, ill-disciplined, ill-equipped garrison that was maintained at enormous expense by the Kashmir State, was supplanted by a small but extremely efficient force under British officers," he says and goes on, "Since then the tribesmen have been reduced to subjection, the Pax Britannica has been extended to the furtherest corners of the Gilgit Agency, and the influence of Britain far beyond." K 648 721

It had culminated with the subjection of the Hunza-Nagars, tribes of raiders who had lived by pouncing on the caravans which passed from Kashgar and Yarkand, to be followed by a small expedition subduing the Chilas.

The country, like Ladakh and Baltistan, again covers about one hundred and fifty miles on each side of the great River Indus. D 131

Even to this day, because of the heavy snowfalls and danger of avalanches, the road is closed to pack animals during the winter and spring months. Up to the Burzil or Kamri passes the country is well wooded and reasonably fertile with some glorious views from the tops of the passes, and on the way, especially at Gurais, some delightful camping grounds are to be found, among flowering meadows near firs and pines, with fishing and a fair chance of bagging a red bear. Until long after the British garrison was established there no European ladies were permitted to go beyond these two passes, not even when accompanied by their husbands. Over the 13,500 feet high Burzil pass and the road to Astor, the country is immediately arid and bare, with high, precipitous mountains, again a sportman's country with magnificent markhor and fine ibex. Most of the marches are now over rough rock wastes which, during the summer months, radiate the terrible heat of the sun; there is no wonderful scenery to relieve the landscape; you find yourself thinking back to stories of the "beggar" coolies who would have trodden this road with heads down, D 491 133 000

Dard AV3

000 backs bent, feet tired and stumbling, just staggering on for days, with eyes on the ground, perhaps fixed on the heels of the man ahead, their loads only lightened by that which they ate of it—leaving less for the journey back; the man who fell was hardly noticed by those who were with him unless he happened to be a relation.

101 361 [648] Gilgit, together with Astor, Bunji, Chilas, Hunza, and a few other places is often referred to as Dardistan. Gilgit is the most important place, being nearest the frontier; a British Political Agency was stationed here. The town of Gilgit is the only town of any importance; it has been built on the Gilgit river at a place which is some miles above where that river joins the Indus, and at a height almost the same as Srinagar.

241 Much of the Gilgit valley is well cultivated, with fruit trees; in the fields wheat and barley are grown; in those which are available to water, fairly good crops of rice, but where cultivation has not been attempted, the land is barren, though some of the hillsides carry large woods of fir and juniper, and higher still there is birch.

133 The country is hard, bleak and inhospitable—the sort of place one immediately associates with the word "out-post"; one can imagine the disappointment, if not horror, of a married British officer on learning that he had been posted to that garrison, but it was not so for the single man to whom the great 526 attraction was the shooting and the polo. Like all towns and large villages in the mountains, Gilgit has an excellent polo ground which is still used although the British have gone, for the men of the country excel in horsemanship and polo is their national game.

538 181 Just as the valley of Kashmir is the home of the fairy tales, so also are the Gilgiti legends famous for those parts; fortunately a great number of them have been preserved for all time by Britishers who have served there. Many of them are fables, others doubtless have a certain amount of truth in them; they contain the history of that part; in them can be seen the character of the men of Gilgit as they have always been, cruel, hard and fearless, and of their womenfolk, lacking nothing in courage and cruelty.

000 One story so told will never be lost to the people; there is

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One story so told will never be lost to the people; there is little doubt that it is authentic history and concerns Trakhan, one of the most famous of all the Ras of Gilgit. Here it is. 539 526

Many years ago there was a dashing young Ra of Gilgit who married the only daughter of a good family of Darel. They lived happily together, and as Queen Soni she was very much loved by the people, being beautiful and kind, She bore the Ra one daughter. The Ra was admired by all; as was to be expected of him he was the superior of all his subjects in horsemanship and "the manly sports"; his physique surpassed that of all his men. His one great passion was polo, and during each of the months of the year when the pass was open, he used to take a team of Gilgit men over to Darel to play against a team which consisted of the seven brothers of his Queen. The play was always fairly even, each winning side receiving from the losers some prize; at first it was a few goats, then fine clothes, next the horses they had ridden, and gradually, as the years passed, the games became keener with jewels, land and slaves as the stakes, until finally the two teams staked their own lives, the losers to forfeit them to the wish of the winners.

One can imagine the polo played on that fateful day. The finest polo ponies were brought out, each side determined to win—being Gilgit men the thought of what would happen were they to lose, never entered their heads. The play ran even, five all, six all, seven all, then the men of Darel scored the eighth goal, they had but one more to win the game. The shouts of those who crowded and crushed round the ground ceased, as did the blaring of the bands at this dramatic hour; there came only the sound of thundering hoofs, of the crack of the polo sticks striking the hard mulberrywood ball, the yell of a player as he shouted to another of his side. Then the Ra of Gilgit struck the ball, it hit the stone wall and bounced, he caught it in his hand, and as polo is played there, tore away with it through the goal. The game was now eight all, and the Ra was to take the "toiki" —a more or less free shot, he, by the rules of the game, riding half way down the field, throwing the ball in the air, and striking it as it fell. The Ra's own band started to play crazily with excitement, his few supporters cheered until their throats closed dry. With the Darel players on either side of him, he threw the ball, struck it, and as it flew towards the goal, with

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

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539 cruel spurs and whip, all sped after it. It fell short of the goal, but
526 the Ra's mount was famous throughout the land, he was there first, the ball was through the goal, then as with their last gasp they tried to pick up the ball and so make bad the goal, he was again there first, and the fatal ninth goal was scored against the men of Darel.

539 Of such are the men of those parts, that the Ra in the flush of victory immediately demanded the penalty from the losers; it was his right, none could deny that. But he could not take as slaves to his castle the brothers of his Queen, he could not sell into bondage men of such quality and breeding, and so, with no consideration for the superb game that they had given him on that and many previous occasions, with no thought to his robbing himself of further games, he had all seven of the Queen's brothers beheaded on the polo field. Terrible though it was, the men of Darel who had come to watch, and outnumbered by hundreds those few men of Gilgit, considering it fair, allowed the team from Gilgit, together with its supporters to return untouched, whilst they buried their dead.

A messenger with fleet feet raced ahead with the news so that when the champions arrived home they were received with songs of victory, dancing and feasting. Only one among those that waited did not rejoice, that was Queen Soni; she had dearly loved her brothers who had adored her always. In that night of Gilgit's rejoicing her love for the Ra turned to bitter hate; then the blood of the hills rose in her and she became determined to avenge them. It was easy for a woman to put an end to her man, and the next day the green vegetables in the Ra's evening meal contained some poisonous herb, so that with the dawn he did not awaken. Her only regret was that she had not dared feed him a poison which would have caused his last hours to be a writhing agony, but had she done so, he might have guessed that it was she who was responsible, and in his death throes have ordered her an execution the same as her brothers had suffered, or even one like that of all the old and useless people of Gilgit in those days, they being carried in a basket to the top of a hill and cast over the precipice.

Even then her hatred, which had overcome grief was not complete; it remained within her, and when her son was born

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about a month later, she saw in him a part of the Ra, whom she could now only think of as the murderer of her brothers. So soon as she was able to do so, she took the baby, pushed him into a box and cast him on the waters of the river. Through rushing gorges over rapids, round swirling pools the box went down the Gilgit river and on into the river Indus, until it came to rest on a sandbank close to Hodar. A poor peasant villager happened to come across it as he was gathering driftwood; his wife took pity on the tiny babe and brought it up with her own son of the same age. They gave the foundling the name of Trakhan. He brought them good fortune and from that time their flocks of goats increased, their little crops of grain became heavier, the amount of ghee they were able to make increased; they became wealthy farmers according to the standards of that part.

Then when he was about sixteen years of age Trakhan's foster-parents told him how he had come into the family. He dwelt on what he had heard, became determined to find the country from which he must have come, and together with his "brother" set off for Gilgit.

In that town Queen Soni then ruled alone, but although she was still not old, she was frail, always ailing, and the men of Gilgit knew that they must really have a Ra to rule over them.

The two boys reached a place called Baldas; here they found a spring, and could look down upon the valley of Gilgit. On the morning following their arrival there a strange thing happened in Gilgit, the cocks began to crow louder and more vigorously than ever before, and those who listened swore that they heard each of them cry, "Baldasar thom bei!"—"A King may be found in Baldas!" Everyone awakened at this, men rushed to tell the Queen, what was happening, others went in search of the king in Baldas, but later returned to tell the Queen that they had only found two youths who declared that they intended to settle there, the one saying, "Here I shall build my house, and here my cattle pens. There I shall cultivate the land and feed it with water from the spring"; whilst the other, who spoke like a lord said, "Here I shall have built my fort; here shall be stables made for my horses, and there a polo ground which will be better than that to be found even in Gilgit!"

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539 And the Queen ordered that the youths be brought to her. She was at once smitten by the likeness of the now handsome Trakhan to the Ra she had poisoned. She asked the youth from whence he had come, who his parents might be, and he told her all he knew. Then she was certain that he must be her son. The years had softened her; she was sad and lonely at times, for her daughter had married and left her castle, and she told him the rest of his story, pronouncing him to the men of Gilgit as their rightful Ra and seating him on the "Nilo But"—the coronation stone of the Ras of Gilgit. He was later to become the most famous of all the Ras of Gilgit, his rule was wise and strong, he extended the frontiers of his country, "he increased them to beyond Hunza and Nagar, right to the confines of Cathay." His nephews Girkis and Mughlot—the sons of his sister—he made the first rulers of Hunza and Nagar, their descendants being the Mirs there today. His memory will ever remain with the people of Gilgit, for there are so many songs of his great deeds and his wisdom now held up before the youths of those hard mountain parts as an example of what they, who also are born of that land, can achieve.

538 The men will sit for hours telling such stories as this[1] to the young men and boys, stories of blood, honour, swords and wars, whilst the women's stories, though not as bloodthirsty, are also those which rekindle a determination in the girls that the land, the gold and the women of Gilgit shall never be taken, whatever the sacrifice demanded or the price paid to hold them.

563 The people of Gilgit are Mohammedans of both the Shia and the Sunni sects; the people of Nagar are of the Shia sect only, those of Hunza of the Ali-Ilahi sect—that is, believing that Ali is God; the others are Mulahis.

172 Yet there are signs that the Buddhist faith at one time also reached as far as this, for Knight tells of walking to the entrance of the Kargha nullah, through which there is a track leading on to Yaghistan, and of a carving of the Lord Buddha to be seen on the face of a great rock.

721 The chiefs of Gilgit "living in their mountain fastness", were in the days gone by, "notorious for their raids into the countries of their neighbours, which they made with impunity".

[1] [See category 539, pp. 225-228 -- Analyst]

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At the time of Moghul power, Gilgit came under the suzerainty of Kashmir, but with the power going over to the Afghans, Gilgit became independent; several descendants of the old chiefs, as well as neighbouring chiefs, gained power, but each held it for very little time, always being killed off by some rival. Then with the coming of the Sikhs, several Muslim rulers appear in the pages of Gilgit's history, but in 1842 Yasin drove out the rulers of Gilgit, and Nathu Shah, who remained there to ensure his staying in power, made a friendship pact with the stronger of the neighbouring chiefs, and sealed this off by himself marrying the daughter of Gauhar Aman, and marrying his sons off to the daughters of the Hunza and Nagar chiefs.

Then in 1845, with the break up of the Sikh rule, Nathu Shah offered his services to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and he was appointed as Governor of Gilgit, two European officers accompanying him there. It is said that the Chief of Hunza became jealous of him because of these two officers, with the result that he invaded the country, was unsuccessful, but killed Nathu Shah. Next Gauhar Aman, the Chief of Punial, and Yasin invaded Gilgit. Maharaja Gulab Singh sent troops from Kashmir, and these, together with reinforcements from Astor and Skardu, defeated the invaders. The two officers commanding the Maharaja's garrison were Bhup Singh and Sant Singh; they governed the country peacefully for a while until the sons of Gauhar Aman took up the sword of their father, and in 1852, with the help of the Dards and the people of Hunza, they did not attack, but drew Bhup Singh together with a force of some thirteen hundred into an ambush. Eleven hundred of his Hindu troops were massacred, and two hundred, taken as prisoners, were sold into slavery after they had been converted to Islam; not a spiritual conversion, but a painful and frightening physical one, they being tied down to stakes one after the other and circumcised with swords. It is recorded that only one of the women camp followers escaped; she reached the other bank of the Indus by clinging to the tail of a cow—an animal sacred to the Hindus of course—which was swimming across, and was so able to get to Bunji to tell of the horror.

Gauhar Aman remained master of the country until his death in 1856. By that time Ranbir Singh had become Maharaja and in

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175 1859 sent out a strong force under the command of General Devi Singh, who conquered Gilgit; the "enemy fled away before this force and he occupied the district as far as Yasin". In 1865 a punitive expedition to Hunza failed: taking advantage of this the tribes around Gilgit rose; they invested the fort for some time, but reinforcements arrived and they dispersed. After that, though tributary to Kashmir, the chiefs of Hunza and of Nagar gave occasional trouble, once even capturing the frontier fort of Chaprot.

There came the final phase. Under the command of the British Colonel Durand, an expedition was sent out and captured Nilt by assault, then pressed on over the most difficult mountain conditions, glaciers, snow, precipices, against a brave, strong and determined foe. The fanatical determination of this enemy may be judged by the message the defending Vizir of Hunza sent to Colonel Durand, "This fortress of Chalt is more precious to us than the strings of our wives' pyjamas". Yet the British troops under the Colonel, captured the whole country right up to the Pamir and Chinese frontier. This was followed by a handful of troops under Sir George Robertson conquering the Chilas.

144 The people of Gilgit, Astor and some of the countries beyond
142 are a race with features of the Aryan type, and they claim to be of that stock. The majority of them are medium of height, hardy and strongly built. Again the descendants of the chiefs differ from the others, no doubt because of marriage from time to time with the most beautiful women either captured or made wives in order to ensure peace with a neighbour. These men are tall, many are fair-complexioned, with pale hazel or blue eyes, and they are extremely handsome. The features of the men of Gilgit are usually long and oval, the nose strongly curved, the expression sinister if not fierce; generally they are not as fair as
291 the men of the Valley of Kashmir. They usually wear dark woollen clothes, with a cap which has been universally adopted by most troops fighting in cold places, being a long woollen bag which is rolled up until it fits over the head, it being possible to
181 unroll it to cover the ears. Of these men Neve says, "They are an independent and bold race, more straightforward than the
563 Kashmiris and less bloodthirsty than the Pathan"—the latter

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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being Afghans who have migrated over the frontier—"All are 181, 563 Mohammedans except the tribes of Kafistan."

Those Aryan features, those blue eyes, that light complexion, 174 where does it come from? Not a few of the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of the chiefs who once ruled in those parts, surprisingly claim to be descended from one of the Generals of Alexander the Great, if not from the Emperor himself. There is no record in history of his having visited those parts, but the people of Gilgit maintain that he came as close as the Tashkurgan and the Killik Pass, and then sent an expedition down through Hunza to Gilgit. It is known that Alexander did visit Dir, and it is believed that the expedition to Gilgit was to move on to Chitral and then join the main army at Dir.

I have never seen it hinted at in any book, but I dare to 174 suggest that these Aryan features, blue eyes and the occasional tinge of gold in the hair found among those men of Gilgit—and 826 also those of Kashmir—might have come about by their owners 832 having been descended from the prisoners, deserters, or even soldiers who had become lost from the forces of Alexander. It is known that until not long ago on the North-West Frontier of India, a captured European who was fortunate enough to be the possessor of red hair was treated with more respect than his fellows, who, if not ransomed, suffered a ghastly, unmanly death. Although not released, he like the others, was handed over to the women, but remained alive to "husband" the widows, so that they might breed red-haired sons. Natural red hair is considered among some of the tribes to be a sign that the owner is the descendant of their particular prophet, if not The Prophet. A beautiful red-haired camp follower—and most "red-heads" have blue eyes—would make a fitting concubine for any King or Chieftain; a powerful, magnificent, red-headed soldier of the forces of Alexander, a fitting lover for his widow, or even husband—if he happened to be an officer—for a daughter he had been unable to marry off to one of his own rank. Can it be from such alliances as these that the red heads, pale faces and blue eyes have come to those parts?

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The States and Cities of Poonch and Jammu

131 491 To the south—slightly east—of Gilgit lies the State of Poonch, which sits between the Kashmir Valley and Pakistani Punjab, with a range of mountains to the east and the river Jhelum to the west as natural borders. It is a country of which little has been written, yet most of the visitors who entered Kashmir in the old days by the most popular road, one which runs from Rawalpindi in the Punjab to Srinagar, passed close to it, if not through it. No doubt they were concentrating upon the road, which although fairly good, has its terrors in twists, hairpin bends, blind turnings and precipices, especially when the visitor was forced to rely upon the driving judgment of car drivers or tonga wallahs whose one idea was to get to the end of the journey.

133 The surrounding mountains are just as magnificent as in the other parts of Kashmir—in fact are merely the other side of those viewed from the Valley, their northern slopes a mass of firs and pines. The immediate surrounding hills are strangely of the same height, so that they appear like wave upon wave of dark green pines and firs, shaded only by the valleys or by distance. These valleys are cleft out in such a way that it would seem that the whole was once a great plateau, the softer stones and soils being washed away, and that which remains in rib-like formations being of the harder stone which with time has 172 clothed itself with trees. On the tops of a number of these hills with naturally scarped faces, are the ruins of ancient forts, each so placed and planned that its position, with its inaccessibility, protected it against escalade, leaving the attackers to starve the defenders out from it. These hill forts are relics of the days when the country was divided up into small tracts, each with its own ruler.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir AVI

each with its own ruler. The depths of the valleys are alive with 133
ice-cold babbling brooks which run over smooth, brown
sandstone rocks, although here and there in the passage of the
waters, there appears a jagged white limestone piece which has
withstood all attempts to smooth its surface. From among them
all, often from a rock island, trees spread their branches over
deep pools which are frequently the resting place for many
fish, the most popular being the mahseer, before they brave the
rapids to swim up stream.

Foot tracks lead up from the water to lone farmhouses; [487]
here and there is to be found a wider track which cattle have
made or where the loaded mule is led, for there are few roads
fit for wheeled carts. Flowers grow there in profusion during [241]
the spring; small fields of corn, green in springtime, yellow in
autumn, are to be discovered at odd spots, these remaining
where they have been for hundreds of years. There is none of the
bleakness of Ladakh, Baltistan or Gilgit, although the same
steep tracks over rocks, sharp ascents and descents are there,
but they are fringed by bushes, trees shade them, and just
when one is feeling the need of a cooling draught, a small clear
spring bursts from a rocky grassy bank. Poonch reminds the
man from Britain much more of his homeland than does the
Valley. The Jhelum flows through the State, as does the
Poonch river; a road follows this from Kotli to the city of
Poonch. It seems that in so many places camping sites are
to be found, small *margs* with close-cropped grass, a stream
close by and a friendly if inquisitive people soon round the
camp.

It is at first surprising to find the large percentage of the [191]
men among them who speak English, then as they proudly 648
talk of their service in the Indian Army, of their father's service
and their grandfathers', many of whom are still alive and draw
pensions, one remembers that this little State claims to have
provided a larger percentage of army volunteers than any other
in India during the Great War of 1914-18. Thousands of them 596
have always found service in the Indian Army, returning home 434
on pension to take over the small-holding which their father
has tended against that time, he then being able to retire to
gossip, rejuvenated by the stories his son has told of his own

596 army service. During the time that these Poonch men have
434 been away they have kept touch with their homes by sending
back amounts from their pay; small sums they would seem to be
outside Poonch, but of greater value there, where much of the
837 food is grown, and the necessities of life are small. These men
of Poonch—and this applies to Gilgit men also—will sometimes
remain away from their wives and families for five or six
years, the old father or even the wife tending the land, a small
portion of which most of them own and return to for a few
weeks to see their families; the wives will have remained
[595] faithful, for the women of Poonch have always been held to a
high moral standard. Although the men of Poonch may,
[582] when away, contract a temporary marriage—in any case the
Muslims amongst them being permitted four wives—they
demand of their women that they should behave as though
their husbands were at home, the humiliation brought upon
him in the event of his wife's adultery being so great that he
684 will demand the most severe penalty of the woman. Only
recently I had personal knowledge of a sepoy who had been
away from his wife for some years. His brother had written
telling him that his wife was becoming loose in her morals,
then that she was pregnant. The husband returned home on
leave, saw his brother, next the brothers of his wife, and then
his wife; she was in the kitchen sitting before the stove when he
entered, as she stood up to greet him he saw her condition,
and without a word fired a burst from his sten gun; she staggered
forward to fall at his feet, and well knowing why he had
done this, with her dying gasp begged his forgiveness. Her
brothers and her father knew why he had taken this dramatic
step; they made no protest; in their eyes he had only done as
they would have with one of their wives under such circumstances,
and he was allowed to flee back to his unit.

296 In the villages or close to the few houses round the farms
there is always to be seen a man or woman washing clothes in
the manner of the place, by stamping the dirt out of them in a
252 water-filled, hollowed-out stone by the stream. In that part
887 there are also to be found the little round huts, often built of
straw, housing the large mill-stones which grind the corn
grown thereabouts. These are usually attended to by the old
man who has retired from active work, his charge
for grinding being a percentage of the flour.

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man who has retired from active work, his charge for grinding 000
being a percentage of the flour.

Here again in this country are to be seen the fair complexions, 142
the blue and the hazel eyes, the brown or gold-tinted hair. The
men are in the main handsome, they are not as hard-looking as
those of Gilgit; among the youths especially there is a blending
with the rather effeminate young men of the Valley, but they
are essentially men, their stride is long. They are taller than the
others of the State, though not powerfully built, and it is seldom
that one sees a fat Poonchi Muslim. Generally their
faces are long, the complexion light brown, the nose large,
aquiline and well shaped; quite frequently the black hair is
wavy. In all they are a good-looking race, and this applies to
both men and women, who even in their old age retain their
good looks, the men then growing beards, and the eyebrows
seeming to extend forward. What is more noticeable is that unlike 515
the peasants and farmers of the Kashmir Valley and Ladakh,
they are not filthy dirty; you can with safety get close to them
and enter their houses.

Those who have known the man of Poonch as a soldier or 181
as a servant—and large numbers migrated to India to work
as such under British officers and residents—will agree that
their foremost quality is reliability and faithfulness; as servants,
if they like you, they will remain all their lives, if not, they
will leave you at once, for theirs is a distinct line drawn between
those they like and dislike. The women are not as bold as the 562
women of the Valley; they also go unveiled; their beauty is of a 609
different quality from those sisters over the mountains, who
have a Jewish appearance. Although mostly Muslim, they do
not scamper off round the corner of the house like the women
of Baltistan when they see a stranger about, neither do they
stand and stare at him as do those of Ladakh; they just continue
with their work as though unaware of his presence, while the
children run out to look at him, standing at a distance. Unlike 609
the men of Gilgit who scowl, the man of Poonch will usually
greet one with a friendly grin if not a smile.

From the smooth surface of the hard giant boulders in the 133
Poonch Valley, it is believed that at one time a glacier moved 312
where the river now runs, yet strangely enough on the right of

133 that river bank, at Tattapani to be exact, hot sulphur springs
312 with valuable medicinal properties are found.

162 According to the 1941 census, about nine-tenths of the popu-
[631] lation were of the Muslim faith. The Raja who was a Hindu,
was subject to the Maharaja of Kashmir. The unwalled, oblong-
shaped capital of the State is also called Poonch—in some books
[161] it is still spelt Punch, but the pronunciation is Poonch. The
361 population is under ten thousand. The valley in which this city has been built opens up as one approaches it and is rather like a miniature Valley of Kashmir. The view is clear for miles ahead, with Poonch built on a low plateau overlooking the river which flows quietly, parallel with the hill ridges. The old fort-palace with its massive walls, seems to rise from among the hundreds of houses in the bazaar of narrow, stone-paved streets. The Raja's white-walled and red-roofed new palace is built behind them all and dominates the whole, with a background of green hills and far-distant snow peaks behind which sits Gulmarg.

175 The Muslim schoolboys of Poonch always remember two landmarks in the history of their city. The first is 1814, when Ranjit Singh made his attack on Kashmir through Poonch; he sought the co-operation of Ullah Khan, the then Raja of Poonch, but this ruler being a Muslim had Afghan sympathies, and gave an evasive reply to the request, pleading his inability to comply with the Maharaja's wishes since his son was then a hostage in the hands of the Duranis. Ranjit Singh's forces advanced with the Maharaja at their head; the small forces of Poonch fell back, the Raja ordering his subjects to leave the town and villages, thus cutting off supplies from the Sikhs, who however, reached Tosa Maidan in their advance. There they suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghan forces of Rajouri and Poonch. Retreating, the Sikh army burnt the fair city of Poonch to the ground.

Later, when Poonch was still an independent hill State, it was annexed by the Maharaja Gulab Singh, when he defeated the combined forces of the Afghan Governor of Kashmir and the Raja of Poonch. Then, in order to show the people of his new State that the last of the representatives of the main line of rulers would never be able to return, he had both of them

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brought out, their heads cut off and enclosed in an iron cage 175
which was exposed in the city for all to see. So, in 1819, died
Sher Jangh Khan, the last of the Muslim rulers, together with
his nephew Shams Khan, and Raja Dhyan Singh, a Dogra and
a Hindu, became the ruler.

Their hatred is not so much against the first Dogra ruler of Poonch as of his brother, the Maharaja Gulab Singh, who was paramount to him, and they tell how in 1835 when "some of the men of Poonch dared a small revolt against him, he came down in person and suppressed it, and then had certain of the prisoners flayed alive before him. And when the executioner hesitated before he did this awful thing, the Maharaja accused him of being chicken-hearted and asked him if he had been asked to perform upon his father or brother."

After reminding you that Didda, the most powerful Queen ever to rule over Kashmir, was a Princess of the House of Poonch, the schoolboys, having by this time completely forgotten their feelings against the Hindus and Sikhs go on with, "And you must of course be knowing that but for the interference of the Viceroy Lord Reading there would now be a Poonch Maharaja, because the priest-ridden old Maharaja Pratab Singh would have selected as his heir his adopted son Rajkumar Jagat Dev Singh, who was only fourteen years when he took him, who was second son of Sir Baldiv Singh the Raja of Poonch, who was second cousin to Pratab Singh and great-grandson of Gulab Singh's brother Dhyan Singh". This rumour arose after a rather unsavoury blackmail case in London in which Raja Hari Singh, the Maharaja's nephew and closest relation, was involved as the victim. Then further to prove the case for Poonch, they go on, "Even at the funeral of the Maharaja Pratab Singh it was Jagat Dev Singh who performed the obsequies required of a son and heir". Jagat Dev Singh died in 1940.

It was rather surprising to find how well kept the city was, 365
boasting electric light, telephones and water channelled from 368
nearby streams, all in the midst of comparative nothingness; 485
the quite excellent roads which intersect it frequently running
for five or six miles outside, the gardens gay with flowers.
Still more pleasant to discover is the most excellent rest house

365 —the Raja's guest house. To sit on the lawns before this and
368 watch the glorious changing of colours in the surrounding
485 hills brought about by the setting sun, is a fitting finish to a
good day's sport or a long trek, as in the air fresh and clear you listen to stories told of the day's play with rod and gun, for there is good fishing in the river and plenty of game on the slopes above.

224 Poonch is renowned for its bear hunts, its Rajas have always been the keenest of sportsmen, and seldom has a season passed in which there have not been at least two bear drives in each of which "honks", as they are called, forty or fifty bears have been shot, for they abound in the dense forest slopes round about. The shikaris of Kashmir insist that great numbers of black bears migrate in the autumn to Poonch where there is little if any snowfall during the winter.

136 Whereas the red bears of Gilgit spend the winter's hibernation in a cave, the black bears of Kashmir, where the mountain slopes are covered with firs, pines and other great trees, find a hollow tree trunk for those months of rest.

Unlike the red bear, which shikaris declare to be a more or less harmless creature only killing what he needs for his own food, the clumsy, rapacious black bear does an enormous amount of damage, killing off hundreds of young pine trees by ripping away the bark to get at the gum which exudes and of which he is as passionately fond as of honey, or by eating or trampling down fields of Indian corn—another favourite of his—destroying in a night sufficient to provide a poor peasant family for the whole season.

241 When the corn is ripening the farmers do their best to pro-
136 tect the crop from bears which invade it at that time; it is on
the Indian corn that they fatten for the winter. Fires are lighted, the smoke drifting across the field; bears dislike this since they cannot get the sniff of a hunter through the smoke. In the middle of the field a small platform called a *machan* is built and on this sits a guard, his job being to scare the bears away when they come—they always feed at night. He blows horns, throws stones, or by pulling a long string rattles a can with stones in it, the can being tied to a tree or pole which may be a hundred yards away from him. But he is usually too

scared to come down from his perch to frighten the bear away; 241
what is more, the bear knows this, and so feeds away happily /36
in the long corn until the dawn, when it makes for the forests, there to hide up and sleep during the daylight hours.

His liking for meat is said to be acquired, hunters of a /36
century ago speaking of meat-eating black bears as one now would of a man-eating tiger, but in these days the black bear is a bullock killer. It has been said that this desire for meat was first brought about when a cattle disease killed off many of the buffaloes; bears came across the bodies of the dead animals, tasted them, and took a liking for beef. In any case, since the bear is a killer of the cow—an animal sacred to the Hindu—a Raja would feel perfectly justified in despatching the bear.

It was whilst stopping in the guest house that I learnt a lot [224]
about bears, most of it from the head shikari to the Raja, the man who collected together hundreds of beaters for each of the hunts. It was from him that I learnt that bears breed once a year, the litter usually being two cubs, which remain with their mother for a year, going into hibernation with her for the winter during December, and remaining in the hollow tree stump until March, when, although they have no wish to go, the mother bear awakens and pushes them out into the snow to fend for themselves. She then returns to her bed, and within a few days the new litter is born. As is only to be expected after a mother bear has slept for over three months, her offsprings are pathetic little creatures with bodies which are almost hairless; it seems impossible that they can survive, let alone grow into great black bears which can bring down a full grown bullock.

For yet another month she remains in the tree stump, and when she finally stumbles out she is thin and weak; her limbs are stiff, so that the first day she only moves around for exercise, perhaps to chew on an old bone as the life comes back into her gums.

Very slowly she weans her cubs to the sunlight, she is herself not too strong, very different from the great fat mother bear which went into hibernation four months earlier, and she is now feeding her babies. Their first solid food is a few nibbles of the young shoots of grass, their teeth by this time having come through the gums, their fur has grown, and their eyes opened on the eighth day. As the weeks pass, she takes them higher into the hills with the thawing of the snows, then as they get bigger she gradually brings them lower into the valleys, until at the time when the mulberries are ripe, they get near to the villages to raid the groves at night. The whole time she carefully keeps them away from man, the one animal she has learnt to fear. When she senses danger she calls her cubs with a low whine, and they race back to her, standing for protection beneath her forelegs; if she has to move away, they run beneath her belly unnoticed.

The old shikari took me up the hill some miles away to where he knew an old she-bear had been hibernating that past winter. He suspected that she had had cubs; it was not until later that I fully appreciated the cunning of this experienced hunter, for he had waited for a day when the wind blew away from the tree stump close to the rocks where she had made her bed. We climbed the rock from behind, carefully selected each foothold so that no stone should fall, and on reaching the top and looking down, to his as well as my own astonishment, we saw the she-bear sunning with her one cub. Even then, although the wind was away from her, she sat up and lifting her head, with long snout twitching, sniffed the air many times; she knew that danger was nearby, and although the shikari was certain that she did not see us, she bundled her cub quickly back into the tree stump and followed it.

She was thin and gaunt, her coat matted, and it was difficult to believe that this lumbering creature could possibly step through the undergrowth and over twigs as lightly as a ballet dancer so that none could hear her; amazing that she could be so clever that when shot but not killed she would feign death and curling up roll down a slope to gather herself up at the bottom and make off into the jungle; surprising, yet, I am assured, a fact, that she can tell by smell whether the man who comes towards her is a coolie or a hunter, although I must admit one can smell some coolies—especially shepherds—hundreds of yards off. The one she takes little notice of, the other she has every reason to fear.

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Dogra AV6

South of the Valley of Kashmir and on the other side of the 101
outer Himalayas, lies the State of Jammu—pronounced as it 131
used to be spelt until the turn of the century, Jammoo. It
borders on the Punjab and its capital, which is also the winter
capital of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, bears the
same name as the State.

Here everything is very different from the other states and 342
provinces of which it is a part. The houses are built after the 177
fashion of those in India and Pakistan, with flat roofs; the
majority of the populations are of the Hindu faith; the climate 779
becomes tropical, for the city lies on the edge of the Punjab 132
plains and is only twelve hundred feet above sea level—the
rest of the land south of it is below that; it is protected from the
north and north-east by the mountains, and lies at a slope to the
south catching the full power of the sun.

The city of Jammu is built on a spur from the first of these 361
slopes and about two hundred feet above the level of the
plains, on the banks of the river Tawi, which in the old days, 491
used to be crossed by bridges of boats—usually washed away
during the flood periods. Now a fine modern bridge spans its
waters. It was also the railhead of the North-Western Railway,
but has been cut off since the line runs through Pakistan, and
communication with India is now by way of a very excellent
road which has been constructed between Jammu and Pathankot, this then joining up with the Grand Trunk Road. The land
through which this passes is not rich, in many parts it is boulder-strewn, and wide concrete culverts cross the road in places.

Writing of the city about seventy-five years ago, Drew 361
talks about riding through the narrow streets on an elephant 363
and looking down on the roof-tops of the houses. I did not
see an elephant whilst I was there—although there might be
some in the palace stables, and the red brick houses are now
usually two or even three stories high, with flat roofs as before
and of the design to be found all over India, since they provide
excellent and reasonably safe "bedroom" accommodation
during the heat of summer. A few camels are to be seen in the
streets, the narrow winding bazaars remain as they were a
hundred years ago and doubtless will be for many years to
come—being a most necessary part of the East. Until

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [redacted]

Dogra AVL

361 "smellies" are invented, they will still be worth the eye of the still- or cine-camera. An effort has been made to widen and
363 keep clear the main roads passing in and out of the city; these can still be described as "gay with colour in one of the most oriental and picturesque of towns", for here are to be seen the costumes of the people of Jammu, of Kashmir and of Baltistan, mingling with the traders from the Punjab and Delhi.

291 Here are to be seen the saffron-robed monks with shaven heads; here also are the bearded and long-haired Sikhs, wearing
302 the most colourful of turbans, for the majority of the Sikhs
563 of the State live in Jammu—they are generally a handsome race of men, and their women are rather beautiful. To the newcomer it seems strange to come upon a husky, black-bearded Sikh, after taking a bath, with waist-long hair down and combing it in the sun—but this is quite a common sight.

793 It was in Jammu that I met one of the most lovely girls that I have ever known. I was staying the night at the bungalow of a missionary, and had hardly arrived before the most powerful voice started up in song from the building almost adjoining. This was a Gurudwara, a shrine-temple of the Sikhs, and the bellowing voice was that of the priest, who, it seemed, when the spirit moved him sat just outside the doorway of his temple, and expressed his joy or otherwise in song; and this over a microphone. I went over and saw him; he was terrific in size and bulk with black hair-covered torso, arms and legs; he had a grand head and a most fascinating face—bearded of course. As he sang verses from the Holy Granth, he closed his eyes: it was as though he was singing the Songs of Solomon, the verses starting much the same each time, but ending with continued repetition, speeding up in tempo and blast. And this I was told might go on for hours, just when mothers were trying to get their children to sleep in order that they might enjoy a few hours of peace before they themselves rested. And this, I was again told, would awaken me well before dawn—and it did. It seemed that nothing could stop it, for the gentleman himself, when he did cease, told me that come what may, nothing would, since he had a mission in this world; it was to tell the people how bad they were, how bad he had been, and call them to the right way as he now tried to tread it. He

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Dogra AV6

had before been a most successful business man; all had been 793
happy with those in his world until one awful day the daughter whom he greatly loved, had been taken ill; she had nearly died, and when she recovered, that ray of joy which was his and his alone, for his wife had passed away, could not move her legs nor her arms, nor could she rise on her bed. Very slowly the paralysis of the arms left them, gradually she could begin to sit up, and they—himself and her ayah—anxiously waited for her legs also to regain their lost strength, slowly they did, then the right foot, but not the left, that was not to be.

As we sat on the edge of his charpoy or string mattress bed 000
and talked, I heard what I at first took to be a boy singing. I was taken round to the side of the house attached to the temple and saw her; she was sitting on a cushion on the terrace with a sitar across her knees, plucking and picking at its many strings and singing to its mandolin-like notes. She wore a glistening, long-sleeved shirt of yellow satin, trimmed with silver and gold beads, her useless withered little foot tucked beneath the other leg of her white silk salwars, which are tight-ankled, very voluminous trousers; her lovely wavy black hair hanging loose, held to one side by a cluster of live yellow flowers, her laughing dark brown eyes were edged with black make-up; fine gold bangles, perhaps a dozen of them, clustered on her wrists; round her throat was a necklace of heavy gold, exquisitely carved and set with stones. She was about sixteen years old, the age at which most girls of her race would be thinking of marriage and wondering who their parents would choose for them. Yet in spite of her knowing that marriage might not be for her, she had laughing, glistening eyes—all for her gorilla-like, booming but glorious-voiced father, whom she worshipped. On one side sat her singing master, also a Sikh. Behind her patiently stood an old white-haired ayah, the one who had been her nurse when she was born and remained with her ever since; she was wearing the simple white sari of a widow, her feet bare, forming a fitting background to a very lovely picture, for the girl had a beautiful face, the kind of beauty which would be admired almost anywhere in the world, a beauty only matched by the liquid notes which poured, at times prattled, from her pretty little lips. She knew that we

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [redacted]

Dogra AVC

000 were there, half-acknowledged us, but went on for a while, then handing the sitar to the ayah, she laughed and to my astonishment said in English, "Father, are you not going to introduce to me your friend?"

How little this man knows of psychology, I thought, that he does not realize that were his daughter only to sing before the microphone, he would have thousands in his temple compound instead of the few; people would welcome instead of dread the click as they heard the loud speaker switched on. Then I realized that it would not be right for a respectable girl to sing as I had thought, for this was the East, the Indian continent, and it cannot be. And so when I reached Kashmir a little later and found that it was strawberry time, I sent him a basket of the luscious fruits each day, knowing that they would be shared by her.

563 Strangely enough, although the Sikh is very close to the Hindu socially, his creed is often quite close to that of the Muslim. For instance, before handling their holy books, both must wash; that of the Muslim commences with, "There is one God", whilst that of the Sikh starts of with, "There is none else but one God". Both must pray five times a day, both condemn idol worship, both religions look with favour on one who takes up the sword, and in neither case are they bidden only [252] to take food among those of their own belief. Both kill the animal they are to eat by draining its blood, the only difference is that whereas the Muslim slits its throat, the Sikh makes a cut across the back of its neck—much like the executioner.

825 Reverence for the sacred cow is seen here in Jammu, for they wander at will over the road, ignoring the hooter of car, stopping in the middle of the street to sniff at a used paper bag or the skin of a fruit, which they eat, and even lie down there to chew the cud. Over the centuries they have learnt to despise the ordinary man to whom they are superior, and they treat the non Hindu with dumb insolence. Now and then you will see a man—Hindu of course—lightly touch one as he passes her, afterwards touching his forehead with the same hand as he bows slightly. I have often seen a fruit-shop keeper, after I am certain he has overcharged me, pull off a prime banana from a bunch and offer it to the passing cow. I saw the chief clerk of

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a bank come out with a dish from his tiffin carrier, open the 825 7
lid and feed to a white cow four chipatties—flat, unleavened,
breadlike cakes—afterwards holding his hands together as
though in prayer to the cow; and I was told that he did this
every day. I wondered if it was his wife, who had made and
cooked them over the hot stove, or he who fed them, who
gained the merit. It was all over in a few minutes, just as is the
usual prayer in the Hindu temple.

Here the bulls also roam the streets, I suppose it is because
the females of the species are so readily available, their diet of
rubbish, or maybe the heat; anyway they are perfectly safe and
placid so that one wonders where these people would get their
bulls for the ring if they took to bull-fighting. I saw one great
bull limping along dragging a broken hind foot; it had moved
like this for months, but no one would dare kill it—it was
sacred. So very different is the attention meted out to the bulls 492
and bullocks which are used to draw the carts, they being 925
goaded on with sticks, which are rammed from behind and between
their hind legs if they fail to move quickly enough;
there are few without broken tails, these having been twisted
to crinkled shapes by their Hindu drivers, who strangely
enough will paint their great horns in colours and garland
their beasts of burden at the time of festivals. The treatment
the Muslim and Sikh tonga drivers lash out on their poor
underfed horses is no better; neither of them seem to think of
the future days; it seems that they only consider the journey
they are then undertaking, and weep at the death of the animal
seemingly quite oblivious of having been responsible for its
premature demise. The treatment of animals in the country [231]
district is generally different, though; there they are cared for.

Here the temple bells ring at all hours; to me it appeared 788
that when the worshipper went to pray, as he entered the
temple he was handed a few petals from a large brass dish
before a priest; a few come with flowers and garlands. The
worshipper then goes before the "god" and gives the chain
which hangs before it a pull, thus ringing a bell to tell the
"god" that he is there. The flowers are next placed on the god,
which might be a stone figure, or just a symbol, or they may be
scattered before it, usually together with a few coins. He again

2a Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [redacted]

Dogra AVI
Pandits

788 rings the bell to send his prayer to heaven, and walks out. At times one will see one on his or her knees, with hands together and silent lips moving—they have some very special prayer to make to the god—and remain in that attitude for perhaps a quarter of an hour, after which they get up, ring the bell and walk out as though unconcerned, seemingly convinced that their wish will be granted.

783 The Kashmiri pundit performs a different kind of daily
worship, as I saw from my houseboat on the Jhelum, when
two orthodox members of the faith from separate houses came
down to the river in the early morning, each with a water pot
in his hand. Both took a bath in the river and said their prayers.
The older of the two then threw water in the air; he had lost
both mother and father, and therefore spoke the names of his
778 ancestors for seven generations back. Coming from the water
the younger of the men went up to where his wooden pattens
782 had been left, and from a piece of cloth by their side tipped out
some earth which he formed into the shape of a lingam. The
earth had been carried from the Takht-i-Sulaiman, and after he
had either paid his respects to it or worshipped it, he gathered
it up and unceremoniously threw it into the river. In the meantime the other pundit had returned to his house, gone straight up to the idol he kept there—a *thakar*, which was a fossil from the Shisha Nag—garlanded it with flowers, scattered a few grains of rice before it, and then sprinkled it with the water he had brought with him from the river. He then put the saffron tika mark on his forehead, as do all pundits after their morning bath, and drank some of the water which had dripped from the idol. Both were now ready to go to their work. Some pundits, after bathing and worshipping at one of the city temples walk barefoot round the Hari Parbat, and although writers of over fifty years ago were saying that this practice was becoming less and less common, I have seen a bare-footed old pundit completing his journey and stepping into a waiting tonga which then took him home.

361 From a distance, coming towards Jammu from the sun-baked plains of the Punjab, through scanty green or yellow rice and wheat fields, and after mile upon mile of flat, uninteresting country, the city can appear rather lovely. The distant back-

2a Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible] a.

Dogra AVG

ground is the Outer Himalayas, with the snow-clad peaks of 361
the Pir Panjal range crowning all; the nearer background, the purple grey and dark green of the hills, setting off the golden balls and tiny turrets which surmount or stand out from the dozens of silver convexed, cone-shaped, spires of the Hindu temples glistening in the sun. All this is seen from across the 312
river, which in summer and autumn is thin and clear as it wends its way over the silver-pink, rounded pebbles of the river bed, one which is wide and flat, for in the spring the river is flooded; then the waters are dull with the silt from the mountains. A wide canal from the river Tawi helps to control these floods and at the same time irrigates large areas around the city of Jammu.

Parts of the old palace, which at places are built right up to 344
the cliff face, have been there for nearly two hundred years. As the rulers came to the throne, so they "improved" it by making their own contribution. Naturally, to the people of Kashmir there is an especial interest in the palace, for Gulab Singh ruled the Jammu State for twenty-four years before he added Kashmir to his domain. This old palace is now used as the State Secretariat, just as is the old one in Srinagar.

The State is filled with historical remains and interesting buildings, mostly they are temples which have been built to the glory of one or other of the many Hindu deities, usually containing carvings in stone to their memory. In places 778
there are caves, famous as the abode of a revered religious man and some are still frequented by them; in other places are found sacred springs round most of which rag flags fly from high poles.

In this province of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, fruits 245
which do not grow in the others are to be had; bananas, oranges and mango. Here also is coal, admittedly of poor quality, 135
but commercially useful, whilst from the belts of pine trees which reach across the mountain slopes, resin is drawn off, 314
this being tapped into small earthenware pots in much the 439
same way as is rubber, then collected up into tins and carried either by coolies, donkeys or camels down to the road side from which lorries convey it to the refinery from which turpentine, oil and resin are exported in considerable quantities.

In Gervis T-8 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

Dogra AV6

101 The people of this State are Dogras, claiming to be an Aryan
564 race. The highest caste of these are the Dogra Brahmins—
originally they were the priests, but now they are also found
as cultivators and clerks. Next in caste standing come the
Dogra-Rajputs; from these the rulers have sprung, from their
ranks come some of the finest soldiers to be found in all India.
142 The Dogras are not large men, usually being of an average of
302 about five feet four inches in height—seldom does one see a
tall Dogra. They are slim, with square, somewhat high,
shoulders, thin legs, but walking very upright. Their com-
plexions are of a lighter shade of brown, with generally small
features, a slightly hooked nose, brown eyes and in all an
intelligent expression. Their hair is jet black and so cut that it
forms a curly fringe coming from under the pugaree or turban;
beards are worn and even when growing a moustache, this is
turned upwards—no doubt to give the man of the Rajput caste,
especially the soldiers, a fiercer expression. In all they are a
147 good-looking race. Of them it has been said by officers under
whose command they have served, "their muscular power is
not great, but they are active, untiring, have physical endurance,
can suffer hunger and heat—providing they only have to under-
take light marching, but heavy labour or extreme cold they
cannot stand up to. They are faithful to those whom they elect
to serve."

564 Then there are many sub-divisions of the Rajputs, the Mians
and working Rajputs. The Mians have a curious custom which
847 was eventually put down at the request of the British repre-
582 sentatives in Jammu and Kashmir. The men never married
among their own people; in fact it was impossible for them to
do so since it was their universal custom that as soon as a girl
baby was born she was taken from her mother and either
buried alive or left exposed in the forest. Some suggest that this
was done in order to save the cost of the eventual dowry and
other marriage expenses, others that the work undertaken by
the Mians was men's work, and that women were useless to
them. So the Mian used to take a wife from among the castes
which were just a little below their own, a practise which is
contrary to the usual custom prevailing in India.

000 It is therefore not surprising to read that "close, queer

h Gervis T-8 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

Dogra AVG

It is therefore not surprising to read that "these queer 838
friendships between men and boys, similar to those which existed in the old days in Greece, are here seen, no attempt being made to hide them. These continue until long after the man has married; they go on until the boy himself becomes a man."

Another Hindu custom which has disappeared has before 742
been mentioned, that being suttee or sati—the burning of 178
widows. Many of the Rajas had large numbers of wives and concubines, and the stories told of the terrible deaths of these women are numberless, but that told by Drew, which he heard from an eye-witness, is of interest since it concerns the death of Hira Singh, the son of Raja Dhiyan Singh, ruler of Poonch. His widows and concubines, twenty-two in number, committed this suicide at a place near Jammu. A large square stage of faggots was built up under a rough roof; between the faggots ghi—or ghee, clarified butter—was placed to increase the violence of the flames. The women seated themselves on the platform, the wood was set on fire, "and the burning was finished without a voice or a scream being heard from them."

These terrible customs have long since died out. But the Muslims cannot point the accusing finger at the Hindus on that score for records show that in 1619 the Emperor Jehangir forbade Muslim widows emulating their Hindu sisters' display of devotion by an even more horrible immolation; he had discovered that just before his arrival in Rajauri a Muslim child-widow of twelve years of age had been buried alive in the grave of her old husband, and that it was becoming a practice there.

There are other castes of the Dogras; the Khatris—among 564
these are the higher class of traders and writers; next come the Thakurs, the cultivators. Then last of all are the lowest caste—even now not recognised by many Hindus as the people of that "way of life", they are what were known as the "untouchables", now referred to as the Harijans—later still as the scheduled castes: dark skinned—often black—they betray their low caste in their features, if not in their rasping voices. They do all the filthy jobs, the sweeping and work of a similar kind; even their shadow cast across the food of a Brahmin would cause it to become unfit for him to eat; the wells from which

In Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

Dogra AVI

564 they draw water become defiled by a bucket from which they drink being dropped into it, so that they have their own wells. Many of these beliefs have also passed away, although they die harder than one is led to believe with orthodox Hindus in this province of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

Dogra AV6

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Hindu and Muslim Festivals in Kashmir

THE Hindu customs and festivals which have survived are 796 colourful and happy occasions. The year is filled with them; it seems that the Hindu servant can always find some festival as an excuse for a holiday.

The one that I first saw in Jammu was Diwali—the festival of lights—which is held at the commencement of the winter. In some parts of India it is celebrated for a week, with crackers being let off each night. In Jammu, as in many other places, on the night of Diwali hundreds of little earthenware dishes are filled with castor oil into which cotton wicks are put and lighted. These are placed at equal intervals along the cornices of the houses, on window-sills and on door steps, so outlining the shape of the house with glowing lights. The name of the festival is without doubt taken from the Hindu word "diva", which [776] means lamp. This is the occasion when the people worship Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth; it is the time when they take out their money and worship it; when the shop-keeper takes out his books, worships them and makes up new ones for the next year. It is also the day throughout which men gamble in [777] the belief that it will bring luck for the coming year. It is a pretty festival, this one of the lights, one which has been [/77] improved upon with the passing years and the introduction of coloured electric light bulbs, even the trees outside the houses of the wealthy now being decorated with many hundreds of them.

And on this as well as some of the other festivals it is the 796 custom to call on relations and friends with gifts of sweets 574 most attractively done up with coloured cords and with some decorated with thin silver foil. When the fruits are in season,

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The fisherman on the lake (p. 106)

[Facing p. 252]

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796 the choicest of these are also presented; when there are too 574 many to be eaten, they are passed on to the poor.

Another Hindu festival is Holi. This is a real carnival 796 occasion, usually coming in March; then the people are changing into their lighter clothes. For this feast white is worn, for it can be sent to the dhobi and boiled clean the next day, since on Holi coloured powder is thrown in clouds over the people just as confetti is scattered about at a wedding. They smear the powder on each other's faces, in their hair, over their beards, and then to complete the frightful mess, so that it cannot be shaken out, syringes are brought along and water squirted freely. We read of the Maharaja in the old days joining happily in the festivities which lasted for days; on the last of these the people went into the streets scattering the powder and squirting water over all at will. None dared to object, they usually joined in the fun—and strangely enough the dhobies were among those who made, and were in, the greatest mess, possibly because it is the occasion when they—of low caste—are permitted to celebrate freely.

796 Basant Panchmi is a Hindu festival to which the servants of 651 the Maharaja and the Government did not look forward with pleasure. This is the Festival of Spring, when everyone wears yellow; if not completely clothed in it, then a yellow pugaree or a dupatta—scarf. It was the day on which the Maharaja, also dressed in yellow and seated on a yellow cushion, accepted presents of a percentage of each of his State servants' wages which, one after the other they brought and laid before him. And although the Maharaja was in Jammu at this season of the year, his officials and servants in Srinagar also had to make their contribution, the rulers place being taken by a gaddi or a yellow cushion. The givers came forward in correct order of precedence, from ministers down to gardeners—the more humble servants, because of the small amount of their pay, being permitted to make a contribution of fruits or flowers. 795 Then followed songs, music and dancing by the nautch girls 535 dressed in tight bodices and net, tinsel-spangled and trimmed skirts over long pantaloons, tight at the ankles, round which were silver bells matching those on the wrists, with each girl affecting a different pose, some brazenly laughing, others with shy-girl downcast eyes but always in the direction of the men, the watching women being of no account.

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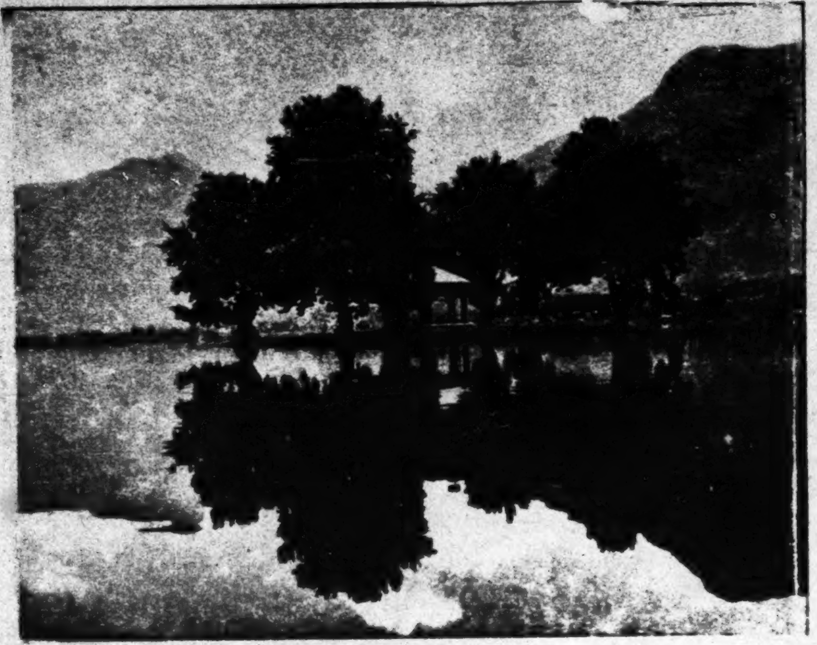

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Char Chinar (The Silver Isle) (p. 99)

Black marble pavilion at Shalimar (p. 109)

[facing p. 253]

2; Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [redacted]

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Kashmiri AV4

000 shy-girl, downcast eyes, but always in the direction of the men,
the watching women being of no account.

D The Hindu festival of Dasehra I saw celebrated in Srinagar.
796 It is surprising the number of these festivals the Muslims join;
773 in this it is almost as though it were their own. Dasehra is held
in memory of the victory of Rama, or Ram, one of the great
heroes of Hindu mythology, over Rawan, or Ravana, the King
of Ceylon. The many incidents of this particular war, which all
Hindus have learned from the book *Ramayana*, are performed
during the days preceding the great day of Dasehra, then im-
mense images of Rawan and his relations, usually three in all,
are set up. They are of paper built on a framework of bamboo
and stand about thirty feet high. In the evening of the day,
Sita, the wife of Ram, and the one whom Rawan has stolen,
personated by a boy dressed up, is carried forward and lets
D fly an arrow at the central figure of Ram. At this signal it is
796 bedlam let loose, the cannon crackers go off—these represent-
541 ing the blast of the artillery—the faggots resting at the feet of
the images of Ram's enemies are set ablaze, and they are all
blown up, burnt and destroyed. It is a terrific firework display
held on the polo ground, in the old days with the Maharaja
present, now with all the principal people of the city sitting
in the favoured positions, but quickly over-run when the
fires start.

D The festival takes place in the autumn, just when the cold
796 weather is commencing, so that winter clothes are brought out,
291 the women—and the men—wrapped in gay coloured pash-
mina shawls or wearing heavily embroidered, loose dressing-
gown types of coats. The glorious chinar trees surrounding the
ground are also changing their colour and are flaming red,
just as though they also were joining in the festival, making a
grand contribution.

K The Muslims also have their holy days, and just like the
Hindus, those which they consider the most important in
796 Kashmir, although they may not be the same ones as are
celebrated in other parts of India or Pakistan. Srinagar is natur-
ally the centre of the Muslim festivities, just as Jammu, with
its large Hindu population is that of their belief, but here again
all communities seem to join in making them general holidays,

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [redacted]

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796 and like those of the Hindus the dates change, some of the Muslim festivals being controlled by the appearance of the moon.

796 782 This applies in particular to the Id-ul-Fitr celebration which follows the thirty days of the fast of Ramzan, when no good Muslim will take food or water, smoke or partake of any pleasures during the hours of daylight. At this time except for the very old and the sick, the latter completing their fast after they have regained their health, they may only eat and drink between dusk and dawn, just before dawn taking a bath so that they may start another day of fast clean of body. Since Ramzan falls during the hottest time of the year, one can imagine the awful strain that this penance must be. You can watch the fasting Muslim becoming thinner, you can see him slowing up in his work; for some reason unknown to me, many of them also cease to laugh during that time. The mosques are very full on the Fridays—which are the sabbath days of the Muslims—of those days the last being the most important of them all. Then comes that final one of the thirty days, the sunset of that day is eagerly awaited; all eyes are turned to the skies, for if the moon, which is always new at that time of the month, appears, then the fast may be broken that night, but if not, the faithful must wait for yet another day, when the fast may be broken, whether the moon is seen or not. This is followed by the feast of Ramzan, which the people celebrate by filling their own bellies, and those of their friends—even Hindu friends if they can take the food—after which they return to the normal way of life. During this period of the fast the gifts to the mosques have increased; because of their fasting period, the faithful have considered their religion the more, even those who do not go without, being reminded of it by looking at those who do, and all Kashmiris, being super-
[735] stitious make their contribution to the poor box. In fact on all the five religious days of the year the preparation of food to be given to the poor and needy forms the labours of the women; that of the men it would seem is in the giving, although I have seen veiled Muslim women standing at their doorways, dispensing charity to beggars.

000 One of the greatest of all Muslim festivals is Id-ul-Zuha.

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One of the greatest of all Muslim festivals is Id-ul-Zuha. Strange as it may seem, it does not have any connection with 796 the Prophet of Islam. It commemorates a great event in the 779 life of an alien prophet, that of Abraham, on the occasion when he was about to sacrifice his son to the glory of God. The only great difference between the stories as written in the Bible and the Koran being that whereas Abraham's son is called Isaac in the one he is called Ismail in the other. According to the Muslim traditional records, the Prophet Abraham—or Ibrahim as there recorded—who built a temple at Kabiba, had a vision there one night directing him to "sacrifice in the name of the Lord, thy God", and the Prophet sacrificed sheep and camels. The vision appeared again, on the second occasion insisting on the sacrifice of "the thing dearest to thee—thy son". Early on the morning of the tenth of the Islamic lunar month of Zil-Hajj, Abraham rose, bathed both himself and his son, put on new clothes and set off for the Mount with the boy following. On the Mount he blindfolded his son and laid him down on the altar, tying him hand and foot, then as he drew forth the great knife from the sleeve of his long toga, the Angel Gabriel appeared and as the Prophet lifted his eyes to the heavens, removed the prone figure of the boy and replaced it with an Arabian ibex, which Abraham slew as, gripped tight in his trembling hand, the knife fell. It is this awe-inspiring, great act of devotion to his God that on this day is celebrated.

That is why it is obligatory on all Muslims who are able to 796 afford it, to sacrifice on that day an animal, usually a sheep or a 782 goat, sometimes a camel. These animals are carefully selected and bought days, sometimes weeks, before, conscientiously conforming to the prescribed requirements of a young beast without blemish. On this morning, always wearing new clothes with white predominating, but every colour present, the Muslim men and boys make either for the mosques or on to the maidans for congregational prayers. The women remain to [562] pray at home, although on rare occasions they might be seen together behind the great crowd of men. These prayers demonstrating the brotherhood of all Muslims, irrespective of rank or station in life, result in high officials of the State rubbing shoulders with beggars and men of poor means, whilst the prayers are led by just anyone chosen from among the con-

Kashmiri AV4

796 gregation. The prayers finished, the Iman delivers a sermon,
782 and although those who listen may not understand his words,
since they are often spoken in Arabic, they know that he is
telling them of the significance of the great event the day
commemorates, and calling upon them to rededicate themselves
to go forward with God's message of peace on earth and good-will towards all men. The finish of the sermon is the signal
for each of the congregation to turn and embrace the man
nearest him then move among the crowd embracing all and
sundry.

Returning to their homes, they exchange greetings with the
rest of their family, embrace even the servants, and give money
to them as well as to the children. The animal, which has been
given a bath that morning, is then brought out, often it has
splashes of yellow here and there on its coat. The sacrifice as
performed by Abraham is then made, usually by the head of the
house or some elderly relation, after reciting a text of dedi-
[735] cation. The larger portion of the meat should be given to the
poor and needy, some sent with due ceremony to relations and
friends, and the rest cooked and served in the many dishes of
grilled and roasted meat which are eaten the day through.

796 The Muslims' most important festival though is Miraj-i-
563 Alam, the anniversary of the night on which the Prophet
ascended from Jerusalem into Heaven. Next on the list is Id-i-Milad, which is the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday.

The greatest of the Buddhist Festivals is Lord Buddha's birthday. The Sikh's most important one is Guru Hargovind's Day.

796 Christmas is a day which is observed to an extent by all, the
779 day when shops are closed, the day when people who have any
contact with Europeans wear their best clothes, whatever their
faith. There are few Kashmiri Christians, for as Canon Tyndale-
[798] Biscoe has pointed out, it is not easy for a Hindu or a Muslim
to change his faith to Christian without being turned out from
his family home, persecuted, and even "killed in an accident".
But there are the Europeans who live there, admittedly far
fewer now than before, and even those were reduced in number
during the winter months when they went down to the plains.
000 On Christmas day the servants appear at your door, whether

2t Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

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On Christmas day the servants appear at your door whether
it be a bungalow or a houseboat. They bring with them their 796
children, all of them being in festive dress, just as they had been 431
for one of their own celebrations, and they stand and look—
waiting for the sahib to give them a present. If they are your
own personal servants, then you are expected to give each
some article of clothing, in addition to handing some money
to the head of the family, and sending a present to his wife,
for she would not have come with them, although she might
come separately to your wife if she happens to be there. Then
come the floods of other people, the traders will bring presents,
but the others come to collect baksheesh even although you
never remember having seen them before, until in the end—
unless you have started to celebrate early—you get worked
up to a shocking state at being denuded of all you had in your
pocket. Somehow with me this temper lasted for only a short 000
time, for I began to remember that with so many of them they
really did believe that it was "better to give than receive", that
they so looked forward to that particular day of the year, would
be so proud to walk round to show those friends whose masters
or patrons had gone to the plains what the sahibs had given
them. It was in all so little to each one, and like their own
festivals a time of goodwill; the winter had come, they were
shut into their valley, business was bad, the store cupboards
were being slowly reduced in their contents. And Christmas in
Kashmir can be a wonderful time; so often the first fall of snow
comes by that date, the smell of pine logs floats over the air,
the snow-stilled quietness is such that the music from the little
organ in the church carries far, as does that from the radio sets
tuned in to Christmas programmes. And when returning from
church, or taking a short walk, meeting those of the land, it
never strikes them that although you might be a European,
you might not follow the Christian faith, so that you are
greeted with a smile, a lifting of the hand in salutation and
though they may not speak English, yet they always know, "A
Merry Christmas, sahib!" And hearing it in that country where
poverty is to be found everywhere, you feel ashamed that you
could earlier have been annoyed, and now wish you had bags
of gold to scatter, that all of them might be happy and merry
with you on that day, for you know they really wish you well.

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Dogra AV6

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In Jammu, the Muslims and the Hindus are as distinct from each other in their beliefs, their festivals and their worshipping as they are in the rest of India and Pakistan. This also applies to Poonch and the other border States where the Muslims predominate. They tolerate each other, very seldom clash, but never blend. In the Valley it is different; in so many of the festivals and superstitions if not the beliefs, one finds traces of the Hindu in the Muslim and vice versa. Never does the Christian move one iota from his beliefs, neither does the Buddhist. Then it must be remembered that in the Valley this wholesale conversion from Hindu to Muslim, back again to Hindu, then returning to Muslim, went on ding-dong between every few generations in the old days; the other parts of the country escaped it. Small wonder that there is this trace, not of one being absorbed by the other, but a tolerance, even an interest in the other. It seems that in their conversion, they never entirely gave up those beliefs they had learnt as children, for there never seems to be an inborn hatred or despising of those of the other faith. A certain amount of credit for this must go to the Dogra rulers, who although orthodox Hindus had shown many signs of indulgence, such as giving money for the repair of mosques, and under whom the State maintained mullahs to perform certain ceremonies, such as marriages.

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In places one finds the same shrine or spring being adored by both Hindu and Muslim, though the Hindu will claim it as his, the Muslim as his; as for instance in that place where there is an imprint of a foot in the stone; the Hindus maintain that it is the foot-print of Vishnu, a Hindu god, and naming it Vishna pad, they worship there; the Muslims, on the other hand, declaring it to be the imprint of the foot of the Prophet, calling it Kadam-i-Rasul, pray there.

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My quite innocent question to one old Hindu who had taken me to see a holy cave in which was a kind of grotto, as to its story; his answer that it was the home and death cell of a great sadhu—a holy man of the Hindus—and the immediate denial of this by the Muslim driver, who insisted that in it there once lived a famous Punjabi fakir—a holy man of the Indian Muslims—ended in blows between them, for it was in Jammu Province and both were Dogra. Finally I had to separate them,

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cursing the day that I had troubled to go to see the cave. We journeyed back with the Muslim and Hindu sitting next to each other in front of me looking straight ahead in stony silence, a great relief from the outward journey when each chattered to the other, and I had every reason to be concerned over the lack of the driver's attention to the winding narrow road.

K 771

There does not seem to be a very great percentage of either of the faiths who practise their religion in the really orthodox fashion and live their lives as laid down by the books. Few fail to observe their own festivals though, while many also enjoy those of the other religion, and when you attempt to discuss their professed religion or way of life with them, it is surprising how little they really know of it in the Valley. Among the Hindus in any event, all over India one finds a different story attached to not only the various festivals, but also the divinities, while each part has its own particular god the people worship; this applies frequently to each caste.

K 563

Of most beliefs and customs the Hindu and Muslim teachings and practices are the reverse. For instance, the Hindu worships the cow, the Muslim eats it—that is if he is permitted to do so. To the Muslim the pig is unclean; the Sikh considers it a succulent dish. The Kashmiri Muslim shaves his head, whilst the Sikh grows his long. The Sikh does not smoke, but is permitted to drink spirits; with the Muslim it is the other way about. The Muslim sabbath is Friday, the Hindu holy day Tuesday. The Muslim buries his dead; the Hindu, like the Buddhist, burns his. The Muslim is circumcised, the Hindu, and especially the Sikh, will suffer much rather than agree to the operation, even on a doctor's advice. The Hindu worships in temples—their women flock to them each day—and also before their gods either as a statue or a picture in the home. The Muslim should always worship with others in the mosque; he is not forbidden to worship in the house (his womenfolk should) but men should not do so unless they are sick. Then we come to washing; the Hindu will take a complete bath at least once a day, the Muslim will wash hands and feet before he enters a mosque to pray—from the filthy state of some of the Valley Muslims, it seems they seldom pray. There is no divorce

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

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563 for the Hindu; it is easy for a Muslim to divorce his wife, and under certain circumstances for the wife to divorce the husband.

The Hindu will decorate his temples with pictures, statues and carvings of gods and other figures. The Muslim is only permitted to adorn his mosques with scrolls and texts from the Koran; there is nowhere a picture of the Prophet Mohammed. The Hindu believes in reincarnation. The Muslim believes in a hereafter. Both believe in God; the Muslim prays direct to him, the Hindu to his own smaller god and there are few of those of the Valley who do not believe that the stone replica or the symbol of him is the actual god. The majority of those people you see in Hindu temples are women and children, but in the mosques of the Muslims women are seldom seen. The worshippers are men, the children their sons.

In the Valley both will pray or plant prayer flags before some saint's grave that is said to bring good fortune to "give" something; both will drink of a spring which is said to cure some ill, though it may be reputed to have been made to flow by either a sadhu or a saint, it matters not. Both remove their shoes before entering temple or mosque; that is common everywhere though, just as are the beggars who congregate outside the mosques on Fridays and outside the temples on Festival days—and there are very many smaller "holy" days than those celebrated by all; the ordinary pundit may have forgotten them, the beggar has not.

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771 Writing way back in 1895, Lawrence,[1] who was responsible for the land reforms in Kashmir, in his book, *The Valley of Kashmir*, gave several detailed chapters on the religions and the social life pertaining to it in the Valley; it seems that very little has changed since those days. He talks of the principal persuasions of the Muslims, the Shiahs and Sunnis, who were for ever quarrelling; of how the Sunnis were on friendly terms with the Kashmiri pundits—the Hindus—and though they very strictly observed the fast of Ramzan, they did not keep Friday as a day of rest; few of them made the one journey in their lifetime to Mecca, as is incumbent upon every good Muslim who is able to afford it. He says, "In their hearts they are Hindus, and the religion of Islam is too abstract to satisfy their superstitious

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[1] [See 1: Lawrence in the AV4 Kashmiri file.--Analyst]

Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir-[redacted]

Kashmiri AV4

cravings, and they turn from the mean priest and the mean 563
mosque to the pretty shrines of carved wood and roof bright 771
with iris flowers where the saints of the past lie buried." These
greater shrines are very beautiful, some are combined with the [778]
mosque; here are to be found thickly carpeted floors, wonderful
glass chandeliers and wall coverings of exquisite rugs.

The *principal or more* famous temples are also often beautiful; usually they are placed close to a river, or have a pool fed by a clear spring of water overhung by shady trees and teeming with hundreds of sacred fish; nearby will be a stream where the worshippers may bathe. The temples are filled with the scent of flowers brought there and kept fresh by the water scattered over them; most of the idols stand within a trough, many have an earthenware jar resting on an iron stand over them, and from this, water is taken to keep the blossoms fresh, to continue throwing forth their divine scent. Within the temple there is gaiety, light and a heavenly aroma.

Within the mosque there is a sombreness, the air is heavy, the light is dim, except when all are assembled and the lamps are lit, then a solemnity rests over the building with the rows of men, standing with heads bowed and hands before them held out palm upwards, or kneeling with heads bent until they touch the ground, all moving together like soldiers on parade.

Much in the Muslim beliefs and recorded past is like that of 779
the Christians. Many are the stories found in the Bible which are within the pages of the Koran, they vary one from the other but very little. The Muslim acknowledges that Jesus walked this earth, but will not admit that he was The Son of God. To them he was but a prophet like Abraham and Mohammed, and the greatest of all of them was Mohammed; he was the last.

Lawrence said that he had endeavoured to ascertain the 771
religious ideas of the Hindu, but that he had come to the 563
conclusion that religion existed only to a slight extent, and that in Kashmir its place was "Taken by an elaborate social code prescribing the conduct of daily life, the sanctions of which were social and not religious". To me it appeared just the same —a way of life.

Fifty years ago intelligent Kashmiri Hindus were complaining to him of the laxness entering their religion; in these days it is

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771 much the same; the foster-mother of Hindu children frequently
563 being a Muslim, the water carrier, although a Muslim, supplying
water to the Hindu, food cooked on a Muslim boat being
eaten by a Hindu, and so on.

346 Except in Jammu Province there are few Hindu Temples
358 in the villages, and these, together with the mosques, are
uncared for, unswept, both inside as well as out; the priests and
mullahs are mostly uneducated fellows and as superstitious as
the followers of the faith they are supposed to teach and lead.

731 It is only during periods of national calamity or trouble such
771 as earthquakes, floods, outbreaks of cholera and such-like that
the temples and mosques are remembered and repaired and for
a time even decorated while the people flock to them with
trembling lips and generous gifts, but when all the troubles have
passed, their religious fervour fades with it. It is as though they
feel that they have appeased a wrathful God, and having done
so, need pay no more attention until the next time—although
surely this is also true of the followers of most other faiths.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Births, Marriages and Deaths

UNLIKE those of the Christian religion, the customs and ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death in the Hindu and Muslim community of the Valley are quite elaborate, and although they now may not always be carried out entirely as demanded by an orthodox member of the faith, much is; superstitions maintained by fear of something ill resulting being responsible for this. 771

The ceremony of a Hindu birth is most elaborate, with mystic figures chalked on the floor, fire, pots and pestle being worshipped by a girl, presents to the priest and with shouting and rejoicing if a boy is born—this regardless of the ill effects upon the mother. Always a most careful note is made for the astrologer of the exact time of the birth. On the fourth day all the usual tasty sweetmeats are carefully prepared and sent round as gifts; the mother's parents send her special food. On the ninth day mother and child are bathed in some auspicious hour suggested by the priest, and the child is named. On the eleventh day the mother moves out into the courtyard or compound of the house for the first time, sitting down on the same mystic figure drawn on the ground, and showing the sunshine to the child. The house is swept, the bed remade, and they are no longer "unclean". The family Brahmin is called in, he performs a most curious ceremony in which the mother of the child has to take the five products of the cow, milk, butter, ghee, dung and urine, thus purifying herself. When this is finished the astrologers of the mother and the father cast the child's horoscope; this is most necessary for the time of his or her marriage. 851 [787] [553] 846 787

When the child is a month old another feast is given, he then receives new clothes, which are supposed to be made by the 852

852 priest's wife who uses in their making a rose thorn as a needle. At the age of six months, he takes his first solid food consisting of boiled rice and milk; at that time his ears are pierced for earrings and food is distributed to the relatives. In the third year comes the ceremony of shaving the head, a happy occasion; the boy's hands and feet are dyed red, a feast is provided by the paternal aunt, for which she receives gifts of rice, salt and money; the boy's hair is buried under a tree. With a girl there
881 is no shaving of the head. When of an age between seven and thirteen on a day fixed by the astrologer, the boy is given the sacred thread and becomes a true Brahmin. The people feast for five days before that date; the maternal uncle presents gifts the day preceding it. The ceremony is performed by the family priest who invokes the protection of the sixty-four deities. Friends and relations give the father gifts of money. It is on this day that the boy is confirmed as a Brahmin; among the many strange things that happen is that he is shown a virgin and a heifer seven times, after which the sacred thread of three strings is placed round his neck, mystic figures are traced on the ground round where he stands, the women sing, coins and shells are thrown over his head, and he is then carried in state down to the river where he performs his prayer ceremonies. Congratulations are offered, everyone gets food, and the priest receives money.

842 Although there is no reason why a pundit whose wife has
599 been unable to give him a child should not take a second wife, this is not generally done among the middle-class people. Instead they will adopt a son, he may or may not come from those of the pundit's *gotra*—that is his tribal division, and the only restriction made is that the boy must not yet have been
[529] invested with the sacred thread. Such a son, if adopted before he is born, is treated as the eldest son, and adopted sons cannot
597 be disinherited as can real sons. A son may also be adopted by
599 a widow, since, in the old days before widows were permitted to remarry, it was only by this means that she could ensure for herself a roof over her head and a bite of food in her old age.

One of the most lovely old Hindu ladies I know in Srinagar has such a son. He must now be one of the wealthiest of pundits there, and he worships his "mother" who is at all times his first

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consideration. As an unhappy child-widow she was sitting out- 577
side the back door of her father-in-law's house when the boy, 589
then but a few days old, was dropped into her lap by a Hindu woman who, hiding her face, hurried on. By the time the girl had realised what had happened the woman had disappeared. She looked down at the child in her lap and after a while she too fled the house eventually to take a job as an ayah to an Englishwoman so that she might bring the child up. It was a long story of which both "mother" and "son" were very proud, one which rang the whole way through with their deep gratitude for a single Englishwoman who had seen to the education of the boy who, with his inborn astuteness, had been able to build up a progressive business and give to his "mother" a life, as she expressed it "of a Maharani, with all the luxuries and pleasures, but none of the ties!"

585 The wedding day, always an important day in the life of any man or woman the whole world over, is far more so to the Hindu of the Valley, for during that day the groom is referred to as the Maharaja, the bride as the Maharani, and the best man as the Pot Maharaja, and in the time of Pathan rule, he was likely to be called upon to undertake his duties, since it was not then uncommon for the groom, all decked up in his regalia, to be seized, and in that event the best man became the groom.

584 The marriage of Hindus is all arranged. In Kashmir this is usually undertaken by one of the professional match-makers, for there is not, as in India, the ever-available "matrimonial column" of the leading daily paper in which parents can advertise for a husband or wife for their adorable and domesticated, cultured daughter or handsome and intelligent son—always with the emphasis on the fair complexion of both, the beauty and sweet nature of the girl or the excellent health and physique of the boy.

When a likely bride has been found for the boy, the family astrologers are called in and the horoscopes of both boy and girl are compared. If these are found to be favourable, there may be arranged the amount of the dowry which is expected to come over with the girl. It is usual for the boy's mother to see the girl, for with the Hindu family system the son frequently remains in the home, bringing his wife into the family, and his

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584 mother will have to put up with the new daughter-in-law. As a token of the agreement, the girl's parents send to the boy's parents a little salt, a little sugar and a few rupees. Besides the question of caste among the Hindus, there is also a certain amount of snobbishness, with newly rich traders' families endeavouring to marry their sons and daughters into those of the old aristocrats, for the latter, although they may have fallen into decay and near poverty, are very proud. This is where the match-maker is able to charge an unbelievably high fee for his services.

585 Again, the astrologers fix the day for the marriage; the houses of both families are swept and decorated, certain rites are performed, one known as *deogun*, from which dates the bride's formal initiation into Brahminism. On the day of all days, the groom, wearing rich clothes, dripping with jewels and decorated with heron feathers, starts off either on an ornamented, plumed horse or in a boat for his bride's house. Four Hindu attendants are supposed to accompany him, three with yaks' tails and the fourth with a silver cup and a shell, whilst strangely enough a Mussulman holds an ornamental umbrella over the groom's head. Decked out much the same as the groom is another boy—usually a near relative; he is the best man. As they near the bride's home the conch shells are blown, and a relation or an honoured guest of the bride comes down to meet the party. The actual ceremony is often complicated, varying slightly in different parts, the bride wearing the most lovely of fine clothes, her veiled face made up with painted decorations, and always with downcast eyes of modesty. Until the ceremony groom and bride will not have seen each other. If the hour set by the astrologer for the marriage is during the day, then after the marriage feast the guests escort both bride and groom to the house of the groom; if it falls during the night, then the party goes there in the morning. Immediately after the ceremony the bride's father adds three more strings to the groom's sacred thread. Returning to his home, the groom's entrance is barred by either his aunt, or his sister to whom he must pay some money. After one or two days in her husband's home the bride is taken back to her father's home; there she displays the jewels, clothes and other presents she has received,

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after which she returns to the home of her husband—her father-in-law's house. Child marriage is no longer supposed to take place, but it is said that it does in some villages, although the marriage is not consummated until the bride is about thirteen years of age, after that she no longer keeps on her anklets and wears a headdress called a *taranga*—one sometimes also worn by girls who have reached a marriageable age though they still wear anklets. 585

Marriages are costly to both Muslim and Hindu fathers who will boast of the terrific amount spent on weddings in the family; often this is by way of explanation for their present poverty. If only the State would make a law that not more than a certain amount may be spent on a wedding, it would be secretly welcomed by those who have become impoverished by them, but as it is, the custom is there, and it is considered a disgrace not to lavish out money on feasting relatives and friends for days, and in giving masses of presents. The gifts from the father of the bride to his daughter are many, the bridegroom by custom receives from him gold ear-rings and gold armlets—in these days he frequently receives gold studs and rings in place of the latter. The bride receives from her father-in-law the *chandanhar*, which is a gold ornament worn round the neck. In addition to this she is given the *dij hors*, these being gold ear-ornaments of a mystic shape worn by her so long as her husband lives. 583

Because of the cost of the dowry and the wedding, the most terrible thing to wish a man is that he may be blessed with many daughters. This I once heard done at the border post on entering the State of Jammu and Kashmir, by a Scottish woman who knew her Kashmir well. Her victim was a Hindu Customs officer who had gone out of his way to be unpleasant to her and demanded excessive dues on the articles she was bringing into the country. But on hearing the blessing that she spat at him as she opened her purse, the poor man, white in the face suddenly discovered that he had made a mistake in his calculations, and requested but a fraction of the amount he had first demanded. Just as she was about to drive off in her car, he came up to the door, wished her a comfortable journey and then begged her to withdraw her "blessing". We afterwards heard 583 842 562

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583 that the wretched man was then already blessed with six daugh-
562 ters and was hourly expecting to hear that his wife had given
him another child!

548 Poor fathers who have been blessed with many daughters
583 have cursed the day that they married, and been driven to drink
542 or drugs at the realization of the amount they will have to
567 borrow in order to pay the dowry and marriage feast for each;
so that one hears of terrible happenings as a result of this
custom. One such I heard of the sweeper in a European house-
hold the master of which had gone for many months to
England. On his return, after a while he noticed that three of
the sweeper's eight daughters he had seen grow up were not
there. Then it was that his butler told him that while the sahib
was away, the sweeper, who had taken to drinking in his worry
over his daughters, had sold them one after the other into
prostitution houses for three hundred rupees each.

535 This happened but a few years ago. Not many years prior to
545 that time, had the daughters been possessed of good looks and
562 shapely bodies, he could have sold them away as dancing girls
for many times that amount; the Kashmiri dancing girl was
famed throughout India for her good looks. In that event the
girl did have a chance of becoming the concubine of a man of
wealth, and being very powerful in his household if she produced
for him his first son, although most of them finished their lives
in the brothels, with the clear scented air of their motherland
but a dim memory.

761 Death to the orthodox Hindu has no fears for he believes in
775 reincarnation; there is but the sorrow at parting from his loved
ones, and generally parents shower all their love on their
children whom they seldom seem to scold when young,
husband and wife in an arranged marriage being bound only
763 by them. The dying man is placed on a straw bed of kusa grass
on a clean place on Mother Earth. Salt, rice and money are
given on his behalf to the poor, and the mantras are recited
without a break beside him. As he breathes his last he is lifted
764 from the bed to the earth, then back on to the grass bed and a
lamp is lighted at his head, whether it be day or night. There
are ceremonies of washing, and wrapping in a sheet, then the
body is carried on a board on the shoulders of four men—to

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347

There were shops of all kinds (p. [illegible])

The wood carver (p. [illegible])

322

[Facing p. 268]

764 whom this task is considered a great honour, and they therefore change places frequently when the followers are many and the journey short on the way to the burning ghat. Sometimes the body is placed on a boat and taken on this down the river to the ghat, one mourner preceding the body, swinging a small pot of burning incense to clear the way, with those surrounding and following the corpse shouting to drive off evil spirits.

The funeral pyre is lighted by the son of the dead man. The cremation is performed by Mussulmans known as *kawji*, who in addition to receiving a fee in cash, are given half the shroud for their services and for providing the wood; the other half of the shroud is burned with the corpse. If the body is that of a woman, then a few ornaments are left on it, and these, when recovered from the fire, are also part of their fee. Those bones which are not consumed by the fire are, two days later, brought to the home and left in a hole in the wall until the day of Gang Ashtmi, when they are taken by the eldest son to the holy lake under the mountain Haramukh and cast in.

765 [775] For ten days the house of the deceased is unclean and no one will eat food cooked there, and for the ten days that the soul of the dead man journeys to the other world, rites for the dead are performed by the river. The son of the dead man shaves his head and beard for those days of active mourning, and at the end of that time puts on new clothes given him by his father-in-law. Only then can he return home with the other mourners who form themselves into two lines outside his door so that he may
[769] pass into the house between them. On the eleventh day a service is performed for the dead person and for ancestors up to the seventh generation; only now can the family, which has for the ten days abstained from eating meat, partake of it. This same service is performed every fifteenth day for three months, after which it is repeated every month until the anniversary. During the whole of this time, the widows and women of the family mourn, for some months they do not change their clothes. During that time they doubtless pray for a marriage to which they may be bidden, for in that event they may again wear clean clothes and once more place round their necks the thread which was put on at marriage.

000 The Muslim baby first sees the light of day in the home of

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A doodh Wallah (p. 261)

Weaving Kashmir silk on the old wooden loom (p. 156)

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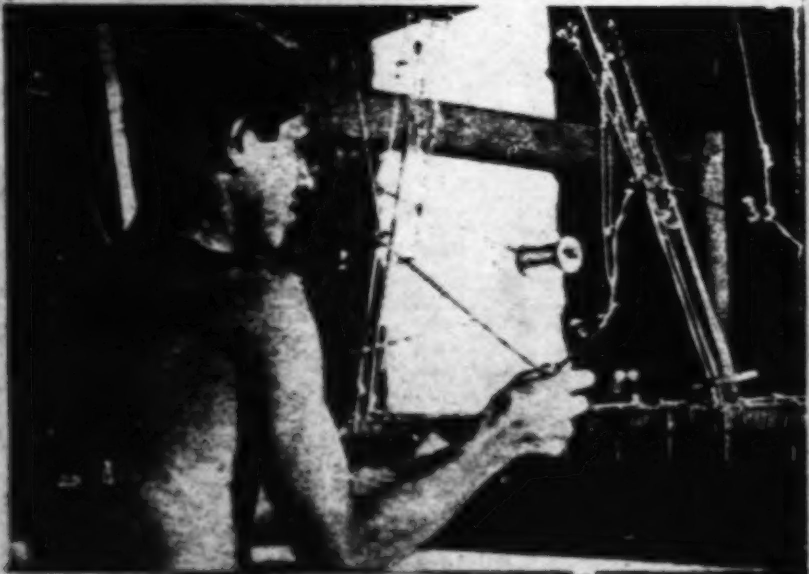

[Facing p. 269]

844 The Muslim baby first sees the light of day in the home of his mother's family, she having gone there about two months before his expected arrival. A "wise woman" attends as the midwife, and after the child is born the priest comes in and taking the child by the right ear whispers into it the word *Azan*, so welcoming the child into the new world and faith; he then repeats into the left ear the Takbir, adding the warning that death
846 is the end of all things. The mother fasts for two days, then has
553 a meal of wheaten bread and eggs. On the seventh day, known as *sundar* day, the mother bathes and the child is named by the
852 Pir of the family. The name he suggests usually has some connection with the month, for instance it may be that it is the anniversary of the death of a great saint—the boy will receive that name, maybe he was born in the month of Ramzan—that will be his name. And on that day the barber will be called to shave the child's head; this is the occasion of a great feast. Two, perhaps three months, will elapse before the mother returns to the home of her father-in-law with the child and bringing with her presents, among which should be a cow with a calf, or a pony with a foal, but in these days he is fortunate if she brings back a goat with a kid. Then at the age of four or five the boy is circumcised. Then is the occasion for a feast and presents. Friends and relatives are invited, the boy's feet and hands are stained with red *mendhi* dye, and he wears the most royal of clothing. For the seven days before the ceremony there is singing and feasting; on the day he is placed on a basket in which is a cock; this is the perquisite of the barber who is called in to perform the circumcision. Then, the boy by this time usually howling loudly, all the relatives and friends kiss his hand and give him presents of money, after which they carry him off to a shrine, and return to the house of his father for the feast.

584 The betrothal and marriage of the Muslim is a most complicated affair. If, when the boy has reached the years of puberty a marriage with a near relative cannot be arranged, a go-between is called in. He is not necessarily one who undertakes this as an occupation, but is one who is known for his powers of persuasion. He visits the homes of families with marriageable daughters, tells them highly coloured stories of the wealth, good looks, high birth and connections of his client, and suggests a marriage. From that time the selected girl is no

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584 longer allowed to go out of her house or compound. The go-between arranges an informal meeting of both the fathers, at which is settled the day for the betrothals. Shortly after this the father of the boy, accompanied by a small party of relatives, carries to the girl's house some presents, usually consisting of silver bracelets, salt, sugar and cash, and the party is entertained by the girl's father. After the feast the betrothals are announced to the party, the priest, who is always present, asks a blessing, and records the intention of a marriage. The party remains the night and the following morning the boy's father receives from the girl's father, a blanket or a turban, together with half the gift of cash, sugar and salt he had brought with him, with these he returns home. On the four chief Kashmir Muslim holidays, the boy's father sends presents to the girl. For six months visits take place, and after this the marriage date is fixed, with the *Langan Chir* of from Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 being given to the girl's father by the boy's father. For a week before the marriage the girl sits inside her father's house with her hair down, whilst at both her house and that of the boy the singing and drumming goes on for all the days and nights—calling the
585 guests. The day before the marriage, the boy's father sends some *mendhi* dye to the future bride's house; with this she stains her hands and feet. On the day of the marriage, the bridegroom after taking a bath, is dressed up in all his finery and all the jewels the family can produce or borrow, and his relatives come and give him presents. Together with his party he sets off, either walking, riding or by boat; first he visits a nearby shrine, there to say his prayers, then he goes to the graves of his father—if he is dead—and his grandfather, following that he makes for the bride's house, sending ahead of him the presents and the palanquin in which she will return. As they come close on her home, the women of her party come out, and standing in a half circle facing the men sing songs of welcome, telling the girl inside how handsome is her groom. Then, on his reaching the door, the village barber pours out a jar of water, and into this the groom's representative tosses a silver rupee, a custom known as *adhul* and one repeated when the groom takes his bride away. With the whole party assembled, the groom sits on the cushions like a Maharaja and a feast commences, and not

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585 until the guests can eat no more do they start the marriage
proper. This commences by the two fathers quarrelling over
the *mehr* or dower to be fixed, it is just a form and part of the
proceedings; next the headman of the village demands his fees,
with him the father quarrels; he is followed by the bearers, and
most other servants making their demands. Finally the marriage
contract is completed by the Kazi, and he receives his fee
without a quibble. Whilst this has been going on the bride and
her friends have been examining the presents, and, wearing the
best dress she has in her trousseau, she is carried either by her
brother or if she has none or he happens to be too young, her
maternal uncle, to the palanquin, inside which is a sheep's heart
and some salt. In this, accompanied by the bridegroom, her
brother and a female relative who will instruct the young virgin
girl in the formalities which have later to be observed, she is
carried to the bridegroom's house, but on the way the women
of the village will come out and demand to see the bride. On
reaching the house, she is carried from her palanquin to a room
which has been prepared for her; there she sits with downcast
head until her mother-in-law comes and raises her face, at the
same time taking from the bride's handkerchief some money
which is her perquisite and known as *hash kant*. Next all the
women of her groom's family come and kiss the bride's hand,
placing silver rupees in it. Seldom have bride or groom seen
[265] each other before marriage. A great feast is given on the marriage
night, it goes on throughout the hours of darkness, so
large that usually a contractor comes with all his gigantic pots
and pans to prepare and serve it, and not until the next day to
the guests depart.

585 The bride remains seven days in her husband's house, then
591 putting on clothes given her by her father-in-law, she returns
to her own father's house. She may be accompanied to it by her
husband, but there he leaves her, and may not again visit her
until he is invited by his father-in-law. It may be many months
before he and his friends are bidden to return for his bride, then
another feast is given, he remains there for three days, and
departs with his wife and a present of clothes from his father-in-law:
after this husband and wife live together.

585 There is little doubt that until not many years ago, in the

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villages, consummation of the marriage took place and 585
cohabitation used to commence when the girl was as young as ten years of age—rather a horrifying thought when the husband was not a boy but a middle-aged man, for a Muslim may have four wives; she is now often but twelve years of age when she first starts to have regular intercourse with her husband, to
become a mother by the time that she is fourteen. The girls of 145
those parts mature and age early: at thirty they are middle-aged and can easily be grandmothers, so that it is not unusual for mother and daughter to go on producing babies side by side for some years with uncles and aunts years younger than nephews and nieces, whilst in one case I heard of a grandmother who was competing with an increase in her own family—so often have I been utterly confused by these family complications.

Now we strike another strange custom of the Valley. The 597
Hindu may adopt a son; the Muslim, if it seems as though there 584
will be no possibility of finding a husband for his daughter—and strangely enough Muslim fathers are usually very attached to their daughters—may, when the girl is but a child, take into his house a boy of a family which has been blessed with more sons than money; this boy is known as a *Khana damad*. He is the intended husband for the daughter, and he will work as a labourer for his future father-in-law for something like seven years before he marries the daughter of the house. Oddly enough there is no legal obligation on the part of either man or boy, there is a moral one only, that at the end of the time he can have his bride. The advantage seems to be all on the side of the father-in-law, in that during those years he has the services of a labourer free, the expenses of his daughter's marriage are small, and he keeps his daughter in the house. In the latter years especially though, it has been the custom for a deed of gift to be executed by the man in favour of the boy, and in the event of the boy leaving his house, then the property which is contained in that deed remains with the boy. But this does not frequently happen and generally future father-in-law and son get on well together whilst the *Khana damad* assumes the Kram—a kind of
surname—of his father-in-law. During the cursed beggar 597
system which prevailed in the Sikh times, it was always the poor wretched *Khana damad* who was handed over for service

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597 on the road to Gilgit; if he died on the way, the son of the house had escaped that death, so that the *khana damadi* system was then most popular.

597 I recently came across a rather pretty story of a beautiful girl
584 who fell deeply in love with the *Khana damad* who was intended as her husband. Her twin brother warned her that their widower father, a successful and proud farmer, intended, after some six years, to break his contract with the father of the boy, and after turning him out on some trumped up charge, marry her off to a most influential old man of the village. Together, brother and sister conceived a scheme to outwit the father; its success rested entirely on what affection father had for daughter. At night, with her brother in her room, she opened the door to the *Khana damad* and when both were seated together the brother called loudly to his father, who, when he came, was shown by him how he had found the lovers. In the old days, the father would have slain the boy and might also have killed his daughter, but she, by pleading with him, and the son, when his father's temper had subsided, by pointing out the shame he could bring on the family by exposing it, brought the old man to his senses, and the young couple were married shortly afterwards. The story does not finish in true story-book fashion though, for they were childless after being married for nearly twenty years when, from the brother who was also childless, I heard of the affair. Yet, by his will the old man had divided his property equally between son and son-in-law.

713 Death to the Muslim, though he believes in a hereafter, is not such a happy occasion as it is to the Hindu, who knows that he will return on earth. When his end is near, laid with his head towards the north or east, the Muslim is given his last drink which consists of a *sharbat* made of honey—a Muslim may not take any intoxicating liquor. His family stand round him, and as he breathes his last they call on the name of God and break
764 into wailing and weeping. The washed body is wrapped in a
765 cloth and carried in a *tabut*—a coffin-like box which is kept always in readiness at the mosque—to the graveyard, where the relatives and friends repeat the words of the funeral service. Over the box is flung a cotton pall—the perquisite of the grave-digger and the priest. The body is removed from the box and

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buried in the cotton cloth. On that day, and for the following 764
three days, the priest and the guests are fed at the home of some
relative, since no food may be eaten in the house of the de- 765
ceased, but on the fourth day which is known as *chaudas*, a great feast is given there. And on the Friday following the death, all return to the graveyard, where as they stand by the mound, a relative flings a coloured cloth over the shoulders of the dead man's heir. For forty days prayers are offered for the soul of the deceased, with food being given both to the priest and to the poor while for one year, gifts must be given each month to the priest, after which, on the anniversary of the death, the priest must receive a gift.

The graveyards of the Muslim, with their limestone slabs 764
sparkling in the sunshine, can be very beautiful, especially in the spring when the mauve and the white iris planted there are in flower, and also later when the shady sacred trees are in leaf. Always close to the village, often on a hill, they seem to overlook it, but there is nothing eerie or morbid about their appearance, no hushed voices as people pass them; those that rest there may hear the happy voices of the small boys and girls as they drive their father's sheep or goats from among the gravestones, the clump of hooves as the tongas or bullock carts go past on the nearby road, or the splash of paddles as they are dipped into the quiet moving waters of the Jhelum or one of the lovely still lakes.

Almost every village has its mosque and attendants, the larger 346
ones boasting their own mullah, the smaller ones having one 793
attending many of them and riding round to each to preach every Friday and holy day as well as attending at births, marriages and deaths. The living is usually held by one family, being passed down from father to son.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Cultural Arts of Kashmir

461. 524 512 So far it has been described how the people work, and how they pray, but only in the northern States, how they play. The fact is that the Kashmiri of the Valley is not one who plays very much. Go into any of their villages during the day and you will find it practically empty; the men are in the fields, and at certain times of the year their womenfolk and children are there also; only the very old people remain at home. Go there in the evening and you will find the women working and the men sitting round and talking; the children may be playing, their games usually being tip-cat, a game which is played with sticks and a piece of wood which is shaped like an elongated egg, one end of which the boy taps when it is resting on the ground so that it jumps up into the air to be hit as far as possible in a certain direction. Some play an odd game of marbles with round pebbles, and the girls may play a kind of hop-scotch on squares scratched on the ground; that is when they are not mothering the baby brother or sister, one of which seems always to be around. But the women do not play; few of them have time for it, being fully occupied with child bearing and so much work to do. The men? they are either tired or else lazy after the day's work and they sit around and talk and smoke. In the winter they work hard at their looms, busy at their labours deep into the night, for winter does not mean that they may hibernate with the coming of the snows.

527 261 At festival and fair times they play, or rather watch others play, just as they do at weddings, with the guests sitting round and gorging themselves until they can barely move, then listening happily to the bards. And Kashmiri Muslims have most enormous appetites, eating about three times that which any

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Indian or Pakistani will consume; it is fantastic the amount 527
that can be eaten at one of their feasts. The pundit eats far less; 261
the Muslim says that this is because he is so mean, that he does not know how to enjoy life.

Of the players who entertain with music, a lot could have 533
been said in the past; now they come round in little bands at 535
harvest time, just before the winter sets in, to cheer the people up and, if the crop has been good, to collect a few annas. Most of the bands come from the tidy little mud-hutted village of Vathore which is some twelve miles to the south-east of Srinagar and set amongst mulberry groves and rice fields which are fed their water by a babbling, winding mountain stream.

Into this little village with less than two hundred inhabitants who are known as *bhands*, has shrunken the glorious centuries-old traditions of the dance, drama and music of Kashmir. Now they are poor strolling musicians, almost equal to beggars, who pass from one village to another in small bands usually consisting of two drummers, two shahnai players, a jester or clown and two boys with hair grown long and dressed as girls, they being the dancers and singers.

The ancestors of these people had sat at the feet of Kings, had entertained Emperors and Empresses, had received at their hands cloaks of honour and costly presents, whilst their ears rang with the applause of the members of the Court or those it had pleased the ruler to invite to his fabulous parties; their costumes were costly and beautiful while many were given an allowance by the King. Now the gowns worn by the boys and those of the others are usually the rags of what were once beautiful, although there are still a very few bands which manage to adorn themselves in raiment which has just a reminder, an echo, of the past; this is kept for the parties of the wealthier folk, the fastidious ones, or those who feel that they can do themselves little more harm by getting further into debt over their daughter's wedding. A few of the better-known *bhands* are to be heard nightly over the radio from the capital; the mellow tones of their many instruments, which are peculiar to Kashmir, blending with the chorus of the players' voices, for mostly they sing together, seldom is there a solo.

With the strolling bards it is the high-pitched voices of boys

533 that are heard as they dance, usually twirling round and round,
535 and "act", or standing make exaggerated feminine movements with their arms, the whole time tossing back their waist-long hair and smiling. When the audience looks as though it will appreciate the vulgar lyrics which have now replaced some of those long known, they start to sing and sometimes act them.
[626] At other times the artistes are paid to improvise some gibe set at a villager whose own people, maybe those he employs, fear themselves to tell him the truth.

533 Some of these boys continue to play to the full the female
535 role all through their lives. One impersonator with a falsetto
838 voice, I quite imagined to be a rather attractive girl as backed by an orchestra of one drum, a shahnai and a rabab, she started a kind of shimmy-shuffle dance on the river bank by the side of our houseboat. After a while, with the arrival of quite a large audience of boatmen who stood behind the musicians watching my reactions as much as the dancer, the girl's movements speeded up the tempo, and she started twirling round and round, high kicking in a kind of Can-Can as she faced her orchestra; but why not when in my direction? The boatmen were by then shrieking with laughter, the reason for which I just could not understand, for neither the girl nor the musicians were singing. Then the old manji, who had come to stand just behind me quietly observed, "You see, sahib, not even these eunuch men can dance like a girl!"

533 Writing of them sixty years ago Lawrence even then said,
535 "The minstrels of Kashmir can be recognised by their long black hair and stroller mien, and although they are practically a peculiar people so far as marriage goes, they sometimes recruit their companies by enlisting a villager."

534 At other times I have sat in my boat and listened to the music of the orchestra which had for nearly an hour before been broadcasting from the little studio over the other side of The Bund. With their music modulated to the houseboat's lounge, they sat cross-legged on the carpet, four of them, each a master of the instrument he had chosen to play, one with two tabla—drums which rest face up on the ground, the tone of the skin being controlled by straps which run from face to base and are tightened by wood blocks; another with the sitar—the long-

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necked mandoline-like instrument with many strings, but on only one of which the player flicks; then the saz—a cross between a banjo and a violin, looking rather like an old-fashioned hall barometer and played with a bow; finally, that instrument which is Kashmir's most delightful piece, the santoor, a word which means one hundred strings, although in fact it has ninety-six, which are in batches of eight, each one of which are the same tone. These strings, which have a range of but an octave and a half, are stretched over a hollow base of mulberry wood and played rather like a xylophone with two little sticks which have curved ends, the quality of tone being rather like the harpsichord, but with more body, since eight strings vibrate each note. 534

They had brought with them other instruments, the rabab, another bow-played string which I had seen played by the strolling bards; this they said was of Persian origin, the strings are of gut; then there was what looked like an ordinary earthenware water pitcher—the ghata.

The music they produced was delightful and fascinating. There is a distinct difference between the classical and the folk music, and it was surprising how very often the human voice is made to become a part of the orchestra. But those masters of the art, in comparison with even the meanest of members of a teashop orchestra in Europe or America, were very poorly paid. Yet they were proud, and great was their knowledge of the history of their art in Kashmir; it was a heritage which they were delighted to be asked to tell me, and although I have never been greatly interested in music, they told their stories so well that they were full of fascination. 533

At first I was taken back almost to the period when legend was history, to two hundred years before Christ, when, they assured me, books tell of the great patron of music the Maharaja Jalok, who had at his court hundreds of musicians. Then to the time of Lalitaditya, at whose court was Indra Prabha, the most celebrated dancer of her time. About a thousand years ago, with their coming, the Muslims had brought with them their own style which blended with the music then known in the land. Great masters were born, their names have passed down through the years, men like Amir Khusrav and Mirza Tan Sain,

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533 who invented not only styles, rags and tals, but also first made and introduced some of the instruments so popular in Kashmir to this day.

Blockmann, writing in 1875, said that, according to Abu'l Fazl, schools of music were founded in Kashmir by Irani and Turani, musicians who were under the patronage of the Sultan Zain-ul-Ab-d-Din, the patron of so many of the arts introduced into the country at that time, and that they brought in a least twenty-three songs or pieces each of which he names. It is accepted that Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, was a great music lover, that he was always most generous with regard to allowances paid to his musicians, with the result that many *sayindas*, players, and *gaindas*, chanters, "flocked to Kashmir from Arabia, Iran, Tashkhand, Smarkhand, Kabul, and Delhi". In those days the ud and the lute were the most favoured of the instruments used in the court. Of the "poet musicians there was Mulla Jamil, proud, handsome, a great expert and also composer of vocal music, being possessed of a beautiful voice, as high as the mountains, as dep as the lake,-as clear as the spring stream, and as soft and smooth as the waters of the Dal". The Sultan was himself said to be "a great classical singer", in all probability he was, but in thosedays so many writers flattered their patron king that there is the possibility that this was an exaggeration; in any event he had sufficient interest to encourage those whose art it was, holding each year a great festival of music to which came instrumentalists and singers from all countries near and far.

These fine present-day Kashmiri musicians as they sat on the carpet in my houseboat advised me to search out books in the Club Library which were written by Dutt way back between 1879 and 1898 and were English translations of the *Rajatarangini*, his books being published under the title of, *The Kings of Kashmir*. I did not find them there, I could not find a copy in all India, but I did discover one in Oxford, and in them found the original author wrote that "a young woman, prolific in music, possessed of a sweet voice, genuine ardour for song, graced the palace. The songstress Utsava was even like Cupid's arrow, charming the eye and prolific in dance, both swift and slow, she entranced everyone"; writing that "the actresses who displayed the forty-nine different emotions seemed even like

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the ascending and descending notes of music personified. Their song was like the cuckoo". Why not liken it to the lark? you may ask; from those old songs I have heard I would also describe it as such, the notes being separated one from the other for there is no smooth movement between them.

Sultan Haider Shah, who followed Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, was equally musical, he is reputed to have "had twelve hundred musicians from Hindustan in his court" and was "himself so skilled in the art of playing the lute that he gave lessons even to the professors".

The parties which he gave must have been most exciting, with the music working the court and visitors up to a terrific state of ecstasy, for we read that "the spectators seemed to view Indra—the Lord of the gods—himself in the King. The poets and pandits beside the King were like demi-gods. His servants like the attendant gods. And the yogis around him were like holy men who had obtained salvation. The actresses were like apsaras—fairies—whose charms were heightened by their emotions. The singers were the Gandharvas—Indra's musicians—and the stage was just heaven itself", and as for the setting of this dance and musical evening: "The stage was like a garden where the lamps on it looked like rows of Champaka flowers, and around them were men intoxicated with wine, like bees around flowers. Rows of lamps surrounded the King, as if gods, pleased with his government had come to witness the dance, and had thrown a garland of golden lotuses round him. In some places the rows of lamps were reflected on the water, as if Varuna—Regent of the Ocean—had out of favour towards the King illuminated the court with lights from the Naga world. The lines of lamps shone like jewels on the heads of the Nagas who had come to witness the dance. Those who were at a distance doubted if the lights were really lamps, or the spirits of former kings assembled to view the present sovereign, or stars and the moon descended from the sky to attend on the King, or the spirits of holy men who had attained emancipation, or if they were the great gods assembled there in their grace and beauty."

There is little doubt that the audience were completely entranced, though mention of wine causes one to wonder if the

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533 author of this was not himself carried away into this other world of imagination. In those days the king showered gold on those dancers and musicians who pleased him.

The musicians of the Valley claim that Carangadeva, the author of the *Sangita-ratnakara*, was a Kashmiri, since his grandfather had been born there, moving to the Deccan to become secretary to the Yadava king. This work, written in Sanskrit, is claimed as the only authoritative work on music in the early thirteenth century which explains in its seven sections, not only the theory and technical details of Indian music, but describes the instruments, together with the composition of music for voice and instruments, and music which should accompany the dancer.

With the coming of Akbar and the Moghul Emperors the music of Kashmir continued to be looked upon with royal favour, but the Emperors were seldom there to foster it as they doubtless would have done, for it is said of Akbar that he had an immense love for music. The great musicians left Kashmir and went down to the Punjab and to the Court in Delhi where they could be appreciated and still receive encouragement. There the genius Miyan Tan Sain, called by some writers "The Orpheus of India", had embraced Islam and had been given the title of Mirza to add to his new name of Atta Hussain. This great exponent was bringing Indian music to the fore once again, not only developing it, but enlarging it to a greater state than had ever been known. So great was he that he could gladly suffer a gentle reproof, for it is said that whilst at the court of Akbar, Yusaf Shah of Kashmir, to the horror of many present, on some minor point corrected the great singer, who immediately bowed his acknowledgement. To him it was proof that some at least of the great ones invited by the Emperor to listen to him, were paying attention, and were able to appreciate the delicate beauty of the art he was endeavouring to rebuild.

But those fine artists of the craft who had chosen to remain in the Valley, as they realised that man must work to eat, gradually took to wandering from one village to another with music and songs, and it is from these people that the *bhands* of Vathore claim to be descended. From these have again risen the finer musicians who have been singled out to broadcast and record

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the dozens of songs which are still remembered throughout the lovely land. These men are but a shadow of those who were so glorious in Kashmir's past musical history, but they are the living proof that music is as inbred in those peoples, as are the other arts to which they so tenaciously cling, though in so doing they may remain poor of worldly goods. 533

The Kashmiri classical music is known as *Soofiana Kalam*. The word Soofiana, if coming from Soofism or Sophism, means mystical; Kalam means poetry, so that the translation of the complete name is Mystical Poetry. In it one finds traces of the Persian, for the words or lyrics are usually in that language, occasionally they may be in Kashmiri, whilst most definitely the style of music is towards the Persian, and the result of a combined orchestra in which are both Indian and Persian types of instruments, is that the latter overshadows the Indian. [177]

Also, most of all the Kashmiri musicians are Muslims; the pundits were theorists and did not sing, but chanted the mantras and the shlokas in a dull monotone. [563]

The wandering bands of musicians and entertainers have gradually reduced in numbers. There was a time, in the days of the Sultan Shah Mir, who ruled in 1335, in which two of his scholar-ministers wrote in Sanskrit the books *Samaimatrika* and *Kattanimatam*, dealing with Kashmiri music and drama, when every village had its stage, and the men and also the women delighted in taking part in the dances, drama and singing. 533 536

Even just over fifty years ago Lawrence was writing at some length about these wandering entertainers for whom he had a soft spot. He declared that the very best of the companies—the Bhaggats of Syelbug—died off in the great famine of 1877. In their acting, he said, "they portray village life in a most vivid manner. Their dresses and make-up are excellent, and they represent most faithfully the internal working of a village community. It is said that Maharaja Gulab Sing acquired a very intimate knowledge of village administration from the Bhaggats' performances, and I have picked up some hints from them as to the methods of the village accountant." Lawrence's great achievement for Kashmir was Land Reform, so that his last observation is interesting.

In those days the plot was always much the same, with the

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533 great Raja riding into the village, his only thought to redress 536 the wrongs his people had suffered, his Vizir seizing both the village accountant and the lambardar, and calling for their books. Then came the villager who, believing he was to receive justice, rushed before the Raja with his grievance. After exhausting himself, he watched the Vizir and accountant or lambardar—whichever one he had complained against—in whispered conversation with the kindly Raja and the next scene was the poor wretched complainant being seized and 533 severely flogged for having brought a trumped-up charge. But 536 the charge he made on the stage, was that which the people were 626 dying to make against their own officials but dare not; that was where the subtleness of the attack lay, that is why few accountants or lambardars attended these performances, and really feared the players when an official of importance was visiting the village at the same time as the Bhaggats. There is little doubt that threats even bribes were offered, but the players were of the people and with the people, and all those to whom I talked about them, agree that they were fearless and merciless in their portrayals of the wrongs and persecutions that were being committed against the peasants. Since even the official, if he were inclined to turn a blind eye to what was being forced before him, never knew if the Maharaja would see their play into which he, the official, might have by then been introduced, he had to take notice of it.

533 The orchestra travelling with the band in those days consisted "of four fiddles with a drum in the centre, or of clarionets and 536 drums, but the company often contained twenty persons or more. The wardrobe was frequently of great value, and several companies which I have met are said to have dresses and properties worth more than Rs. 2000. Their acting is excellent and their songs are often very pretty."

How different is the story now; a pathetic little band of near beggars with a wardrobe ready for the rag-bag, probably the patched up remnants of what Lawrence once saw; but they still remain happy folk, full of natural mirth; they still sing, they still dance, and they still act, although they have deteriorated in quality of performance with the fading and ageing of their dresses. Even though, it seems that there are some among them

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with possibilities as actors: this I was assured of by an Indian 533
film producer who came to my houseboat to witness—on the 536
roof since the artistes were rather unpleasantly odoriferous—a play they performed for us. I found it difficult to believe, but must not judge—it would not be right for me to do so, although I tremble to imagine their reception on a Western stage.

The better class of orchestra and its members, either working 533
together or as individual artistes, would I believe be accepted there, providing they changed the types of songs from one to another, and when necessary put into their playing the *vive* that I have seen them muster up after the first two or three items at a party.

The most popular and best-known tune in all Kashmir is the *Chakri*. In the villages this is accompanied by folk instruments like the home-made ghata and the tumbaknani and a miniature sarangi. It is always sung in chorus, not unusually with a little dancing, for it tells of happy times, of the wondrous beauties of Kashmir, of love and of the spring. It is the song of the poorer peoples, even though it sings of their joys and their hopes for the future.

The *Soofiana Kalam* is for the men and women of wealth, it is not known in the villages, other than the few which have radio sets through which it has been introduced to them, and is not appreciated by the peasants who think of it as the average European or American does of "Chamber music".

Being one of the great seats of learning in the East, men came 814
from other countries to seek knowledge there, and in doing so frequently brought knowledge with them. They found Kashmir well to the fore in fostering the cultural arts of that early age. The pity of it is that much of the literature was destroyed as each dynasty came to power and did its best to obliterate that which its predecessor had created. At the time none of them realized that so much would ultimately be to the good and glorification of them all, whether Hindu or Muslim in that land. Still some remains though, and within that which does, there are records which are acknowledged and accepted as having been taken from the past writings. Of the poets, their original written words may have been burned, but the beauty of their poems is

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814 imprinted for all time on the lips of the men and women of Kashmir; they will never die, neither they nor the lyrics which so perfectly fit the tunes still sung not only in the Valley, but in the hills and away over the mountains in those parts which are separated by their height, but to which they have access through the steep and narrow passes and along the rushing, winding rivers.

538 Those who have undertaken the research of the literary past of the country have been unable to gather together a completely connected story of the Buddhist and the Hindu periods of which much was a sort of overflow or a part of the literary history and records of the then India, but fortunately there is the one great work, *Rajatarangini*—"The River of Kings"—which contains the most valuable historical records of that period. Its author was Kalhana, and he started compiling this history of Kashmir in A.D. 1148. He was born into a Brahmin family, and his father was the minister of King Harsha who ruled between A.D. 1089 and 1101. The book consists considerably of the collected chronicles of past writers from among which he had absorbed most valuable information; they came from the pen of one Helaraja of the eighth century, Ratnakara of the ninth century and Kashemendra of the tenth century; these men all writing before A.D. 1066, a date famous in the history of England.

During the period of the Muslim rule the Sultans opened up colleges in many places, and during the time of the Sultan Qutb-ul-Din, who ruled from 1373 to 1389 A.D., the first residential college was opened. But it was not until the reign of that great King Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, who ruled for over fifty years from A.D. 1420, that the records that Kalhana had commenced, were brought up to date.

The King had established a university close to his palace; in this was a translation section from which came many Persian and Kashmiri scripts which had originally been in the Arabic and Sanskrit. A library was collected together from distant countries; it is said that it was the finest to be found in the Islamic East. During that time the *Rajatarangini* was brought up to date by the writer Jona Raja—a Hindu who wrote in Sanskrit and was a great favourite with this Muslim Sultan. Mulla Ahemed, a Muslim who wrote in Persian, contributed *Bahr-ul-Asmar*—

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"The Sea of Tales"—to that age of learning. It is recorded that the King was himself a writer, his first book being a technical one, oddly, on the subject of fireworks; the second, a poem, was written when he was ageing: both were in Persian. It would appear that during the lifetime of this religiously tolerant monarch, Hindu and Muslim men of learning worked happily side by side; it mattered not whether they wrote in Persian or Sanskrit, so long as they wrote or translated, and there can have been few books or manuscripts which could not be found in more than one language in that library. During that reign there were also many other literary works, one by the national saint Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, another by Yodhbhatta and still others, most of which were biographies of, or episodes in the life of the King or Sultan as he is referred to.

The task of keeping the chronicles of the country up to date was then taken over by Shrivara, a Sanskrit scholar, who brought it up to the accession of Fateh Shah in A.D. 1484. He was followed by one whose work, Rajavalipataka, carried it on until the country was conquered by Akbar. In Akbar's time a Brahmin, Prajya Bhatt, accepted the task; his works were completed in 1594 and were carried forward by others, among them being Haider Malik in the seventeenth century, Mohammed Azam in the eighteenth century and Birbal Kachru in the nineteenth century, and so on right up until modern times. It would seem that these works of the chroniclers escaped destruction; in all probability being kept hidden in the Royal Palace unknown to the rulers, who one after the other had the works of the earlier periods either burned, or dumped in the Dal Lake.

The records which have remained, when made by more than one writer over a period, do not always agree as to dates or even names, although possibly errors have been made in the translations, and in arriving at the dates mistakes have occurred in working them out from the quoted Hindu or Muslim years.

Of the poets of Kashmir there have been many; in the present times, as always, there is one who is looked upon much like a Poet Laureate of the country. Again quoting Lawrence, he refers to, "the village poets who suddenly spring up in the midst of business and recite in a loud shrill tone the praises of the most influential person present." This must have been most dis-

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538 consenting to the "influential person", but in all probability the poet had considerable method in his presentation of a poem at that particular moment, being thus able to distract attention for sufficient time to permit the "influential person" to reconsider the case and reverse his decision, for one never knows with a Kashmiri. Lawrence goes on to say that he knew "many of these poets, and have spent hours listening patiently to rhymes which seemed to have no end, and which jumbled up in a very curious manner oriental tropes with the most commonplace and technical terms of survey and revenue work", and he explains that many of these poets that he met were unfortunately not quite sane; one he knew was a hopeless drunkard.

But apart from these, and there must have been many of them in the old days when poems and lyrics were recited with a musical background or sung as ballads before the King and his court, there were those who stand out in the history of Kashmir and whose memory is revered as their poems are recited, chanted or sung there to this day. They are the Shakespeares, the Burns and the Shelleys of the Vale; strangely enough there were several poetesses among them; and as always they have not come from one class, for there are the delightfully lovely thoughts spoken in words by Kings and Queens, by beggars and by those who were near insane and would most certainly be "put away" in these days. Neither were they confined to any particular religion, for both Moslems and Hindus have contrib- [illegible] Percy-Brown—odd verses of whose poem it is still fashionable for Kashmiri writers to quote before a chapter in a guide book on the Valley, whether it be small or large. She though was a poetess of modern times.

These poets come up right through the ages, in many of their lines are to be found the history and the emotions, as expressed, of their environments at a particular stage in the progress of Kashmir. There are stories of love, stories of their heroes, and many tales of the legendary age. Then there are poems for each of the seasons, for the sowings, the reapings, for the time when the saffron is collected, for weddings and so on. Within these they have worked many of the old popular Persian legends, this in spite of the writers, having been Hindus. There are very many

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love songs; those which remind the people of the beauties of the country in which they live, and although no doubt some of the sweetness of the originals has been lost in the translation, those who undertook that task have chosen their words well; they also must have been poets, for so much of the loveliness of the originals remains.

As far as it is possible to trace, the first pure Kashmiri poet was Citi Kantha who lived in the early thirteenth century. Of him little can be traced, except that he wrote several books and translated many more from the Arabic into Sanskrit; probably he was under the patronage of Hasan Shah, for "he speaks well of his liberal and wise rule".

Following him was a poetess remembered by all Kashmiris. Although named Laleshwari, she was also known as Lalla Arifa or Lal Ded. Both Muslims and Hindus claim her as their own and each revere her memory. Of recent years some of her compositions have been collected together and published, but although most among them are very beautiful, not all are easy to appreciate. It would appear that the translations were difficult to make, for even learned Kashmiris admit that in the originals they find it hard to follow the rhythm and metre. The only suggestion that they can put forward for this is that the words have changed in that a syllable may have since been shortened, as for instance has happened to many English words when spoken by an American.

Laleshwari was born in A.D. 1335 into a fairly wealthy family which lived in Pandrethan, the capital in Asoka's time, and some four miles to the south-east of the present Srinagar. Of her early days little is known, except those bits contained in a few fables of the Valley. She was married in Pampur into a Brahmin household, and it is said that her husband was not kind to her, whilst her step-mother-in-law treated her cruelly and all but starved the girl; one writer tells that the older woman used to serve her a stone covered with a thin layer of rice in order to make it appear a lot. In the mother-in-law's defence it must be said that the girl was strangely odd in her ways; some have maintained that she was born a mystic and that it was wrong of her parents to have married her off, since both her husband and

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537 her mother-in-law had every right to expect her to behave in the manner conforming to the social practices of a family. To those of that household into which she had come to live, she must have appeared more than strange, driving her mother-in-law, who could not understand her, nearly to distraction, and whilst it is well for those who admire her later poetic writings to defend her, the life she led a little later on, as described by those of her day, was nearer that of a mad woman than a fanatic.

Eventually she left her husband's home, but not to return to that of her parents; instead she wandered from one village to another singing and dancing in rags which left her half-nude, at times completely nude. According to Muslim tradition, when remonstrated with for her lack of decency, she replied that only those who feared God were men, and of those there were few. Then one day as she roamed naked at Khanpor, she saw Shah Hamadan in the distance, and fled crying out, "I have at last seen a man"; after that she always wore clothes.

It is said that she fell under the influence of Sidh-Bey, the Shaivite saint, soon to become his spiritual preceptor and a follower of the Trika Philosophy, after which her mind turned towards mysticism.

In her poems she tells how one may so discipline the body that the spirit may leave it to pass for a while into the higher planes; she talks of the Chakras, those points of energy within the human body. To her all religions were as one, as was the oneness of God and the equality and brotherhood of man. She condemned idol worship and rituals; she talked of the love of man and the purity which he must attain. Her poems, expressed in song and verse, were like sermons to the common people to whom in those days she was just a dancing ascetic; they loved to sit around and listen to her teachings, spoken with a silver voice and versed in the most beautiful words of their own mother-tongue. She talked to them in a language they understood, bringing into her verses examples of their everyday life, of the people, and of the things they knew and lived amongst. Therein lay her greatness, for her poems, although appreciated by kings and members of their courts, together with the learned men of that age, were also a message for all, and to this very day the people of the Valley sing the songs of Lalla.

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The amazing thing to those who have studied them, is that such poems could have been created by such a woman, one who could have had but little learning; yet those who have delved deeply into the past and into their origin have little doubt that they did actually come from her lips. Some who have searched are convinced that she was not as others have declared, that is, inspired so to speak, but that she was the medium of one of the great Spirit Masters who used her as his mouthpiece on earth.

It is quite impossible to discover in the literature, let alone the poems of Kashmir, one who can rival Laleshwari her verses, not only for the lovely words themselves, but for her ability through them, to lift her listeners even today with her for a while into one of the other planes, into the spirit world, there to foretell much that has already happened since her time, not only in the land which she knew, but in those far away.

She lived to a great age, and her grave is to be seen just outside the courtyard of the Jama Masjid mosque in Srinagar.

Of all the writers of poems and lyrics in the history of Kashmir, Haba Khatoon is the most romantic figure. She wrote *lols*, which are love-lyrics, short poems seldom more than ten lines in length, the first two of which form the refrain of the song which is usually the complete expression of one mood. [illegible] accompanied by one of the Kashmiri instruments.

But hers was indeed the story of true romance, the story told in children's fairy-story books, being the story of the peasant girl who through her lovely liquid voice and her sweet tender lyrics captured the heart of a Prince who made her his Princess. And it is a true one, although quite naturally further romantic tales have been woven around her and kept alive for nearly four hundred years by the songs she had written, which are still sung in the Valley. She is almost a legendary figure.

She was born of a peasant family, the exact date unknown, as is still the case with many of the peasants. But it is known that she first saw the light of day in Chandahara, a village some ten miles from Srinagar and two miles from the famous saffron fields of Pampur.

Her father, Abdul Rather sent her to the little school which was attached to the local mosque, there to learn and recite from

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538 the Holy Koran, but she could not content herself with that alone and started reading those books which she could lay hands on, the works of Persian poets, such as Sheikh Sadi's *Gulistan* and *Bostan*. Soon she was herself composing verses; her school-teacher, immediately smitten with wonder at the choice and beauty she made of words, encouraged her. Her fame started to spread to the surrounding districts, but her parents, who had always tilled the soil, had no desire for their daughter to become either a poetess or a singer, and in the hope of killing any ideas that she might have had in that direction, they married her off as quickly as they could to a peasant boy.

Her married life was most terribly unhappy, just as had the poetess Lalla's been; again it was the mother-in-law who bullied her, but for singing love-songs which she considered were not in keeping with the modesty expected of a nice girl who had become a married woman. Her husband, an uneducated, callow youth, also accused her by so singing of bringing disrespect upon his family as well as making him a laughing stock before all the men of the village, and he forbade her again to sing her love-songs in the home.

So it was that she took herself off to the purple saffron fields, by the slow-flowing and sympathetic river Jhelum, away on to the lower slopes of the mountains and along the little streams, while to sing the songs, always accompanied by a flock of love-sick maidens from the village.

The verses she composed were deep in emotion and full of melody in the very words, for in addition to being a poetess she was also a musician. Her fame spread miles over the valley and her lilting love-songs were heard in the fields far away from where she trod. As she grew into womanhood, the beauty of her voice was matched by the beauty of her face, and in spite of her unhappy home life, we read so often of her exquisite charm.

Yes, and as the story should continue, in desperation she went to see a fortune-teller, the then famous fakir Khwaja Masud, who told her that her unhappy home life would soon finish. It is said by some that it was he who then gave her the name of Zoon, which means the Moon, and by which name, sometimes written Zun, at others Zooni, she is still known in the Valley.

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The fakir's prophecy was shortly to become true, for it was not many days after, when singing in the saffron fields with her friends, that King Yusuf Shah Chak—himself a great lover of music, and the one who had corrected Tan Sen's song in Akbar's court—rode by. He heard her glorious voice, then turning saw how really beautiful she was, and as they looked one at the other, they knew that they were in love. One writer tells how at first he sang to her two or three lines from one of her own love songs, as from his horse he looked down and wondered how anything so really lovely could have remained for so long in the fields unknown to him, whilst she replied by completing the verse but with new words which were suited to the occasion; in them confessing that she was already married.

But he was in love; he also knew that she was in love with him, and a divorce was quickly arranged, the husband considering himself extremely fortunate to receive so much as five thousand drams for such a worthless and embarrassing wife, one who he felt was at any time capable of going out into the fields and telling in her songs of his clumsy love-making with her. At that time she was but eighteen or nineteen years of age.

It seems that she must have spent some fourteen years with Yusuf Shah Chak as his queen. As a king he was of little use, he was far too much of a dreamer; generous, cultured but weak, he once lost his throne for close on two years. With his queen he used to visit Gulmarg; he is said to have found it named Gaurimarga, meaning "The Meadow of Horses", and he—although it was probably his queen—renamed it as now known, meaning "The Meadow of Flowers". Together they used to visit Sonmarg, and the lovely springs and meadows away from the city; they floated in their royal barge on the Dal Lake, and talked and sang of love.

And so the story should end, the curtain falling on that scene, but unfortunately it did not, for the King lost his throne, and by order of the Emperor Akbar became an exile from his country. The royal lovers parted, since Haba—who as Queen had been known as Nur Jahan, could not bear to leave her precious Kashmir. There is little doubt that she became demented, for she left the Royal Palace to become a wanderer, an ascetic who walked alone over the hills and dales, meandered along the

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538 river and lake sides, the whole time softly singing of love and lovers' partings. She finally built for herself a small cottage near to her mosque a few miles out of Srinagar. For about twenty years she suffered intense sorrow, passing most of her time in lamenting and in unhappy contemplation, caring naught for food or the most simple comforts of life; she suffered as only one could who had known such heavenly happiness for so long. At last the welcome release came; she could then have been but fifty-five years of age. And although her songs are with the people of Kashmir still, whether they be love-songs or those of lovers unhappily parted, her grave lies somewhere unidentified; she had returned to the earth from which she came, she died as she had been born—a peasant, and left behind no slab, no mound where homage might be paid to her so romantic memory.

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539 As is to be expected of a people born with a naturally artistic bent and an imaginative temperament, who had lived over the generations through alternate years of suffering and periods of happiness, in a land so beautiful and fair as is Kashmir, there were within its mountain walls so many poets, lyricists and ballad-mongers. From among them all, within these pages have been chosen but two, the one because of her unusual life and the beautiful thought-forms which she was moved to put into prose, the other for the truly romantic story of her own life which is now almost legend. But there have been many others; saints, yes, and doubtless sinners, though none who write of them will [illegible] from the ordinary walks of life, and there have been the poor poets of the villages. Their own stories would fill a book, for of them Kashmir has had more than her share; carefully she has recorded their works, and at the fitting time, so she remembers their prose, to sing or chant or speak the lovely words so delightfully or sympathetically strung together like precious pearls, for there they are not forgotten.

532 One of the greatest mysteries of the arts of Kashmir is her painters. Where is the evidence of their work? What were their names? As to whether any did in fact exist, we have but to look at the delightfully executed paintings which adorn the papier mâché now being made there to realise that, although these

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present workers are untrained in schools of painting, they have it in their blood to paint; such artistic perfection could not of a sudden have descended upon them.

There is slight evidence of their living though. Jarrett in his translation in 1894 of *Ain-i-Akbari*, refers to the great Chinese artist Mani on his journey first through India, then on to Iran—where he was flayed alive by the then King Shahpur for claiming to be a prophet, "remaining in Kashmir for a time". Abul Fazl, the author of the original manuscript, says that Mani had "learnt the art of painting in which he had attained incomparable skill. He painted some wonderful figures which were celebrated by the name of Artang. Mani claimed that they were really not paintings by himself, but by angels, and brought them forward as witness of his prophetic mission."

It may be that these figures went with the arrival of the Moghul kings, for on religious grounds they would not permit of pictures of the living form. This is evidenced in the sculpture of the temples which they could not destroy because of their immenseness. In these, stone masons were called to deface the Hindu figures either by rubbing them flat or converting the human forms to curves and scrolls—in places to words.

Then Blochmann, in his book written in 1873 on the life of Akbar, declares that the great Emperor Akbar by way of explanation for shutting his eyes to the hitherto accepted ruling said "It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he can bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge". He encouraged painting in the Iranian manner. In the Victoria and Albert Museum in London there are twenty-four large paintings on cotton-cloth which experts declare wer produced in Kashmir about the middle of the sixteenth century. These are believed to have been the illustrations of a book of stories, its name and that of its author being untraceable. The best-preserved of these pictures has a garden with chinar trees; the rocklike mountain background in most is certainly like that of Kashmir. Abul Fazl, the author of the original book before referred to, says in his work that Mulla Jamil, a singer in the

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court of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-Din, "was foremost among his contemporaries in the arts of painting", but he does not tell us where; there is a possibilty that these decorations were upon the walls of the palace and that age has obliterated them. In the old summer houses of Shalimar and the other Moghul gardens, there still remain portions which are claimed as having been the original paintings, and there is the possibility that they are, and have been kept bright by touching up.

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Percy Brown, an acknowledged authority, in his valuable contribution to history, *Indian Painting under the Moghuls*, written in 1924, writing of the artists from all over the world at Akbar's Delhi court, says, "although not exactly of alien origin, we may include a group of five painters from Kashmir, a country which for centuries has maintained a high artistic tradition". Five! That so many could be spared from the Valley is proof in itself that there must have been many. And yet no trace of them remains. It is this writer also who suggests, in writing of certain old pictures of flowers, goats, and one in particular of a great chinar tree with goats in the background, that they must have been painted in Kashmir. He explains how the Kashmiri artists of old, in their paintings on paper, used first to paint with water, which when it had evaporated, left a slight sediment; this used as the background tint to the figure, left a faint and very charming contrast of tone for the flesh colours which were painted upon it, an art which was peculiar to Kashmiri artists alone.

So much for the Vale of Kashmir, but there are other provinces within the State. In the monasteries of Ladakh the walls are painted with stories of the ancient battles between Good and Evil, some are scenes, others are pictures of the gods alone: although of a Chinese flavour there is little doubt that, as is claimed, some of these must have been painted by the lamas themselves. Sir Auriel Stein in 1931 suddenly made known the discovery by a shepherd-boy in the northern hills of Kashmir, of coloured drawings bound within painted covers which are said to have been executed in Kashmir by Buddhists in the fifth century.

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Then of Jammu and the other small states which lie either without the inner or outer mountain range; it is known that

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towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb, and during the time of those who followed him, because of the economic and political disturbances, the court painters and artists who found their royal patrons in Delhi had little appreciation for their work, sought the patronage of the smaller courts of the Rajas who lived at the foot of the Punjab hills. In their kingdoms, principalities and states, which spread to a length of about two hundred miles, they set up schools of painting, and their work is spoken of as "The Jammu School", being claimed as an offshoot of the Rajasthan School of painting; yet the work which came from the brushes of these artists bears its own stamp with the local variations of background distinctions and the peculiarities of the several masters of the schools, it being easy for the expert to tell whether they were the products of the Poonch school, from which came some notable pictures of their Rajas and patrons, or of the Jammu school. Most of these paintings were miniatures, their creators appear to have been impressed by cloud effects which were so often found clinging to the distant mountain tops in those parts, as opposed to Delhi where the sky is for months a clear, uninteresting blue, the only variation being its differing shades as the seasons progress. So it is that we find few of the old pictures painted there without a high horizon with curling cloud formations, even though the scene be of the night.

The portraits which remain show the figures in very stiff attitudes, as though the coats they wore had been starched; if the unfortunate model had to stand for long as now shown in the picture, then he must have suffered agonies in so doing, with flower in hand stuck out before him and standing fixed in a position of "attention". Most are of the profile, the character facing either direct right or left; otherwise they were full face, a few only were at an angle, and the artists delighted in "improving" the portrait with thick gold ornaments and jewellery so painted with real gold or powdered down precious stones which seem as though enamelled on, being rather like emboss work. Some have had amazing decorations given to their garments, these being tiny portions of beetle wings stuck on and incorporated into the costume; it is said that butterfly wings were also used for this purpose, but these being more delicate, have since

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turned to dust. I have little doubt that this was so though, for I have seen one otherwise perfect miniature which it is claimed was painted in Poonch, which has a number of bare spots on a ceremonial cloak shaped like a peacock's tail, such a picture can conceivably have been so decorated.

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A chapter dealing with Kashmiri painting would be incomplete without some reference to calligraphy, the art of decorative writing, which is slightly different from that of illuminated writing as known in Europe and America. This style of decoration was frequently used to display passages from the Koran, just as in the old days stitch-work texts from the Bible were enclosed in very ornamental frames and placed on the walls of bedrooms, although, as with some of the books which were written in Europe before printing was invented, it was also used by kings and rulers within those books they intended to pass down through history. The pages were decorated with a thick surround of coloured decoration consisting of flowers and leaves so that to those who could not appreciate the beauty of the curves of the text, this appeared the more lovely.

Besides the scribes which were attached to the court, there were also the calligraphers. The cover would be written by them sometimes together with the title pages to the different sections. Those who have studied the curves and varying thicknesses of the Arabic and Persian letters will at once appreciate the beauty of the curves and the symmetric and artistic drawing upon the sheet of paper of some of the words in these old texts, just as "copper plate" writing can be admired for its worth in the Western world.

In the courts of kings, such men were of considerable importance and carried much weight with their masters. The Emperor Akbar had among his calligraphists a Kashmiri, by name Muhammad Hussain, whose penmanship he said had the effects of magic, and whom he honoured with the title of "Zarrin Qalam," meaning "Of the golden pen"; critics consider that this artist surpassed his own master in the glorious curvatures and extensions found everywhere in perfect proportion in his writings. The Emperor Jahangir, who in his autobiography speaks of him as "the chief of the elegant writers of the day", so appreciated his work that he presented him with an elephant.

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The Emperor Shah Jahan's favourite court calligraphist was a 531
Kashmiri named Muhammad Murad. Of him it has been said 212
that "he was a master of both the small and the large hand", and on him the Emperor conferred the title of "Shirin Qalam".—"Of the sweet pen". His younger brother was also a well-known calligraphist, both were sons of a wealthy Valley merchant, and both were also artists with words—poets. One can imagine how beautifully those particular works which were entire creations of their own must have been presented.

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A Kashmiri Muslim village woman and child (p. 118)

The tenant and his son carry home the plough (p. 104)

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

The Character of the Peoples

Kr 181

Da 181

Dd 181

Now of the people. What are they really like? What are their true characters?

Here again we must divide them up, but not so much into States and Provinces, as to separate them as they have been by the mountains.

Those who live beyond the ring of mountains which surround the Valley are the men of Jammu, of Poonch and of Gilgit. They are the fighters; at times in the past they have either been the attackers or have helped those others who have invaded the Valley. From among them came some of the finest troops in the old Indian Army; they have proved themselves to be fearless and trustworthy to those to whom they offered their allegiance; fed, drilled and trained with regularity, they developed a physique of good quality, although the temperament of all three remained different. The man of Jammu will sometimes smile, the man of Gilgit seldom, for with him life has been hard; the land from which he comes yields grudgingly. On the other hand the man from Poonch, who comes from midway between the two, both in the position of his State and the productivity of his lands, in his early years seems to prefer soldiering to working upon the land, to which he returns after he has earned himself a small pension. In all they are generally men that you can always rely upon; providing you are their friend they will stand by you, and come what may will never desert you in time of trouble. More particularly does this refer to the two northern states; never did the expression "taken at face value" better apply. But they can be fanatical, these men, over their love affairs, and will desert and suffer anything to get those they have set their hearts upon, caste, creed and race meaning nothing.

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The shepherd boy and goats on Kilanmarg (p. 142)

One of the naked sadhus at Amarnath (p. 301)

[Facing p. 301]

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Kr 181 Da 181 Dd 181 them, having got them, if young and attractive they will jealously guard them, if not, they will amazingly either ignore them or cast them aside after a few years or even months. It seems as though their desire is only to prove their ability to acquire and possess for a while, then interest goes. They are however men you can always trust with life and possessions, they will never rob a friend or master. If they hate, or if they discover that their trust has been misplaced, then their hatred can be such that they will kill, that "quality" being increasingly apparent as the land becomes the more barren and they can ill afford to carry those who are not friends. And although over the years each have been subdued by invaders, those who came did not find the task an easy one, for although beaten, the vanquished remained men, holding their heads proudly erect; they do not cringe nor even fawn, they are not "nice".

000 Of the men of the north-east and the east, the men of Ladakh; they are not fighters, they are those who lead the lives expected of a nation of which about a sixth have given themselves up during "this day of life" to religion alone, whether it be as a working brother or one who spends his days and nights in meditation. But they are honest; you can trust their word; they are steadfast and true to those they make their friends; they will not rob a guest; they are simple people who smile through life and have nothing to fear. From time to time they have had to submit to suppression, but the periods have not been as many or as ghastly as others have known.

Ki 175 731 Then we come to the men of the Valley, those who are usually referred to as "The Kashmiri", and of whom much of this book has been written. What of them?

Before we study this let us turn for a while to some of the factors which have contributed to the characters of the people, those particular factors which were natural calamities. Occasionally one now reads of a slight earth tremor somewhere in the Himalayas; this has gone on for thousands, millions of years; there is ample proof that terrific upheavals have taken place there in the past, and there are known to have been the most devastating earthquakes in the Valley. The first that is recorded took place in the time of the ruler Sudar Sena, whose reign lasted from 2082 to 2041 B.C. "The middle of the city was cleft, St Gervis T-3 (no date) 1884 AVI Kashmir [redacted]

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175 and water gushed from the river, the hills and the mountains,
731 and it submerged the whole city"—now the Wular Lake. In A.D. 1500 an earthquake continued for three months. In A.D. 1552 came another, which lasted for two months, and one lasted for about the same period of time when it occured in A.D. 1662. In 1735 came one which lasted for three months and destroyed a thousand houses, but that was not as long in days as the one of just over fifty years later, in A.D. 1778, when the shocks continued for a year. So they went on one after the other, the chroniclers making a special note of those in 1803 when "the spire of the Shah Hamadan Mosque was destroyed". The most terrible one took place at three in the morning of May 30, 1884. Then it was that a fissure seven hundred feet long, three hundred feet wide and seventy feet deep occurred at Laridur and six houses with all their occupants disappeared into it. Ten thousand houses were destroyed, three thousand three hundred and ninety people died, forty thousand head of cattle were lost and the shocks went on for two and a half months. The results were terrible, the people in a pathetic state, so that the Maharaja contributed thirty thousand rupees for rebuilding their houses and he also remitted two lacs of rupees in land revenues. Neve writing in his book, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, of those awful days during which he and his workers snatched but little sleep from their rescue work, tells of the raging fires which broke out, since so many of the people had left their kangris burning, which, overturning, soon made the fallen houses a roaring mass of flames.

Next in their terrifying visitations came the floods. The first recorded earthquake brought in its wake the great flood. Most of these earthquakes, especially when they came in the spring, brought this added terror, though the floods were the more frequent. There was one in 1579 when ten thousand houses went, another in 1746 when the same number of houses and all the bridges on the Jhelum were carried away. One frightful one took place in 1787 when the Dal Gate gave way and the whole of the eastern portion of the city of Srinagar was submerged, and so they went on. In these days much has been done to relieve the pressure of water on the banks of the great river which drains the valley, its bed has also been deepened at

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Baramula, but there are still times, when, with the spring 175
melting of the mountain snows, the high banks burst, and this 731
is just when the crops are beginning to show promise for the harvesting, when the people are living on what little remains in the barns from the previous year—a hand-to-mouth existence; truly an awful happening when it occurs.

Of famines in this land of plenty, and mostly brought about by the other calamities, the pages are filled. We read of one during the years Tunjina I ruled, which was from 150 to 114 B.C., when snow fell in the month of August, destroying all the rice crops. Most of these famines were brought about by untimely rains, and since the peasants were forced to send so much to the city, they had no grains left with which to feed themselves, so that it was always the peasants of the villages who suffered. Of the famine in A.D. 1832 they tell that Maharaja Ranjit Singh started from Lahore to visit Kashmir, and ordered his Governor to collect sufficient supplies for his camp. He did, and left the peasant people very little for themselves. Then in the month of October—harvest time—a heavy snowfall destroyed all the crops. The following year Colonel Mian Singh, the Governor who came to Kashmir, "standing on the balcony of the Palace saw that there was not one lamp lit in the city, and heard not a single cock crow with the dawn, for all had been eaten by the famine-stricken". He had quantities of grain and fowls brought from the Punjab, and the following year all was well. There was a bad famine in 1864, but that of 1877 was ghastly. It is said that two thirds of the population died of starvation, and although the Maharaja had thousands of maunds of grain brought from the Punjab, the famine went on for two and a half years. The main troubles were brought on, not by drought, but by the summer floods, and also in a few cases by early snows, whilst the isolated position of the country has made it difficult to bring in supplies during the months of scarcity. From time to time in its history, the invading armies, living on the land and plundering it as they retired, have also been responsible.

The last of the natural calamities have been the dreadful 164
epidemics of cholera, going back to 1604, which date suggests 175
that invaders brought it from the Punjab. There was a "plague" in 1089 though. Of cholera the recorders have mentioned "a

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164 period of forty days with a virulence which staggered humanity,
175 the numbers of dead being so many that they could not be buried or cremated and therefore had to be thrown into the river"! Thousands died each time, and from a record at hand between 1783 and 1910 there were no less than fifteen visitations. The largest number of cases occurred in 1910 when with nine thousand two hundred and eleven deaths out of nearly eighteen thousand five hundred patients, there were less lives lost than in the dreadful year of 1892 when eleven thousand seven hundred died of the sixteen thousand eight hundred odd that were seized with it; proof that medical science, so soon as it was permitted to do so, saved the lives of many who were stricken down. In these days outbreaks are rare, since there have been great efforts to improve the conditions of sanitation, although they are still far from perfect; there is now also a good water supply brought from the hills behind the city, this being piped throughout its streets and into many of the larger houses. The people have yet to learn how to protect themselves by cleanliness though.

175 All these epidemics and natural calamities have come upon the people, but in addition there have, throughout the centuries, been the ever-present conquerors, oppressors and masters who have taken and held the country in their power, each of the rulers with different edicts, each with changing moods, some kindly, others inhuman. For the most part over the years one community of the people had death always before them as the punishment for failing to do physically or accept mentally that which their masters forced upon them.

They were starved by them of those necessities of life which they had both made and grown in plenty with sufficient and more to keep them and their families. They learned to lie in order to save themselves and their loved ones from destruction at times; they learned to trust no stranger, for fear that he might have come to rob them; they learned to hoard and hide against the famine which might come on them through the elements or the invaders, and because of that and their having little, to steal when the chance presented itself; they learned to fear the sword and the gun for what both had done to them and theirs. They learned to appear poor, and in doing so to be filthy, so that those who taxed them might be deceived into extracting less of what little they had to treasure.

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who taxed them might be deceived into extracting less of what 080
little they had to treasure.

So it had been that with this ever grinding down, the people 181
of the Valley had fallen into a state of most shocking degradation, 178
with a fear which had become nothing short of cowardice, so that those men who live in the hills of their country to the north, the west and the south, correct you in a flash if by mistake you refer to them as Kashmiris. It is a terrible state for the people of any nation to have fallen into, but there is not the slightest doubt that they have been forced down to it through the generations until their morale has almost, but not quite, disappeared, for they had not even been taught how to defend themselves; they did not know how to fight and protect their loved ones, they had not learned how to kill even when driven to it by temper, as is proved by the very few murders which take place in the Valley.

It would be as well to read what others who have gone before 181
have said of them, what "foreigners"—many of whom have spent almost a lifetime amongst them and "liked them in spite of all"—have in many cases regretfully had to admit, for these men of the valley of Kashmir cannot be taken at their face value as can their brothers on the other side of the mountains which for a while protected them against attack, but also prevented their escape.

Moorcroft, who made his travels through Kashmir between 1819 and 1825, said the people were "suffering from the most loathsome diseases brought about by scant and unwholesome food, dark, damp, and ill-ventilated lodgings, excessive dirtiness and gross immorality". He declared that "at present a more degraded race does not exist"; that in character the Kashmiri was then "selfish, superstitious and false" and "his transactions are always conducted in a fraudulent spirit, equalled only by the effrontery with which he faces detection". He says though that "the vices of the Kashmirian I cannot help considering are as the effects of his political condition rather than his nature, and conceive that it would not be difficult to transform him into a very different being". Also referring to their ingenuity, he says that "with a wise government they might assume an equally high scale as a moral and intellectual people."

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181 And it is interesting to read him writing of their physique, not of those men of the city, who even in those days were slight, but of the Hindu and the Muslim country peasants, that "there are to be found figures of robust and muscular make, such as might have served for models of the Farnese Hercules."

Then we come to G. T. Vigne, whose book on his travels was published in 1842. He writes of "the broad Herculean build and manly features of the Kashmirian peasant, contrasting with his whining complaints and timid disposition", but carefully points out that one must take into consideration the fact that these might well be "the effects of a long continued subjection to tyranny and despotism", and later goes on, "the same want of courage which obliges them to have recourse to artifice and dishonesty, has caused their other faults to be regarded in a still more unfavourable light, for as far as mere morality is concerned, I shall say that the Kashmirian has very much the advantage of both Sikh and Pathan". This last sentence can be ambiguous to those who know all these races intimately. He says also that "they are certainly a lying and deceitful race of people".

Frederick Drew,‡ writing in his book, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, in 1875, by which time another generation had been born, said of them, "They are false-tongued, ready with a lie and given to various forms of deceit. They are noisy and quarrelsome, ready to wrangle, but not to fight: on the least exercise or threat of force they will cry like children. They have indeed, a wide reputation for being faint-hearted and cowardly". What a terrible mental state for any people to have been driven down to, and this was not just one community, it was the people of one whole valley. Of the hanjis, the class of the country which most Europeans come into contact with he said, "They are men of active imagination . . . always ready with lying legends. They are excessively greedy, never satisfied so long as they think there is the least chance of getting more. Their cowardice is proverbially a characteristic of the Kashmiri".

But according to him also, they had their good points. He admits that he had met with men of the land "who as against physical dangers bore themselves well", and this is important,

‡ [Cf. F. Drew in the AVI Kashmir file, — Archer]

[illegible] 7-3 [illegible] 1924 AVI Kashmir [illegible]

Kashmir : A04

"in intellect they are superior to their neighbours, they are certainly keener than Punjabis, and in perception and clearness of mind and ingenuity far outvie their masters, the Dogras". 181

At that time Wilson wrote his famous book, *The Abode of Snow*, in which he mentions the Chinese traveller Fa-Hian who went there hundreds of years before and spoke of the Kashmiri "as being of a particularly bad character", and himself observes, "even where there are so many deceitful nations they have obtained a pre-eminence". But he also says, "I cannot deny the truth of the accusations brought against them, yet I could not but pity them, and sympathise with them". "They are not unattractive, being an intellectual people, and characterised by great ingenuity and sprightliness". "I think also that they have the elements of what, in more fortunate circumstances, might be a fine character, but dwelling in a fertile and beautiful valley, surrounded by hardy and warlike tribes, they have for ages been subject to that oppression which destroys national hope and virtue." [113]

Then we go on, for we should take these people generation by generation, and of them Lawrence, who knew them well and to whom they may be grateful for the land settlement which he was the cause of introducing into the country, said in his book, *The Valley of Kashmir*, written in 1895, "The Kashmiri bears an evil reputation in the Punjab, and indeed throughout Asia. Proverbs liken him to a snake in his morals and to a fowl in his manners, and men are warned against admitting a Kashmiri to their friendship." He, endeavouring to get an old Kashmiri to explain to him their existing misery, says that they attributed "all to two leading features of the national character, lying and envy or malice. A Kashmiri cannot bear to see anyone getting on in life". "He is very timid and conducts himself in the most abject manner towards officials. It is impossible to believe a Kashmiri when he is dealing with officials of the country or when he is presenting a petition in the city, but in his own village and in the presence of his fellow-villagers I have found it fairly easy to elicit the truth." He also speaks of their weak-hearted, somewhat soft nature, of their being extremely dirty in their habits and person, of their easily being moved to tears and of another "quality", which in spite of all they have gone

[cf. [illegible] Lawrence in the A04 Kashmir: file [illegible]]

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/8/ through they still possess, their conceit. But he also gives them the credit for being more intellectual than those of the rest of the then India, being quick in an argument and ready of wit. Of the people who lived in the villages, he says, "one rarely heard of divorce scandals or immorality". Finally he concludes with, "though the character of the Kashmiri leaves much to be desired, I think that it is to their credit that it is not worse, considering the few chances they have had for becoming truthful, manly and self-supporting. A man who can be beaten and robbed by anyone with a vestige of authority soon ceases to respect himself". Lawrence bluntly declares that, "The Kashmiri is what his rulers have made him, but I believe and hope that two generations of a just and strong rule will transform him into a useful, intelligent, and fairly honest man".

In 1910 Doctor Ernest Neve, who had worked there for years as the surgeon in the Mission Hospital, divided the people up when commenting on their character; he speaks of the Kashmiri as being "by nature deceitful and given to petty larceny", of the coolie, being timid, afraid of being left alone in the dark, inclined to untruthfulness and deceit—but not all of them; he mentions those "who have risked their lives for others, and with no applauding gallery and no headlines press to approve". Then, "In spite of his great physical strength and powers of endurance, the Kashmiri is highly strung and neurotic, and he will often weep on slight provocation. These people can bear pain much better than Europeans, but owing to want of self-control they make more fuss. Naturally impulsive and hasty, they respond readily to tactful handling." This is the opinion of a doctor, from whose books one can immediately see that he was also a student of human nature, a psychologist who, having lived among these people for years, knew them as they were in their daily life and in their adversities and sicknesses; that then was his explanation of their "cowardice". A neurotic state which they had been driven into over the generations of oppression.

The Reverend C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe, who was for years, the headmaster of the Mission School, and who in the books he wrote tells how he spent his time "making men of this effeminate race of males", in his autobiography which was published after

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his death, says of the morals of the men in those times of which 181
he writes that it would appear that there remained few lusts or perversions which were unsatisfied and unpractised in the Valley, not only by the invaders but also by the men of the land who provided from among their own peoples for those in India whose bent was in that direction.

In his previous book, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*,[1] he says, "The ordinary Kashmiri such as I have known for thirty years is a coward, a man with no self-respect and deceitful to a degree". His explanation for this being "because they happen to live in one of the most beautiful countries on earth, and therefore other people have coveted it. Kashmir has been conquered and reconquered by invaders, who have murdered, oppressed and enslaved their ancestors, and so ground the life and heart out of them that their better selves have been crushed."

Yet he declares that "gradually are the Kashmiris rising from slavery to manhood, though the growth is naturally very slow at present, but they are on the upward road."

So there we have the Kashmiri character as seen through the 181
eyes of foreigners over the past hundred and fifty years, both 178
those who have passed through it and those who lived amongst the people and really loved them, they have each offered their opinions as to why the people dropped to such a state of degradation. I will myself say that the improvement which Neve and Tyndale-Biscoe noted has further progressed, although those who live outside the frontiers still do not speak well of the Kashmiri. He is without question still filthy in his person, he still has not learnt that in business one must stick to the truth, must supply goods to the sample which has been submitted, must despatch those which have been selected and paid for and not exchange them for others when the buyer has gone. He still has to realize that within that white-topped ring of mountains there are men who are physically capable of protecting their own lovely land from attack without having to call in others to do it for them now that those "tools" with which this is possible are no longer withheld from their hands. He still has to cast jealousy aside and appreciate that there are also among his own countrymen those who have the political and

[1] [See 2: Biscoe, AVW Kashmiri file - Analyst.]

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administrative ability and the desire honestly to lead their own people without showing favour to any sect. He has, after having it ingrained into him for hundreds of years, to laugh at the suspicion and superstition which has been drummed into him by ignorant pirs, sadhs, mullahs and even priests and maulvis, who should long since have been exposed, degraded and cast out from the precincts of temples, mosques and shrines by the elders of the religions. He will have to learn that after all these years he can tell the truth and start life anew without fear of the past creeping up behind and strangling him. And finally he will have to learn to forget all the dark and terrible years in which he suffered nothing but degradation, fear and shame, little of which was of his own making, and regaining his self-respect, look to the future which, if only he will make the supreme effort, holds so very much for him. For the fair land of Kashmir is still there in spite of all that has happened within its borders; it is for him to make of it something fine and grand so that those of his race who follow him will be proud to acknowledge to being a Kashmiri, not only because of the beauty of the lakes, the valleys and the mountains, but for the integrity and the manliness of the people to which it belongs.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Two Main Roads

Of the roads which lead out of the Valley into India and into Pakistan, there are two which are the most favoured, the one to Rawalpindi in Pakistan and known as the Jhelum Valley road, the other to Jammu and thence into India, usually referred to as the old Banihal cart road. Other routes exist; they were used in the old days by the Moghul Emperors when they came to the country, but the roads have not been reconstructed to take modern traffic. 491

In those old days the most favoured route was over the Pir Panjal Pass, which is at a height of eleven thousand feet. It took weeks to cover, with the men travelling on horseback, the women reclining not too comfortably in palanquins carried on the shoulders of sweating coolies, besides which there were large retinues of courtiers and retainers, together with companies of soldiers to protect them, in addition to hundreds of coolies and servants with all the paraphernalia, for these Emperors insisted on much of the pomp and ceremony which they had been accustomed to in their courts being continued with these peaceful entries into the country. At places on this old road are still to be seen the great serais, stone-walled acres of land in which the camps were set, but contained within the walls were rooms and a mosque since at times the ruler would tarry there for many days. There are still to be seen the ruins of towers which were really block houses, built to cover and protect the smaller bands of travellers who ventured the road. Where villages now are, there is usually to be found the place where such travellers halted for the night, and the old rest houses built since those days are in some cases in use to this day for the same purpose. [494] 485

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4/97 Before the two new Dominions obtained their independence it was not unusual for the visitor who wanted to see as much as he could of the country, to enter Kashmir from Rawalpindi and leave it via Jammu. The road from Rawalpindi did not exist until the turn of the century and in all probability even then would not have been made had not Russia displayed a threatening attitude towards the northern and western frontiers of India—the Hindu Kush. Then it was that the Government of India, with the help of British engineers, built in record time, for the use of troops, the road which the State of Kashmir had been contemplating for many years, and had in fact started in places. The State engineers had finished the portion between Kohala and Domel—a little over twenty miles; the distance from there to Baramula, where it was to join the road and the navigable river to Srinagar, was seventy-eight miles further though. The small section they had completed had taken them five years. Spalding, a contractor was called in to finish the job; he brought in his own engineers and gangs of Pathans and Afghan coolies who were the toughest characters, many being deserters from the Indian Army, many murderers who had fled their own country—admittedly murders which had been committed for the honour of their families, but killings just the same. They were hot-tempered men, but good strong workers, and the road, built against what to some would appear insurmountable odds and conditions, was completed and in use within two years.

4/91 This road from Rawalpindi, a large town on the Pakistan railway between Lahore and Peshawar, is open for most of the year; its blockage by snow seldom lasts for more than two or three days, but the most difficult and dangerous of its troubles is the shale which falls during the rains, mostly in the spring; then the road is blocked until gangs of coolies, which are always stationed there, can clear it, whilst damage and loss of life can also result from a bad fall of shale which often drops without warning. That, it is said, is the main reason why a railway has never been considered to be a practical proposition on this particular route, which would otherwise, joining the main line at Rawalpindi, have given Kashmir easy access all the year round to the sea port of Karachi.

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The distance covered by this road to Srinagar is about two 491 hundred miles. The motorist usually completed the journey in a day, starting off after an early breakfast and reaching Srinagar for dinner, though those who were out to enjoy the scenery, which at places is really lovely, or those who were nervous and could not stand for too many miles the dozens of twists and turns with steep ascents and descents, took two days to make the journey and stayed overnight at one of the many rest houses, usually choosing that at Domel.

In the old days when two-horsed tongas were used to travel 494 the rough road, the journey was agony to the European, if he happened to be in one of the seats facing the poor wretched horses' galled, thin backs; the sight alone spoiled all pleasures of the glorious views, especially when for a stage they had a driver who never ceased to apply the so-called "whip"—a stick which only continued to bruise the spines of the poor creatures. On first making that journey there were few passengers who in their fury did not grab the stick from the man, usually breaking it over their knees to demonstrate their disgust of his treatment: only after this did the stick prove to the irate passenger its usefulness, for the wretched animals, instead of responding to this humane sentiment, just stood with legs firm and refused to budge, with the result that the driver won in the end. The syce together with his horses changed at every stage, these usually being five miles apart but depending on the gradient of road. The tonga went the whole way; it would hardly have been possible to unload and reload it each time, for luggage was packed and tied on everywhere, often with bed rolls roped to the top of the canvas cover, and suit cases tied on the top of the wheel mud-guards.

The poorer people, those who did not trudge the road with their loads upon their backs, travelled by bullock cart, which was also used for heavy luggage, the journey taking about two weeks, or in an ekka; this is a high slung, single-horse cart, over which is a framework rather like a bird cage on which is spread cloth—usually rugs—to protect the women who travel in it, sitting on the hard board floor. The proper thing for the men to do is either sit in front, or if a servant was travelling with his master's luggage, he seated himself on top of it; if the

494 master also chose to make the journey this way, he sat facing backwards and had a step fitted on which to place his feet and so save them from dangling. The ekka took about five days to cover the road between Rawalpindi and Srinagar.

The "pleasures" of travel in those days have now gone though. The change came gradually, for after a while it was not unusual to pass a carriage and pair; now it is mostly cars and lorries which make the journey. The tongas, ekkas and bullock wagons are still on the road, but only between villages; even then 'bus services run between these, and lorry "seats" are to be had, either next to the driver—considered almost first class travel—or on top of the load. The driver of these usually expects to make quite a few rupees with these unofficial passengers who sleep, and have not been unknown to roll off from the high load.

491 The route from Rawalpindi to Srinagar is divided up into fourteen stages, not that this interests the traveller by car as it did those who went behind horses. The first stage, a distance of fourteen miles to Barakao, is at an altitude of about seventeen hundred feet above the sea. The road is level, fringed with trees and generally uninteresting to one who has been on the plains. But for the next stage to Tret, the climb is up through low brown foothills; in summer these are sprinkled with burnt-up scrub; the sun, if the day has advanced, can be scorching, the road dusty; in spring, though, it is different, and becomes a sufferable journey. As usual, at a difficult corner a toll bar is come upon. Tret stands elevated four thousand feet above the sea, and here is to be found the first rest house.

361 A further thirteen miles, and just two miles after Sunny
Bank, lies Murree, a famous and fashionable hill station spread
529 out over the mountains at an altitude of anything between six
and seven thousand feet, which have been reached through pine-covered slopes and up many zig-zag roads and hairpin bends. Here is built a modern town, with rest house, hotels, boarding houses, a great sanatorium, a convent, schools, cinemas and churches: it is the hill station for those who live in Rawalpindi, and also for many from Peshawar and Lahore. From here a lovely view can be had of the plains, while in the distance are the glorious snow-covered ranges of mountains, which are amazingly even in their height, few being below

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fourteen thousand feet and none over sixteen thousand; 361 at intervals on the Poonch side great masses stand out from them like bastions, making it difficult to believe that some giant 529 hand had not built this wall.

Murree is a health resort, the place where pallid cheeks gain a pink glow within a few days, the resort which, because of its climate, makes Pakistan tolerable to the long-suffering European who serves there. The air is invigorating, there is usually a coolish breeze, and within a very short while those who have arrived there "just to laze the days away", find themselves suggesting long walks through the wonderfully interesting hills, past babbling brooks, along narrow paths which lead through pink-barked, scented pines, firs and shady trees to some "special spot of our own", probably one such as is often passed on the road-side where the rocks are black wet with water and green with slime, but decorated with masses of dainty, trembling maidenhair ferns which cling to them, growing out from every crack and crevice that will offer them a root hold; they are large leafed, with shining black, wire-like stems.

Those who stay there can sit and cool themselves in con- 482 templation of the far distant snows and admire the beauty of the country lying below their feet and above their heads, with all its differing shades of colours and variety of the shapes of the trees; the smoke-like wisps of cloud which are blown and drawn by air currents up and down the slopes; the intriguing red roof-tops of a hill-station house among the firs and pines, and little gardens of the peasants, which are terraced down spurs of the mountains, and the winding tracks—those you had never realised existed—with the load-carrying coolies striding down with empty baskets on their back, or struggling up with a load, in their hands a T shaped stick on which to rest it when they stand, for the basket or package is carried high on their backs; a head strap across the forehead stops the load from falling back as they climb; once on the ground it would be impossible to lift back unaided.

Kohala, which is the next stage on from Murree, is nearly 361 thirty miles distant. The descent from the hills is steep, and it 132 appears, stuffy and airless, shut in between hills at a height of only eighteen hundred feet above the sea level. In summer it is

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The principal village building is the mosque (p. 219)

The mullah does his rounds on horseback (p. 272)

[Facing p. 316]

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361 unbearably hot, in June and July frequently reaching a tempera-
132 ture of 115° Fahrenheit, so that few people stop at the Dak
bungalow. It is an important place on the route though, for
491 here stands the custom's house. The bridge which spans the Jhelum passes from Pakistan to Kashmir: this is an unusual bridge which quite a number of writers have noted. There used to be a suspension type of structure here, but it was washed away, as are so many others which fall beneath avalanches or through landslides in those parts. The one which is now there stands out from one side—the safe side—and a light steel extension connects the nose of the bridge with the other mainland, so that in the event of a landslide, this light portion of the "bridge" goes, and can be quickly replaced.

After passing over the river the road winds along the left bank of the Jhelum; it is a grand piece of engineering, in parts passing through short tunnels blasted through rock massifs which rise sheer from the river below. In some places just a loose knit rock wall serves as protection from falling over the edge of a precipice into the raging river beneath, at others the rock has been carved out so that it overhangs; here the road is oftimes narrow, though in other places—fortunately on the bends—it is wide, with ample room to stop the car and admire the country, which is particularly grand with high, barren hills rising steeply on either side; lone farms and tiny villages seem to cling to the hill sides, with small, terraced fields close by. Sparkling streams come down like waterfalls from heights; in places the result is surprising in that many of these, though spread wide, high on the mountain side, gradually come together to join the main stream. All are glittering with crystal waters from the snows in springtime, and combined make it appear like a gigantic fan which shimmers as some great, invisible goddess gently moves her hands so that she might enjoy the cool and refreshing breeze. Through gaps in these hills can be seen the snow-capped peaks of the ranges in the distance, with here and there a glistening peak.

361 Twenty-one miles from Kohala, and eighty-five from 'Pindi lies Domel, the most northerly place on the road, which, for the last few miles is cut sheer out of the cliff face; here landslips are not unusual after the rains. This is the most suitable place to

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In the foreground rice fields each divided by a stone wall (p. [illegible])

[facing p. 317]

361 stop overnight if the journey is being divided up into two days; there is a State rest house with a number of private houses. The main road is joined by one from Abbattabad, one which may be
491/ used in the winter when the Murree hills are covered with snow;
/133 this road runs back to the north-west for about fifty miles to Abbattabad, and although rather narrow, is always open: it can be seen crossing the ridge above the river and towards the west. Here also the river Jhelum is joined by its largest tributary, the Kishenganga; about the same in size, both flow for a short distance side by side before marrying, then it is easy to pick out in the spring and summer months the Jhelum which is light brown with the muddy deposits it has gathered on its long passage through Kashmir, and the Kishenganga, a light, clear, greenish blue from the snows which have fed it. In the dry autumn the Jhelum is an opaque green, brought about by the large quantity of organic matter suspended in it, whilst the water of the other river is a peacock shade, still clear and transparent.

In the old days petty chiefs ruled the tribes in these parts, and they were forever at war with each other, even with their neighbours across the closest ridges; yet when outsiders attacked one of them, all would join together to protect their land.

Only a day's march to the west lies the Black Mountain frontier where lived the "Yagi" Pathan tribes who made this road to Kashmir far from secure. The Frenchman Jacquemont records that in his travels, which were in 1831, he was provided by Ranjit Singh with a strong escort to save him from being taken captive, from being held to ransom, or being blackmailed.

361 Fourteen miles further on is Garhi, where some people prefer to stop the night, as it has another rest house, this one being rather beautifully placed in its compound just above the
[491] main road. One of the famous sights of the Jhelum Valley route used to be a great rope bridge which here spanned the river; this has now been replaced by a modern bridge. The scenery is quite different again. At three thousand feet the valley opens
132 up; there are distant views of the wooded hills; it is greener, fresher and not unlike the English country roads and lanes; there is a crispness in the air, so that at night a blanket is needed;

132 no longer does one sweat and lie restless on the bed. Of that part Bernier wrote in his letters of far back in 1665, "I find myself transported on a sudden from a torrid to a temperate zone, the mountains we were traversing being covered with every one of our plants and shrubs; I had almost imagined myself in the mountains of Auvergne". And of this journey Arthur Neve commented in his book, *Picturesque Kashmir*, in 1899, "Early in April, when the wheat is ripening in Domel, it is at Chakoti only in the ear, at Uri, though the fields are green, the deciduous trees are almost leafless and at Baramula snow may be lying in the hollows, the fields are bare, and there are all the signs of early spring". It is surprising to find poles fixed upright to the four corners of the bed, for mosquitoes are often found here, and in the autumn can be a pest to those who have not brought a net to cover the bed.

133 Between here and Uri there is some really lovely scenery, much of which is truly magnificent, with lofty peaks towering up on either side, the road at times snaking its way through narrow gorges in which the river Jhelum flows, at times placid and with great swirling pools of brownish water, at others foaming and rushing as it escapes through some close held ravine or rock, rock which is so hard that the centuries of wear has not widened it, so hard that it will turn an ordinary chisel with ease.

361 Uri has a delightful old rest house with electricity for lights and fans, a luxury the visitor had thought might be unknown
712 in Kashmir after the smoking oil lamps and hand fans of late. The gorge of the river before Uri is reached is so narrow that it is easy to cast a stone across it; the rocks drop vertically down to the water, the mountain sides are just like great castle buttresses of rock which rise from the rushing Jhelum. The town stands on a triangular plateau which is several hundred feet above the river, and as one nears it, especially when the river is low, there are to be seen several of those sloping, plateau-like, great alluvial fans which run down to the water. Uri is nearly four thousand five hundred feet above sea level; once it was of importance, having its own Raja; now of no importance, the town has become little more than a large village. The fort is interesting though; its founder was at one

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time said to have been a common khidmatgar—that, is a table 36/
bearer. He had been taken under the care of Ranjit Singh as a 7/2
boy of seven, became one of his generals and is credited with having overcome the *Afghans*, "whose women so feared him that to frighten their children they quoted his name in a low deep voice. He was a tyrant in Kashmir, from where he was called after his two years' service from 1820." So the fort is not really very old. It became the home of the Raja from that time on.

Rampur, thirteen miles off, is the next stage of the journey. 36/
The road makes a great detour because of the gradient, and 49/
follows the contours of the mountains, so avoiding having to 123
cross the large precipitous-sided nullah; after two or three miles you are astonished to find yourself almost back to where you started, the rest house lying across it, being but an arrow-shot away. The hillsides are mostly covered with loose shale, which is a menace at all times, for the rains wash it down on to the road, whilst later when it is all dried out in the sun, the moisture which bound it no longer has its hold, and it slips, a single stone soon collecting tons of the stuff as it tumbles down the mountain side. Although one does get a few seconds' warning of its descent by the terrifying swish and rumbling of the greater boulders, that is of little use for with the echoes of the hills it is difficult to decide, in the short time, from where the sound comes. The yellowish to purple-brown rocks which have been seen all the way from Domel, have now changed to slaty schists; later along the road they are replaced by limestone, and with it the scenery changes; there is now a wild beauty, with glorious forest trees, the ground spread with ferns and flowering bushes; the hills recede, the more gentle slopes being covered with tall deodar trees, standing straight and firm. Great precipices of limestone rise up from pine forests; here and there a fir or pine will have found a foothold on some small ledge and clinging tightly bends out and upwards as though searching for its sisters who crown the hill; here the countryside is truly lovely, and as such has been mentioned right from the earliest
writers. Here it is that the gallery—or flume—six miles long, [D 76]
carries the water which, dropping four hundred feet, powers the
turbines generating electricity for the Valley. On the way there 000

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On the way/[illegible]

172 is the ruined Hindu temple which is said to date back to one century after the birth of Christ.

000 It seems here that Kashmir has at last been found, for there are walnut and chestnut trees; the flat-roofed houses are seen no more; in their place are the wooden ones with the flattish sloping roofs of Kashmir with wooden tiles or thatch. In spring wild roses of all colours, white, cream, pink and red, cover the bushes by the road side; here and there leafy trees hang out over it like great sunshades; the river widens and is quieter and although still brown, appears clearer. It is swift in places though, for dashing against a rock in its path, the splash of spray is high; here and there quiet pools have found their way into the softer rock, and willows shade these, protecting the fish which have fought so far up stream, and making such places interesting to the fisherman. The views across the river, of the hill-slopes covered with different kinds of trees, broken by great limestone cliffs and the distant snow-capped mountains, especially when the sun streams through the clouds to lighten one like a glistening wedding cake, or when the sunset lends them for a while a pearl-pink tinge which slowly turns to red, is indeed heavenly.

361 Sixteen miles further on lies Baramula; the road, as it has
491 been for the last miles before Rampur, is comparatively level.
133 Peasants are to be seen more often working in the fields and small rice patches; at parts the wide river which almost ripples over the stone bed is slower in its flow and permits the use of small boats. On the side are large rocks different from those seen thereabouts and believed to have been carried down from the mountains by glaciers long since forgotten. A narrow ravine carries a path which leads through to Gulmarg, and here, until recent years, were found numbers of bears. Higher up, in the month of June, the rocks will be decorated with the pink blooms of wild rhododendron which flourish there. Hereabouts, especially from Naushera onwards, terrible damage was done in the great earthquake of 1885, which is still not forgotten in those parts. In the distance can be seen the great peak of Nanga Parbat, right ahead, the near seventeen thousand feet high Mount Haramukh, which, as one gets closer to Baramula, seems to rise sheer from the waters of the Wular Lake, on a clear

§ [from Uri to Rampur -- Analyse?]

day, far over to the right, the peak of Kolahoi is visible. Here the 361
Valley of Kashmir opens before the road, but since it is on the 491
same level does not appear to be as grand as when one bursts 133
upon it from a high pass.

From the spread town of Baramula, the poplar-lined road goes through the flat fields to Srinagar. Some who go there still prefer to have their houseboat or donga meet them here so that they can continue the journey to the city by water. After that all is so quiet, the road with but few turns or twists; there is little to disturb the stillness except the occasional shout of a shepherd boy; no raging torrent runs below; there are no terrifying corners with honking lorries and hooting cars; no man or beast seems to be in a hurry, for it is the Vale of Kashmir, where nature has its sway. It is as though the unspoken greeting is "here rest a while".

Going out of Kashmir by the other route, a two hundred mile 491
run to Jammu by the Banihal cart road, we left Srinagar at the [172]
other side of the city and passing the famous Pampur saffron
fields, stopped in the village to buy some of its famed brand of 361
biscuits, then went on past the ruins of the great light grey 241
limestone temple built by King Avanti Varma in the eighth century; this is near to the roadside, surrounded by close-cropped turf, glorious in its broken and aged grandeur, especially in the spring when masses of mauve, wild iris spread around it. We continued on along the raised road through hundreds of acres of rice fields, with hamlets crushing on to the roadway, always seeming to have chosen a blind corner for their site. Tongas and bullock carts held tight to the single width tarred portion of the road and reluctantly gave way to us at the very last minute, to move over on to the dirt-built-up sides. Eventually, after thirty-two miles, we reached Khanabal, which 491
adjoins Islamabad—by some called Anatnag. From here the poplar-lined road turns direct towards the distant mountains; still past fields of corn and rice, past small farms tucked away between willows, past clumps of the always four chinars on the wayside, past Muslim graveyards gay with mauve and white iris, shops which stand close on the edge of the road as if to demand that we stop to buy their wares from the sparsely spread shelves

491 or sloping floor, past dozens of carriers' lorries which met us from the opposite direction, but having been made to pay for not perviously doing so, always pulling off the centre of the road well in time and so permitting each of us to hold the road with two of our four wheels.

491 Slowly we had been climbing until we passed Lower Munda,
241 then Upper Munda, with its beautifully situated rest house with a
233 wonderful view on the hillside. The country still open, was such that the road had to wind here and there as it followed the slopes; the crops had finished; the land remaining was now only fit for grazing the hundreds of goats and sheep which were under the care of small boys; a pretty little girl drove three small cows down to the village; we met less traffic as the road climbs the steeper side of the mountain, though even here there are woodlands high on one side and a gentle slope to the valley on the other, with the road ahead nearly always in view.

The road zig-zags higher and higher, the trees are now finished, then the bushes also have gone, just the scrub remains, and soon even that has disappeared. There is a hairpin bend, but the road is wide there since it is on a corner, round a great spur of the mountain, and the view is so grand that we took the car close to the great loose stone wall and gazed on the country below—the Vale of Kashmir—which in spring appears as though it is in flood, the reflection being from the rice fields under water from the irrigation channels. From there, looking down almost from the top of the pass, the Valley is very beautiful; the roads are easy to pick out with poplars lining them, the clumps of trees with the dark brown roofs of the houses, and here strangely enough the air was so still and quiet that we could hear a cow mooing far, far below. The only creatures we found high up there were flocks of goats which leapt the wall, over to the steep banks on the other side when we passed. In the distance are the red and purple, snow-topped mountains. We passed over a nullah built of concrete and made there to carry off the water from the rains or melting snow, then went under a portion of the road which is roofed with heavy logs, its side open; so constructed that the boulders, which are always
491 falling down the mountain side, shall pass over and not block the road. At nine thousand feet is the Banihal Tunnel, where,

since it is only one car wide, we had to wait before passing through the six hundred and fifty feet bore of the mountain top. We looked back and down on the Valley of Kashmir for the last time, since on coming out on the other side, the mountain hides it. The view from here is especially wonderful to those who have come through from the bleakness of the other side; for that reason many recommend that on a circular tour this should be made the incoming road, and the Jhelum Valley one the outgoing.

The road down is bare of trees and bushes; the stone is of a different colour as in places it has been blasted or cut away to take the road which can be seen winding backwards and forwards in hairpin bends for nearly twenty miles ahead as it slowly descends to the lower plains.

Because of the height to which it rises, this road is snow-blocked for the greater part of the winter months, and for that period transport to and from India remains at a standstill. Some interesting figures are given in reports which have been made, and estimates given for some time past with a view to constructing a tunnel through the mountain at a lower level and so ensuring this outlet for Kashmir's trade remaining open the whole year through. From the point where the road starts to climb on the one side, until it reaches the bottom on the other, it covers about forty miles. A tunnel driven through the mountain between both places would be only seven miles long—a saving of some thirty-three miles. Between 1890 and 1900 Major-General de Bourbel suggested the construction of a tunnel under the pass between Takia and Womoo which he estimated would bore for four and a half miles; it would have been at a height of seven thousand feet. Then in 1900 J. Adams made a survey of the Pir Panjal range and he proposed a tunnel at an altitude of eight thousand feet which would be less than a mile and a half in length, and maintained that at such a height it would seldom for long be blocked with snow. There is little doubt that one will eventually have to be constructed, for those who are entrusted to rule must know full well that until such time prosperity will not be possible for the Valley of Kashmir.

As we neared the foot of the mountains and came towards

491 the wide valley, so the patches of cultivated land increased in number. On the way we had only seen the road coolies at work—always in pairs, for one holds the handle of the shovel and the other the length of rope which is tied down near to the spade, at it takes two men to move a shovel full of hard rock—and the few men of the valley who were trudging the long road home so that they might save a few extra rupees to give their families after working on the other side of the mountains for months. We had also met odd parties of three or four men and women with great trusses of grass on their heads; from where they were coming or where going we could not imagine.

At the foot of the mountains, as the road flattened out, so the surface became smooth; no longer was the hard grip necessary; it was now difficult to find a patch of ground which was not under cultivation, each tiny field being divided from its neighbour by loose stone walls. Then we came on the terraced rice fields, with a stream, which could be diverted to any of them by damming it with stones, bouncing and sparkling over the rock bed. A few black buffaloes were grazing by the roadside under the eye of a couple of boys, whose one thrill in life seemed to be had by placing a stick across the road so that cars might crush it.

[494] Just before the village of Banihal, there is the toll post, after which come the houses, shops and the Dak bungalow, whilst
[495] here, when we filled up with petrol we found it cost a rupee a gallon less than in the Valley, such is the expense of the journey over the Pass.

From Banihal to Ramban, at a height of about five thousand feet, is a distance of twenty-three miles; there are few who do not consider this to be the most lovely stage of the route. For miles on end the road, which in this part is the original one, runs hundreds of feet above the river Chenab, but the valley is narrow, the grey rock on either side steep; the little valleys which come down to join that in which run river and road are thick with trees, as also are some of the more gentle slopes, but where they are not, the grey and blue shadings of the rocks add to the beauty of the glorious scene. In parts the giant rocks hang over the road, which on its other side is protected by a stone wall from the precipitous drop to the river. Occasionally a stream rushes down from above, in places it becomes a

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waterfall; crystal clear, sometimes it runs in a gully beneath the road, in other places where the flow is only during the spring when the snows are melting, a culvert passes over the road to carry it away. In some places, the air is cooled by the water which drips down the rock side and feeds the masses of maidenhair ferns and flowering creepers of all colours, white, pink yellow and blue, and I began to wish I had studied the names of flowers as it seemed so mild to enter in my diary "white, pink, yellow and blue creepers". 491

At one place, where we could see the side valley coming down from above, strewn with tons of loose stones and rocks, a tunnel has been built through the rock at the bend of the road, so that as the great boulders fall, just as they have done for hundreds of years, the road is safe and clear. But in other parts, the loose, grey, slate-like shale had fallen, as it does there at all times of the year, and a gang of coolies complete with bulldozer were shifting it under the eye of an engineer who stood near the flagman and told us when we could move over to the other side, for they pride themselves on keeping that road open at all times in spite of these frequent landslides.

Just as we turned a blind corner, before which a sign post had warned us of a steep decline, we came on masses of goats and horses completely covering it. The horses were loaded with packs and long poles; there were women and children and great St. Bernard-like dogs mixed up with them, and as we got closer, the goats made either to climb wildly up the side of the mountain or jump down over the stone wall, the women holding frantically on to the bridles of the horses and shouting, until finally their men dashed up to help them. These people are Gujars, who speak in sonorous tones a dialect of Punjabi: nomads, they come each year into the Valley to feed their flocks and herds. Typically from the North-West Frontier, their faces are sallow, long and bony, their noses hooked, their eyes deep-set and dark brown, their hair black and greasy, and the clothes they wear remind one of the gipsy of Europe. Many of the women carried loads, the little girls had baby sisters on their backs, while the men and boys carried nothing but sticks with which to drive the animals. Even as they clung on to a prancing, dancing, frightened horse they laughed and salaamed us. Later 233 [197] [221] [142]

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233 [342] we came upon another band of them camped in a nullah near a stream on the wayside. Their tents were of rags stitched together and stretched on the wooden framework. They were cooking, the great iron pots standing over the fires which the little long-skirted child girls were feeding with the sticks they ran round to gather. The men were in a bunch round a pipe some distance off; the boys were tormenting a goat; they all looked filthy, their skins greasy, their clothes begrimed, yet some rather pretty girls of the party were even then washing something by the river, maybe it was goat hair they would sell raw or make up into something to be bartered in a shop for some commodity they needed on the way: from the milk of their herds they make ghee. They are ignorant, simple people.

491 361 [313] From Ramban to Batote is eighteen miles, and the road goes down to two thousand two hundred feet above sea level. It twists and turns, and during the run passes over a long suspension bridge which crosses between two great high mountain walls of red rock, the river rushing a hundred feet below, glistening and clear, and carrying down with it hundreds of great logs which have been cut higher up, marked so that the owners are known, and sent down by this cheap form of transport, the only expense being the pay of the men who are posted at those parts of the river which are known to choke up. Further along the road we came on parked lorries; these were at places where the flow of the river slowed and the logs became beached on the sandbanks. It was here that they were being lifted up and carried by coolies to the road transport, to continue their journey to the Punjab.

Looking across at the tree-covered slopes on the other side we could pick out an old unused road, and this we did many times later on, maybe it was the original road up to the pass and made in the days before suspension bridges could be built to span the torrent; so that those who then travelled had to wait until they came upon a place where the waters were quiet enough for a ferry or shallow enough to ford.

361 Batote is four thousand five hundred feet high, and from that village to Kud is a distance of twelve miles, during which the road goes over the Patnu Pass; it is one long, climbing series of twists. The beauties were such that I found it almost impos-

able to keep my eyes on the road and away from the magnificent views as we climbed up through blue and grey cedars, tall firs and straight pines, the ground strewn with their cones and needles, the scent in the air glorious. As though to tempt the tourist to stop a while to enjoy to the full all that is about him, on many of the bends the road has been widened so that a car can be parked, for it is the ideal place for the picnic lunch or tea as you look down on the forest-covered hills, the silver river lost for a distance behind their beautiful multicoloured branches and high in the background the snow-covered mountain tops, sharply separated by their whiteness from the clear blue of the sky. 361

The rest house at Kud sits just above the road, and although the furnishings were far from up to hotel standard, food of a kind was to be had there, and so we stopped the night, to awaken next morning to walk out on to the covered verandah and look across to the distant hills, over the mist which still clung to the valley between. Like most of these rest houses and Dak bungalows, which are usually quite old buildings, it has been beautifully sited for tourists but is not comfortable enough to encourage them to linger long. This was to be the last night on which blankets would be required on the bed. 361 495

From here down to Udhampur is a distance of twenty-five miles, the road gradually dropping, with many hairpin bends; but still the country clings to its trees, although as the latitude becomes lower, so the sweet-smelling pines and the firs are replaced by others. From among the barren red rocks great bushes grow, and when we were there they were all in bloom, the most fascinating being a mass of pink wax-like flowers, the leaves narrow, long and glossy, and when we stopped we found small clumps of wild strawberries in those parts of the road which held more vegetation. Still the road was with the river. 491

Most of the little towns we had passed through had consisted of long bazaars, always with many "hotels" which are really restaurants. Here and there on the bend of the road, beneath shady trees and close to a stream or a spring there were the odd tea shops, their sign of trade as always, being rows of cups and saucers and tiny tea pots, for each customer has his own pot; whilst behind them is a great clay stove with a kettle always 361 443

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boiling on the top, and usually there are tin biscuit boxes with glass fronts to display the different kinds of cakes. There were always the cloth shops, the shelves sparsely spread, but with the dharzie—or tailor, usually a Sikh—sitting cross-legged on the verandah before his sewing machine, it being quite usual for the purchaser of cloth who comes from some way off in the hills to buy a length and wait for it to be made up into whatever article he or she wants. Then there was always the dry-goods store, most of that which the shopkeeper had to sell being displayed in large, flat baskets, whether it be tea, soap, tobacco, chilli powder, salt, flower, rice or any other commodity; always he had for sale lengths of rope, small fans for brightening up the charcoal cooking fire, and sweepers' brooms, besides oil for lamps and the ghee for cooking. His was a shop essential to every hamlet.

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From Udhampur to Jammu is a little over forty miles. By now I began to realise that the lovely Valley of Kashmir was a long way off, for low hills surround the road; these are bleak and as we went further, so the trees and bushes no longer grew. The road winds, with many blind corners, and the rocks change in their colour to an elephant grey; they are smooth, as though soft, and there are signs in plenty of erosion, but the road is wide and the surface good. With little else to think about, my

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mind went back to that which I had read of this road. In the not very distant past, the route to Srinagar was the private road of the Maharaja; over this he travelled each spring to go to his summer capital, and returned the same way to Jammu, his winter capital, in the late autumn. All but the last Maharaja, who used cars, took weeks to make the journey; each night camp was made, usually at one of the rest houses but not necessarily so, though always near to a spring—a few of those he used are still adorned with the stone carved heads of animals out of the mouths of which cool water was made to flow for His Highness. He did not always move on next morning though; the decision as to when he could continue the journey being arrived at by his pundits, and if they decided that the stars were not propitious, then the Maharaja just stayed put, sometimes for weeks on end, whilst "his Srinagar subjects anxiously awaited His Highness's arrival".

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In those days special permission had to be obtained to use 491
the road; seldom was this granted for the time whilst the Court 643
were progressing upon it, so that the months during which it was open were even fewer than now, since at that time both the Maharaja and the snow controlled it. Now the Maharaja has gone, but the snow still has its hold. The day will come when that also does not deter in winter those who wish to pass in and out of the Valley.

Just before entering Jammu, the road twists and turns for 491
miles like a snake escaping through long grass. Blind turnings, 361
steep, short hills, and close, cliff-bound sides, make it rather dangerous, so that we realised that all the hazards were not confined to the road over the pass with the thousands of feet to drop over the side. Then through Jammu, over the river bridge and on to the new magnificent road which runs to Pathankot, a road which is two cars wide with a cobbled overrun on each side, with dozens of concreted nullahs, each hundreds of yards long, with heavy wire netting over the smooth great stones preventing them being washed on to the road, and with high stakes at intervals, each marked so that in the spring floods the driver can see at a glance if he can get through; it is a truly magnificent piece of work. But it is not as one wishes to think of Kashmir and Jammu; it is as yet a road without a soul, flat, treeless and straight, open to the dry scorching sun which pours piteously down on the plains; in all an uninteresting run. It will not remain so for long though, for soon it too must surely become imbued with the beauty which seeps from the State; trees and shrubs will soon line the road, the glaring concrete will become sombre and soft in its colouring, little hamlets, quaint stalls and shops will spring up upon its sides—it will gain that something which will make it live.

It was here, as I thought of the customs post at which we 000
would later have to stop on entering India, that I began to wish I had brought with me more of the arts of Kashmir, presents to give to those who had not been there, that they also might enjoy it and this even though our bed rolls were stacked on the roof, the luggage carrier crammed tight, the back seats stacked so high that only a slit was visible in the driving mirror of the traffic behind. There must be few of those who have been

fortunate enough to go to Kashmir who have not had the same regrets on the way out, regrets that they had not taken a greater number of photographs, made more sketches or painted more pictures, and that they had not brought away with them more of the really beautiful things that are offered there at such fantastically low prices, for these are the reminders of a really delightful land which so many have coveted, which some have captured for a while, but which none have been able to hold for always. And there can be none who at this stage of the journey have not promised themselves that one day they will return.

And so reluctantly we left Kashmir.

Although impoverished of this world's goods, she had shown herself to be a very charming hostess, one who had been pleased to display for our pleasure all that she had been blessed with by God.

Like so many others, we had found her very lovely and kindly this lady to whom we had gone to soothe our weary limbs and tired minds, to breathe her fragrance, and to gaze upon her natural beauty which had been enhanced by the gifts of those others who before had known her.

Her generosity had been unlimited. She had grudged us nothing that we might wish to take away with us, for none who have gone to her—not even those uninvited guests who had thought to ravish her—have found it possible to steal that one part which is her very own—her soul.

All that she asked of us, or has ever asked of any, is that she might be left in peace, that her friends might be of all peoples, and that those who live in her lands might prosper and themselves know their country as The Happy Valley.